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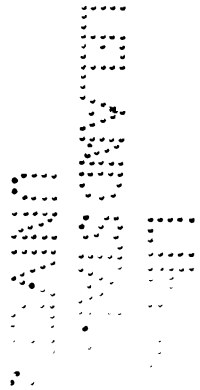
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ON THE  
RETURN OF THE PHOENIX

AND THE  
SOTHIC PERIOD.

BY  
SAMUEL SHARPE, Esq.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON,

ON NOVEMBER 13, 1849.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.



# ON THE RETURN OF THE PHŒNIX

AND THE

## SOTHIC PERIOD.

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THE word year, which is common in hieroglyphical inscriptions as part of a date, is spelt BAIT, by means of a Palm branch which is the syllable BAI, and the letter T. *Bait* is also the name of a bird; and hence we get at the reason why the Bird, the Palm branch, and the Year, are united in Egyptian fable. The Bird and the Palm branch are thus used as symbols of the word *Year* which could not otherwise be sculptured for the eye.

In Greek the Palm, the tree of Phœnicia, was called a Phœnix, and hence the Greeks called the fabulous Egyptian bird by the same name.

This fabulous Phœnix was, however, chiefly spoken of as the symbol of a longer period of time, at the end of which it returned to earth to die, and its offspring at once grew out of its mother's ashes. The Romans readily borrowed this, as other Egyptian fables, and Tacitus\* tells us that the Phœnix, whose period of return was very variously stated, came to Egypt in the consulship of P. Fabius and L. Vitellius. This was A.D. 34, a year in which we in vain look for anything peculiar to justify the event. But it would seem that Tacitus had made a mistake in the name of one of

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Annals, lib. vi.

the consuls, for Aurelius Victor, in his life of Claudius, places it in the consulship of Plautius and Vitellius. This we can understand ; it was A.D. 47, in the year of Rome 800, when their games were celebrated, and it had nothing to do with Egyptian Chronology. Pliny also (lib. x. 2) places the arrival of the Phœnix in Rome in the year of Rome 800, though he says it came to Egypt eleven years earlier, in the consulship of Plautius and Papinius.

Manlius, the Astronomer, as quoted by Pliny, (lib. x. 2) says that the consulship of Licinius and Cornelius, that is the year B.C. 97, was the 215th year of the bird's change. This again has nothing to do with Egypt; that year was simply the 215th year of the Era of the Seleucidæ.

Again, we have a coin of the reign of Constantius, which bears on it a Bird standing on a globe, with the inscription, The happy renewal of the years, *felix temporum reparatio*. This return of the Phœnix was in the year of Rome 1100, and needs no further explanation. Thus we see that any marked chronological epoch was called the Return of the Phœnix.

It will now be necessary to explain the Egyptian civil year before speaking of those returns of the Phœnix which belong to Egypt. The Egyptian civil year had 365 days, and as it was used by the astronomers Hipparchus, Timocharis, Ptolemy, Theon, and others, in recording their observations, which still remain to us, its peculiarities are well understood. For want of the intercalary day in Leap year, the new year's day became one day earlier every four years, as compared with the seasons, or the natural year. So well understood by all was the difference between the civil year and the natural year, that they were called by different names. ETOΣ was the civil year; ENIATTOΣ the natural year. The natural year was understood to begin at Midsummer; but of course the day was not easily recognised by observation. They attempted, however, to mark it as the day of the Nile's beginning to rise, as the longest day in the year, and still more exactly as the day when the Sothis,



*the Dog star*, rose vertically. Of course when the year of 365 days was first introduced, it was on the belief that it would agree with the natural year. Herodotus thought it did so agree, and it was not till afterwards, after the change that had taken place was clearly seen, that the writers tell us when it was that the two new year's days had coincided. Censorinus, who wrote on nativities, *De Dei Natali*, and Theon, the Mathematician, let us understand that it was in the year B.C. 1323 when the civil new year's day was our 19th July; and of course in four times 365 natural years, or 1461 civil years, the civil new year's day would again fall on the 19th of July. This was the great return of the Phoenix, and on the Alexandrian coins of Antoninus Pius, in the second year of his reign, A.D. 139, we see the bird crowned with rays of light, and above it the word *Αἰωρ*, the *age* or *period*. The coins agree with the information of Theon and Censorinus in marking the event.

In addition to these returns of the Phoenix, which I think have all been satisfactorily explained, as belonging either to Roman or Egyptian chronology, Tacitus mentions the tradition of some former returns. The Phoenix, he says, had come to Egypt in the reign of Sesostris, in the reign of Amasis, and in the reign of the third Ptolemy. If these events belong to Egyptian chronology, we must suppose them to have been distant from one another by 365 years, or multiples of the same. In fact, all the conditions of the problem are satisfied by supposing that these three returns divide into four parts the great Sothic period, which began under Menophra, and ended under Antoninus.

Thus as Menophra was reigning B.C. 1323, we conclude from Tacitus that Sesostris reigned 365 years later in 985

Amasis 365 years later..... in 593

Ptolemy, Euergetes..... in 228

each 365 years after the other. We will examine these conclusions separately.

First—The year B.C. 228, when the third quarter of the Sothic period came to an end, falls, as we have supposed,

within the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. It was the 19th year of his reign, and was remarkable as the only year of his reign in which we find a coin with a date. It would seem that he had marked the event on his coins. This is enough to prove that Tacitus was speaking of the four quarters of the Sothic period.

But, secondly, the year B.C. 593, when the second quarter of the Sothic period came to an end, does not fall within the reign of Amasis, but of his immediate predecessor, Hophra. This disagreement I cannot explain; but it does not shake my belief that Tacitus was speaking of the quarters of the Sothic period.

Thirdly, the year B.C. 958, when the first quarter of the Sothic period came to an end, falls in the reign of Shishank. This is no disagreement with Tacitus, who says that it was in the reign of Sesostria. Sesostria is a name unknown to the Egyptians; and to him, as a great hero, Herodotus first, and then other Greek historians, have given the deeds of several kings, particularly of Rameses and Shishank. But Diodorus Siculus, as quoted by Justin Martyr, corrects the name of Sesostria into Sesonkosis; and Josephus more expressly says, that the Sesostria of Herodotus was Shishank.

The beginning of the Sothic period, of which we have been speaking, and from which the return of the Phoenix was measured, was called by the mathematician Theon, the Era of Menophres, who, we may suppose, was king at the time; and if we can find him in the list of Egyptian kings we shall establish a great point in chronology. This name, Menophra, is, in fact, the premen of Thothmosis III., who, no doubt, was reigning in B.C. 1323, when the first day of the month, Thoth, the new year's day, agreed with the heliacal rising of the Dog Star on the 19th of July. His grandson, Thothmosis IV., bore nearly the same name; and, therefore, to him also that date might perhaps be given, but with less probability, as he was a king of far less note than the former.

To this train of reasoning, by which a date is given to

Thothmosis III., some of our antiquaries oppose the zodiac of the Memnonium, published in "Burton's Excerpta." This zodiac is divided into twelve parts, over each of which is written the name of a month. It is also divided into two halves, by a space for the summer solstice, under which is the figure of an ape sitting on a landmark. The beginnings of four of these twelve spaces, whether spaces of time or spaces in the heavens, are marked by the heliacal risings of stars. The Dog Star rises on the 1st of Thoth, and what we must suppose to be  $\alpha$  Leonis on the 1st of Paophi,  $\beta$  Leonis on the 1st of Athyr,  $\alpha$  Virginis on the 1st of Chœac. A constellation, perhaps the Pleiades, rises in the middle of Mesore. Several other stars or planets are mentioned in other places. Seb, or Saturn, is in Athyr and Mechir; the sun is in Pachon, and the king's name, Rameses II., is in Phamenoth. From this most curious sculpture these antiquaries argue that, like an almanack, it declares that the Dog Star rose on the civil new year's day, the first day of the month of Thoth, in the reign of Rameses II., and thereby gives to him the date of B.C. 1323, which I have given to Thothmosis III. To this train of reasoning there are, however, several objections.

First—If this were an almanack, or exact picture of the year, we ought to find, besides the twelve months, the five extra days which complete the number of 365 days.

Secondly—As the beginning of each of the first four months is marked by the rising of a star, no great exactness can be expected, as the great stars do not happen to follow at these intervals.

Thirdly—Further want of astronomical exactness is shown by this zodiac being divided, not at the equinoxes, but at the solstices. The error in determining the day of the solstice is ten times as great as the error in determining the day of the equinox; hence we must not look for any such minute information before the time of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, when the use of a gnomon parallel to the earth's pole was introduced, and the equinox first noted.

Fourthly—In this sculpture the rising of the Dog-star is supposed to take place at the Solstice. The sculptor did not know that these events were separated by about twenty-eight days.

From these three circumstances it seems probable, that if the astronomers had ever recorded by such means the position of the moveable new year's day, it would be many years before the record would be seen to be wrong. In one hundred years the days of the month would have moved twenty-five days. This would be hardly perceptible. During this time the notion in men's minds would have become fixed that the year was of 365 days only, as the priests told Herodotus. Any apparent disagreement would be set down to error in the observation; therefore it is not incredible that in the reign of Rameses II., which I suppose to be nearly two hundred years after the era of Menophrose, the loose assertions of this sculptured almanack should be made, which were then about forty days wrong.

But, lastly, it seems probable that this sculpture is not an almanack at all, but a zodiac, as it is usually called; that the names of the months here mean, not portions of time, but spaces in the heavens. It is perhaps of the nature of the king's horoscope, to tell us, if we could understand it, the places of the sun and planets on a particular day. If so, it does not contain the names of the civil months, nor tell us in what season the civil new year's day falls. The whole chronological argument built upon it falls, and we find nothing in it to contradict the former conjecture, that Thothmosis III., whose prenomen was Menophra, gave his name to the era which, according to Theon, began in B.C. 1323.

**R E M A R K S**

**ON THE**

**TOPOGRAPHY OF NINEVEH.**

**BY**

**WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, Esq., F.G.S.**

**FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.**

**READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON,**

**ON JUNE 12TH, 1849.**

**JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.**



From the author

R. S. Poole Esq  
Buckish-Me  
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Book Post

*From the author*

*[From the Journal of Philology, Vol. XV.]*



## REMARKS

ON THE

### TOPOGRAPHY OF NINEVEH.

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In discussing the topography of Nineveh, we must distinguish between the *country* of Assyria, and the *Assyrian empire*. They are both designated in Hebrew by אַשּׁוּר Asshur, the people being also described by the same term, only that in the latter sense it is masculine, in the former, feminine. In the Septuagint it is commonly rendered by *Assour* or *Assourios*, and in the vulgate, by *Assur* and *Assyrii*, and seldom or never by *Assyria*, or *Assyria*.

Assyria Proper appears to have been a region more or less gathered around the Upper Tigris and Lower Zab rivers. It derived its name from the progenitor of the aboriginal inhabitants. Asshur, the second son of Shem, (Gen. x. 22, I. Chron. i. 17.) Its precise limits in early times are unknown; but when its monarchs enlarged their dominions by conquest, the name of the metropolitan province was extended to the whole empire. Hence, while Homer calls the inhabitants of the country north of Palestine *Arimoi*, evidently the Aramian or Aramœans of the Hebrews, the Greeks of a later period, finding them subject to the Assyrians, called the country *Assyria*, or by contraction, *Syria*, a name which it has ever since borne. When Babylonia was subject to the Assyrians, Nebuchadnezzar was called king of *Assyria* (2 Kings xxiii. 29), though resident at Babylon.

Yet, ultimately, this name again became restricted to the

original province east of the Tigris, which was called by the Greeks *Assυρια*, (Ptolemy vi. 1), and more commonly *Αρουρια*, (Strabo xvi., p. 507), or *Αρυρια* (Dion Cassius lxviii. 28), the latter being only a dialectic variety of pronunciation, derived from the Aramæan custom of changing *s* into *t*.

There is a certain ambiguity in the account given of the origin of the earliest Assyrian state, in Gen. x., which has never yet been perfectly cleared up. After describing Nimrod, son of Cush, "as a mighty one in the earth," the historian adds (ver. 10) "And the beginning of his kingdom (or rather, the first theatre of his dominion) was Babeh, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." Then follow the words which are rendered in the English version: "Out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh," or (as it is in the margin) "out of that land he (*i.e.* Nimrod) went into Assyria and builded Nineveh."

This second version corroborated by the Targums of Onkelos, and Jerusalem, and of St. Jerome, has been supported in modern times by such Biblical critics as Bochart, Hyde, Marsham, Wells, Faber, Hales, and in Dr. Kitto's recently published Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. It has been argued that Moses is enumerating the descendants of Ham, and that it is not likely that he would interrupt the details to give an account of Asshur, a son of Shem, whose posterity are not introduced till verse 21. Besides, in the circumstance of Asshur leaving one country to settle in another, there was nothing remarkable, for that was the case with almost all Noah's grandchildren. But if we understand it of Nimrod, both the connection and the sense will be manifest. The design obviously is to represent him as a potent monarch and ambitious conqueror. His brethren, the other sons of Cush, settled in the South, but he advancing northward, first seized on Babylonia, and proceeding thence into Assyria, (already partially colonized by the Asshurites, from whom it took its name) built Nineveh and the other strongholds mentioned, in order to secure his conquests. This view is confirmed by a passage in Mic. verse 6, where, predicting


the overthrow of Assyria by the Medes and Babylonians, the prophet says, "They shall devour the land of Asshur with the sword: even the land of Nimrod in the entrance thereof." (Comp. v. 5.)

It likewise agrees with the native tradition, (if we can depend on the report of Ctesias) that the founder of the Assyrian monarchy and the builder of Nineveh was one and the same person, *viz.*, Ninus, from whom it derived its name (Nin's abode); and in that case, the designation of Nimrod (the Rebel) was not his proper name, but an opprobrious appellation imposed on him by his enemies.

The name of certain original sites in Assyria, which date anterior to the foundation of Nineveh, are still to be traced. Among the most remarkable of these is that which by its actual name likewise connects Nineveh with Assyria, but which Mr. Rich first pointed out, was by all well-informed natives called Al Athur or Ashur, from which the whole country was denominated. Major Rawlinson has also pointed out that Yakut, in his geographical work called the *Moejem el Buldan*, says, under the head of "Athur" Mosul, before it received its present name, was called Athur, or sometimes Akur with a Kaf. It is said that this was anciently the name of Al Jezireh (Mesopotamia), the province being so called from a city, of which the ruins are now to be seen near the gate of Selamiyah, a small town, about eight farsakhs east of Mosul; God, however, knows the truth." The same notice of the ruined city of Athur, or Akur, occurs under the head of "Selamiyah." Abulfeda says, "to the south of Mosul, the lesser (?) Zab flows into the Tigris, near the ruined city of Athur." In Reinand's edition (vol. i., p. 289, note 11), there is the following extract from Ibn Said:—"The city of Athur, which is in ruins, is mentioned in the Taurat (Old Testament.) There dwelt the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem." It only remains to add to these notices of the Arab geographers, that Rich, in his residence in Kurdistan, vol. ii., p. 129; the Rev. N. Morren, in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, Art. 1, Assyria;

and Dr. Layard, in his *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii., p. 245, all admit the existence of the city of Ashur or Athur; and the latter expressly tells us that the ruins now called Nimroud, are also known as those of Athur.

Eusebius, after Abydenus, names six kings as the predecessors of Ninus. They were Belus, Babijs, Anebus, Arbelus, Chaalijs, and Arbelus; Arbel and Aneb, according to Major Rawlinson's reading of the inscriptions, were father and grandfather of Ninus. We have the name of one of these kings, at least, preserved in the city of Arbel, whose vast mound, if explored, might, like Athur, afford sculptures and inscriptions of greater antiquity than those of Nineveh.

The great feature of Dr. Layard's Archæological discoveries has been the determination of the north-west edifice at Athur or Nimrod, to be the most ancient hitherto discovered in Assyria. The name which occurs in the inscriptions in that place  has been used by

Rawlinson as that of the Asshur of Genesis. Dr. Hinks has also published his conviction, that the first word of the inscription is either the name, or an abbreviation of the name of Athur, the country of Assyria; but the Dr. also adds, which is a non-sequitur, that the same name also stands for the city of which the historical name is Nineveh.

Mr. Layard is inclined to attribute the erection of the oldest palace of Assyria to Nimrod, or the first Ninus, mainly upon the grounds that Diodorus Siculus states, that in the palace of Ninus or Semiramis, at Babylon, were represented various hunting scenes, in which the queen was seen throwing a javelin at a panther, and Ninus as transfixing a lion with a lance; and that it is remarkable, that while at Koyunjik and Khorsabad, such representations have not been discovered, they abound in the earliest palace of Nimrod. This is certainly so far plausible, while at the same time it leaves it remarkable that there should be no remains of the time of Asshur, or of the other six kings, predecessors of Ninus, at the metropolis of Assyria, and that a conqueror should be

the first builder of great edifices, and the introducer of the arts of sculpture and writing.\*

It would appear, further, from Dr. Layard's important explorations, that there are buildings in Assyria which so far differ in their sculptures, in their mythological and sacred symbols, and in the character and language of their inscriptions, as to lead to the inference that were at least two distinct periods of Assyrian history. Dr. Layard's view of the case is, that Nimrod or Ninus on his arrival at Asshur founded a first palace, and called the place after himself, "that future monarchs added to the first building, and that the central palace arose by its side. As the population increased with the duration and prosperity of the empire, and by the forced immigration of conquered nations, the dimensions of the city increased also. A king founding a new dynasty, or anxious to perpetuate his fame by the erection of a new building, may have chosen a distant site. The city, gradually spreading, may at length have embraced such additional palaces. This appears to have been the case with Nineveh. Nimrod represents the original site of the city. To the first palace, the son of its founder added a second, of which we have the ruins in the centre of the mound. He also built the edifice now covered by the great mound of Baasheikha, as the inscriptions on the bricks from that place prove. He founded, at the same time, a new city at Kalah Sherghat. A subsequent monarch again added to the palace at Nimrod, and recorded the event on the pavement slabs, in the upper chambers of the western face of the mound. At a much later period, when the older palaces were already in ruins, edifices were erected on the sites now marked by

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\* Major Rawlinson has since enumerated the kings of Nimrod, who followed in direct descent, as Temenbar L, founder of the city; Hevenk I. his son; Altibar; Asser-adan-pal, or Sardanapalus, the founder of the North West palace; Temenbar II; Hushihem and Hevenk II. Hevenk II. of Major Rawlinson would appear to correspond with the name of Shishonk, founder of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, as decyphered by Dr. Hincks on the Nimrod Obelisk.

the mounds of Khorsabad and Karamles. The son of their founder built the great palace at Kouyunjik, which must have exceeded those of his predecessors in extent and magnificence. His son was engaged in raising one more edifice at Nimrod; the previous palaces having been long before deserted or destroyed, when some great event, perhaps the fall of the empire and destruction of the capital, prevented its completion.

The city had now attained the dimensions assigned to it by the book of Jonah, and by Diodorus Siculus. If we take, says Dr. Layard, (vol. ii., p. 247), the four great mounds of Nimrod, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the 480 stadia, or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet. Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karæ Kush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Huseini, Tel Yara, &c., and the face of the country is strewed with fragments of pottery, bricks, and other fragments.

It is necessary in justice to Dr. Layard to add, that he subsequently admits that each quarter of the city may have had its distinct name; hence the palaces of Evorita, where Saracus destroyed himself, and the Mespila and Larissa of Xenophon, applied respectively to the ruins of Kouyunjik and Nimrod. "I know of no other way," Dr. Layard also adds, "than that suggested, to identify all the ruins with Nineveh; unless, indeed, we suppose that there was more than one city of the same name; and that, like Babylon, it was rebuilt on a new site, after having been once destroyed. In this case Nimrod and Kouyunjik may represent cities of different periods, but of the same name; for I have shown the palace of Kouyunjik must have been built long after the foundation of the Nineveh, of well authenticated history. The position of Khorsabad, its distance from the river, and its size, preclude the idea that it marks alone the cite of a large city. As the last palace of Nimrod must have been

founded whilst those at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad were standing, it is most probable that the city at that time embraced the remains of the town, although the earlier buildings may have been destroyed."

It may be objected to these comprehensive generalizations, that, in the first place, the identity of Nimrod of Scripture with the Ninus of Ctesias is very far from being satisfactorily established. But whether we admit that Nimrod went forth out of Babel into Asshur and founded Nineveh, or that Asshur was driven out of Babel by Nimrod, and founded a city and country after his own name,\* or that Nimrod was identical with Belus, and Ninus the husband of Semiramis was his son, who was again succeeded by Ninyas; the fact of a site called Athur in the country of the same name, remains equally firmly established by local tradition, by the Arabian writers previously quoted, and by the testimony of travellers, more particularly that of Mr. Rich, and of Dr. Layard himself. The identity of this site with that of the Nimrod of present times, and with the Larissa of Xenophon, has been shown also in an equally satisfactorily manner. If Asshur went forth and founded a city, it is most probable that city bore his own name; while if Nimrod or his son Ninus went forth into Asshur, it is not likely that either would have founded Nineveh on the already existing site of Athur. But Layard found that the inscriptions at Baasheikha bore records of a building erected by a successor to the builder of the N.W., or most ancient palace at Athur, who also erected a second or central palace at Athur itself, and who further founded the great site of Kalah Shergat. Now these transactions would best explain the then state of things; an original city of Athur, a new city founded by Ninus (whether Nimrod or his son), and called after him, (now represented by Baasheikha), a new palace at Athur,

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\* "In either case" remarks Mr. Fraser, in his excellent little work on *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, "Asshur must have preceded Nimrod, as we find the country already called by his name."

and a new city, name unknown, lower down the Tigris ; possibly also other sites as yet unexplored.

Another and a still more formidable objection than even making Athur and Nineveh to be the same places, and the necessity of admitting an ancient and a more modern Nineveh, the one at Athur, the other at Kouyunjik, as is done by Layard, is that if we take the dimensions assigned to Nineveh in after times, when it had obtained its greater extent and magnificence by Diodorus Siculus, we shall scarcely find that such would embrace the extent of territory which Layard includes in his ideal Nineveh. If we draw the lines as proposed by Layard himself, and in his own map from the four great mounds of Nimrod, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of the irregular quadrangle described by the Sicilian, we shall find a distance of sixteen geographical miles between the N.W. palace of Nimrod and the mound of Karamles, instead of the nine or ten miles that would be given by the ninety stadia of Diodorus, computing the stadium at 607.62977 feet, or as a fraction of an arc of the meridian. (Major Jervis, in *Athenæum*, No. 580.) We should find a still greater excess in laying down the other side of the quadrangle, from the N.W. palace of Nimrod to the mound of Kouyunkih, a distance in Layard's map of twenty-three geographical miles, eight farsakhs, from Mosul, or upwards of twenty geographical miles from Mosul, according to Yakut ; and which, according to Diodorus, should only be one hundred and fifty stadia, or sixteen and a half miles. Yet Layard's distances are corroborated by the Arabian geographer, Yakut, who places Athur eight farsakhs, or from eighteen to twenty miles from Mosul; by Xenophon, who describes Larissa as being six parasangs, or eighteen miles from the castle identified with Yarumjah; and by my own researches. (*Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, &c.*, p. 139.) The other sides of the quadrangle would not be so open to objection.

If the space allotted to Nineveh by Diodorus Siculus, and to which, after all, no more real importance in respect to



mathematical accuracy ought to be attached than to the dimensions assigned by the ancients to the walls of Babylon, (one of the standard fables of antiquity,) or to those assigned by Xenophon to the walls of Mespila and Larissa; but still if such a space were marked off on the map upon the supposition of Baasheikha being the original Nineveh, and Nuniyah the site of the palace, &c., when at its highest power, we should have an irregular quadrangle which would include the mounds at Nuniyah, Tel Kaif, Tel Escof, Jeraiyah, Khorsabad, Baazani, Baasheikha, Karamles, and Kara-Kosh, a mass of Assyrian remains which group together with far greater topographical aptitude than the disposition of the quadrangle proposed by Layard.

It is true that, by such a disposition, we should exclude from Nineveh the ancient Athur, Tel Yakub, Husseini, Dohuk, and a few other less important sites; but Layard's proposed quadrangle would, to include Athur, exclude not only Tel Yakub, Husseini, Tel Kaif, Tel Escof, Jeraiyah, Dohuk, and others, but also Baazani, and Baaisheikha; the latter the monumentally established site of the palace of the successor of the builder of the N.W. palace at Nimrod.

In any disposition that might be proposed for the site of the Nineveh of three days' journey, or of the 480 stadia (52½ geographical miles), some of the sites of Assyrian ruins now standing on the plain of Aturia must be excluded; not to mention Arbil, whose name traces its origin back to a king of the first dynasty; nor Kalah Shergat, also determined by Layard to have been erected by a king of the first dynasty, and to be, in fact, coeval with the building of Baasheikha, and the central palace of Nimrod; nor the mound at Hammam Ali, to which, according to Layard, tradition points as the site of a summer palace of the Assyrian monarchs; nor Keshaf, nor Shir: and still less the more or less uncertain and obscure sites of Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, contemporaneous with the first Nineveh, and which, by the remoteness of their assumed or known position, and total topographical separation from the groups in question, could scarcely be made to come under the same category.

Every thing in the enquiry however, the positive existence of a more ancient city of Athur, the foundation of a neighbouring site now called Baasheikha, contemporaneously with the existence of Athur, and the exceeding distance and topographical separation of the Nineveh of history, the city of the denunciations of Jonah, and of Nahum, the Al Koshite, (the tomb of the one prophet being assigned to the city itself, that of the other to his native abode in the mountains northward of Nineveh,) from the more ancient city of the son of Shem, would indicate a distinction between the two sites. It is possible to effect a kind of topographical alliance between Nineveh, and Baasheikha, and Khorsabad, and Tel Kaif. It is scarcely more possible to do so between two sites like Nineveh and Nimrod, at a distance of upwards of twenty miles from one another, the one at the ever celebrated pass of the Tigris, the other at the junction of the Diab or Zab, and the Tigris, than it is between Nimrod and Kalah Shergat, Nimrod and Arbil.

Layard lays some stress (vol. ii., p. 242) upon the statement of Strabo, that the city stood between the Tigris and the Lycus, or Dhab; but all that the Assyrian Geographer says, is *η μεν Νινος πολις εν πεδιω χειμενη της Ατυριας*. The city of Ninus was situated on the plain of Aturia, and shortly afterwards he adds, "the plains of Aturia surround Ninus beyond the Lycus." Herodotus describes Ninus as situate on the Tigris, (in lib. 1, cap. cxiii.) and the Tigris as flowing through the city (in lib. 2, cap. cl.). Pliny (lib. 6, cap. xiii.) says, "*Fuit et Ninus imposita Tigris, ad solis occasum spectans, quondam clarissima.*" If in the face of such authorities, the Alexandrian geographer places Nineveh on the Lycus, little more importance is to be attached to the statement than to that of Ctesias, who places Nineveh on the Euphrates; while if Strabo had had Athur in view when he spoke of Nineveh as situated between the two rivers, he would, with his usual accuracy, have spoken of the site as being at the junction of the two rivers, rather than between the two, which would be the case with the other group of sites previously indicated.

Since the above was written, Major Rawlinson has advocated, at a meeting held by the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 12th of January, 1850, the identity of the ruins of Nimrod, with those of the Biblical Calah. The learned Orientalist argues that Halah, the other form of the same name, assimilates very closely to the cuneiform orthography of the name, that the Samaritan version called Calah, Lachisa, whence Xenophon's Larissa, that the Greek title of the district was Calachene, and that there is an absolute identity between Hadith, which is the Chaldee name for Calah, and the Haditha of the Arabs.

Awaiting the publication of these researches in detail, it may be remarked, upon this new identification, that in the absence of further information, we must suppose that the Haditha of the Arabs alluded to as "a large town in the immediate vicinity," is the Haditha of the Arab geographers, who described two towns, no longer in existence, the one called Senn, at the mouth of the lesser Zab, the other called Haditha, at or opposite to the greater Zab. The Arab tribe of Haddidin, it may also be observed, still frequent the same neighbourhood, and lead the flocks of the people of Mosul to pasture.

It would appear, also, that the province called by the Greeks and Romans, Adiabene, was called Hadiab, by the Chaldeans. Thus the passage in Jeremiah (li. 27), in which the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz, are enumerated, is rendered in the Chaldean, Kardu (Kurdistan), Hurmine (Armenia), and Hadiab (Adiabene). So, also, that in Ezekiel (xxvii. 23), which relates that the merchants of Haran, and Cannah, and Eden, were those of Tyre, is rendered in the Chaldean by Carræ, Nisibis, and Hadiab—Carræ being the well-known Roman name for Haran.

The derivation of the names Hadiab, Haditha, and Adiabene, may all be traced to the rivers by which the territory is washed. Ammianus Marcellinus distinctly says that Adiabene was so called after the rivers Diabas and Adiabias. Deba, according to Bochart, is a wolf in Chaldean, hence Diaba is the same as the *Λυκος* of the Greeks and Lycus of the Romans, the name given by those nations to the greater Zab. The transposition of D into Z is satisfactorily explained

by the commentator, H. Valesius, who says, *ut enim Diæta et Zæta ; Diabolus et Zabolus ; Hippo Diarrytus et Zarrytus promiscue dicitur ita plane Diabas et Zabas.* Cellarius, Bochart, Fuller, and other geographical and biblical commentators, admit the Lycus and Diaba to signify the same thing, and the Diaba to be the same as the Zab or Zerb, and Hadiab or Adiabene to take its name after the river.

Ptolemy enumerates the regions of Assyria as Arrapachites towards Armenia, next Adiabene, thence towards the East, Arbelitis, upwards Calacine or Calachene, inferiorly, Apolloniatis and Sittacene. Pliny says, Adiabene was formerly called Assyria, and Ammianus repeats the same thing. Suidas says it was situated between the river Tigris and the Oena, another name apparently for Zab. Calach or Calah, on the contrary, Bochart tells us, was a city at the head of the region called Calachene, a mountain province. Ptolemy, who, as we have before seen, writes Calacine for Calachene, likewise places the province above Adiabene in the Mons Niphatis, the Snowy or Gordyæan mountains. According to Polybius, Callonitis (but this may refer to the district of Halah) was at the foot of Zagros, while Adiabene is always mentioned by writers as that part of Assyria which was noble, and which contained the cities of Nineveh and Gangamela. Cellarius, in his maps, makes Adiabene "the river," and Calachene "the mountain" district.

Thus it would appear, that Hadiab, Haditha, and Adiabene, are more readily derived from the name of the river Diab or Zab, than from Calah ; that Nimrod appears to be in the province of Adiabene rather than that of Calachene, which was a mountain province ; and that if as Major Rawlinson opines, Nimrod represents Calah, and Nebi Yunus, Nineveh, another great city Resen must, on scriptural authority, have been between the two, a distance of about twenty miles, where there are certainly fragments of ruin, as Kara Kush, Yarumjah etc. All these points being taken into consideration, the identification of Calah with Nimrod does not, as it at present stands, appear to be satisfactory.

ON THE ANTIQUITY  
OF THE  
EGYPTIAN CALENDAR.

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JOHN LEE, Esq., L.L.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.



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THE written calendar of the ancient Egyptians forms no exception to the persistent uniformity of thought and style which characterized that remarkable people. The same symbols, used to represent the same phenomena of the year, appear on monuments of all epochs, from the oldest of the pyramids down to the latest period of Egyptian history. The date of the invention of this calendar, lost in a most remote antiquity, it may be, and apparently is, impossible to ascertain; but it is by no means impracticable to fix a period subsequent to which it could not have originated, and this on the internal evidence afforded by the calendar itself.

Such a date once ascertained, the calendar of Egypt, like any other human invention, serves as an index to point to the amount of civilization developed amongst the people with whom it originated, at the earliest period to which its invention can be ascribed, and thus, though no fixed chronological era may be attained as the result of the inquiry, the antiquity of the Egyptian civilization may be carried back on such evidence to a certain point, though for how long a period prior to that point it may have been in course of development, we may be altogether unable to pronounce.

An investigation into the nature and origin of the Egyptian calendar raises two questions,—1st, What is the nature of the phenomena or events represented? and 2nd, At what period did those events or phenomena take place?

The Egyptian year, as Herodotus tells us he was informed by the priests, consisted of 365 days, divided into twelve parts of thirty days each, with five days added to complete the number; and to the same effect is the testimony of all later writers.

But whether the Egyptian year consisted of 365 days, or of 360 only, in the earliest periods of national history, is a question upon which history affords very imperfect assistance, and must be decided rather on the testimony of the calendar itself.

The names which the months, or twelve greater divisions of the year, received, are well known, owing to their having been preserved by Greek and Roman writers, in Coptic manuscripts, and in the common Arabic names of the months still in use among the native cultivators of the soil in Egypt, which are mere corruptions of the names as spoken in the old Egyptian tongue. As these names have not been found written in the ancient characters, it is difficult to say at what period they were introduced and adopted into the popular calendar of the country.

The representation on the ceiling of the temple of Ramses II., at El Gournah, the Memnonium of the ancients and Ramesseion of modern writers, affords grounds for supposing that the commonly received names of the months are derived from the names of divinities to whom each month was consecrated, or from the festival held in each month, in honour of some individual deity.

The indications afforded by this celebrated calendar of the Ramesseion, are not, however, altogether satisfactory. It is, however, certain, that in the lower compartment of this painting, the king is represented making offerings to twelve deities, one of whom is placed beneath each of the corresponding month divisions of the seasons of the upper line; and that some of these divinities bear names which clearly correspond to the names of the months which were in later times in common use.



In the third month division, the king offers to the goddess







Athor, in the ninth to Chons, and in the fourth month to a goddess whose name at Edfu is written Kahak, though in the Ramesseion she bears the name of the lion-headed goddess; Pasht.

These coincidences are, however, sufficient to show that the vulgar names of the months are, in some instances at least, derived from the names of the deities presiding over, or especially worshipped in each month. At Edfu, the name of the month is written in two instances (Mechir and Epiphi), as "the festival" of the deities mentioned. This seems to be the explanation of the discrepancy which exists between the common names of many of the months, and the names of the deities receiving offering in the calendar of the Ramesseion. The popular names were derived from popular festivals in honour of particular deities, while, in the representations, the monarch offers, no doubt, for reasons individual to himself, to deities other than those whose festivals had given names to the months, accepted by the common people.

In the Ramesseion the months represented by their guardian deities, supposing them to correspond to the Greek nomenclature, appear arranged in the order which is known to have been preserved down to the latest period of Egyptian history.

Hieroglyphic Symbols	Months.
	Thoth. Paophi. Athor. Choiak.
	Tybi. Mechir. Phamenoth. Pharmuthi.

Hieroglyphic Symbols.	Months.
	} Pachons. } Paoni. } Epiphi. } Mesori.
	
	
	

### The Five Epagomenæ.

These names of the months, with which the Greeks have made us acquainted, as being in common use among the Egyptian people, were never employed officially, or adopted by the scribes or priesthood. No trace of these names has been found in any monumental inscription, or on any papyrus, either in the hieroglyphic, hieratic, or demotic character, but in all Egyptian documents the year is divided into its three seasons of four months each, and the date required is named as the first, second, or third, &c. day of the first, second, third, or fourth month of one of these seasons.

As three seasons of four months each, and each month of thirty days, make a total of 360 days only, the date of an event happening on any one of the five days intervening between the last day of the last season of the year and the commencement of the following season, must, it would seem, have been expressed as of one of those intervening days, though I am not aware of the existence of any inscription bearing a date on one of the Epagomenæ.

The fragment of papyrus, found by Champollion, at Turin, and published by Salvolini,\* appears to be the last portion of a journal or list of the 365 days of the year, and the five Epagomenæ there appear succeeding the date of the 30th of Mesori, which is preserved. If this were a journal or record of events, the presence of the symbols of the Epagomenæ would show that they were employed in the same way as the

\* Sur les principales expressions, &c. 2nd Letter.

symbols representing the 30th Mesore, but unfortunately nothing but the names of the five days remain on the papyrus. Their absence from the monuments is very remarkable. Mr. Birch, whose acquaintance with Egyptian monuments is so accurate and extensive, does not recollect to have seen such a date on any of the numerous inscriptions he has examined. As, however, each of these days had a name, "the day of the birth of Osiris," "the day of the birth of Horus," &c., it seems that these signs would be employed in recording events. It is, however, very remarkable that no such sign occurs among the numerous dates relating to the rising, culmination, and setting of the stars, recorded on the great figure of the goddess Netpe as the celestial firmament on the tomb of Ramses IX.,\* though I am unable to say whether, or how the Epagomenæ have been passed over in the calculations.

It is also worthy of observation, that the space between the last month of the last season and the commencement of the first month of the first season of the year, in the calendar of the Ramesseion is not actually filled up by the Epagomenæ, *but left blank*, either by accident or design; the very existence of the vacant space would lead us to assume the former; though the absence of the Epagomenæ in this representation is strangely in accordance with their universal absence, in matters of date, from the monuments.

The hieroglyphic symbols which distinguish the three seasons of the year, bear plain testimony to the principle on which the Egyptian written calendar was constructed. The three seasons evidently correspond to the three natural periods of the year in Egypt, arising from the annual recurrence of the increase and retirement of the waters of the Nile. The influence which the phenomena exhibited by the great river of Egypt, exerted on the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, on their religion, their legislation, and their national customs, is evidenced in a great variety of instances. The beneficent river, at once the creator of their soil and the

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\* ROSELLINI, *Mon. di Culti*, pl. 67, 68.

renewer of its fertility, was revered as a deity, while the phenomena of its periodic changes were observed in a philosophical spirit, and practically taken advantage of for the benefit of the community whose welfare and prosperity depended almost entirely upon their annual and certain recurrence.

The commencement of the inundation at a fixed period, the time of the summer solstice, was the most remarkable natural event of the Egyptian year. Rising to its highest point in about 100 days, the river then gradually retired and left the earth fertilized by the deposit received from its swollen waters, in a state most favourable for the operations of the husbandman; this is the season of tillage, of the sowing of seeds, and of the rapid and luxuriant growth of vegetation, and to this succeeds a season when the ripened crops are gathered in the harvest, and the close of that period brings the year round again to the summer solstice, and the renewal of the inundation.

The recurrence of the most obvious of these phenomena, the rising of the Nile at the same period in every year, must have impressed itself forcibly on the minds of the observant and contemplative Egyptians. The natural division of the year into periods connected with the overflow, and the retrocession of the waters of the Nile, a period particularly enforced upon the attention of an agricultural people, naturally led to the formation of an artificial calendar conformable in its divisions to the recurring periods of these annual events.

They were also to the inhabitants of Egypt, what astronomical observations were to their posterity. However early we may suppose men to have been capable of ascertaining the length of the solar year, the observation of the recurrence of the inundation must have preceded the observation of the solstice. The monuments of Egypt, of all periods, show a calendar framed to describe the course of a year, whose circle was included between inundation and inundation, a period of about 365 days.

The coincidence between the time of the summer solstice

and the former event, must naturally have been a matter of later observation.

It is difficult to imagine that the year represented by a calendar founded on the natural events referred to, can ever have comprised a period of less than 365 days. The picture of the year contained in the written calendar in its perfect form, the only instance we possess, in the time of Ramses the Great, indicates a space of time, which, from other evidence, is known to have consisted of five days between the 360th day, and the 1st day of the new year, and the existence of these *Epagomenæ* is traced as far back as the time of the 12th dynasty.

The opinion of Biot that the addition of the 5 days was made to a previously used 360 day year, about B.C. 1780, was formed at a period when Egyptian antiquity was investigated with a comparatively imperfect knowledge of the monumental evidence since brought to bear on its illustration. The fragment of tradition preserved by Syncellus to the effect that the five days were added to the year, during the supremacy of the Shepherd dynasties is altogether contradicted by the monuments; for, certainly, as early as the time of the 12th dynasty, the division of the Egyptian year was into twelve equal parts, and a remainder of five days over.

If we suppose that the year of 365 days was substituted\* for the original astronomical year of 360, which had been previously used as a convenient mean between the solar and lunar year, by collecting the five days necessary for the equation of the solar, which had been subtracted from the excess of the Egyptian lunar year, and adding them to the end of the mean astronomical year, the period of this invention must be anterior to the formation of the symbolic calendar, as the basis of this calendar is a year divided into three natural portions, or seasons, which comprehend the whole time elapsing between the occurrence and the recurrence of the inundation, and which must have consisted of 365 days, at the

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\* Nolan on the Ancient Cycles. Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit., vol. iii., p. 287.

time when these symbols were first employed. And if the basis of the arrangement were such a year of 365 days, the only method of subdivision into whole numbers which could be adopted, preserving these natural divisions, and at the same time maintaining a relation with the lunar period, was the one actually adopted, of dividing the whole circle of 365 days into twelve equal parts of thirty days each, and a remainder of five days. The probability is, that there never was a calendar of 360 days in use, to which the five Epagomenæ were afterwards added,<sup>8</sup> but that these latter form a part of the original system on which the Egyptian calendar, such as we are acquainted with it, was framed.

The absence of these days from dated monuments, as well of periods subsequent to the time of Herodotus, and therefore of the known use of a 365 day year, as of the earliest times, must have a mythologic reason, which must reach back to a period antecedent to the formation of the calendar, and of which, though tradition has preserved some fragmentary notices, no monuments remain to afford us information.\*

That the division of the year into thirteen parts had an original connection with the lunar periods, appears from the hieroglyphic employed to designate the twelve larger of these divisions.

The Coptic word for month is *abot*, or *ebot*, which as Zoega has remarked, is probably derived from *abit*, also Coptic, a house or station, as signifying the house or station of the moon in the heavens. The period of time included in the five remaining days, is also called in Coptic *pi abot en Kouji*, "the little month," (or station of the moon.)

The names of the great deities to whom these five days are assigned, Isis, Osiris, Horus, Typhon and Nephthys, as also

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\* Diodorus i., 22, relates a story which seems to intimate that there was a sacred year consisting of only 360 days. He says, "that the sepulchre of Osiris at Philæ, was revered by the priests throughout Egypt; and that 360 cups were filled daily with milk, by priests expressly appointed for this purpose, who, calling on the names of the gods (query of the God Osiris), utter a solemn lamentation."

the story of their origin, related by Diodorus, are sufficient to assure us that this arrangement is at least as ancient as the origin of the Osiris-myth; that is, as ancient as the Egypt with which we are acquainted, extending as this myth does into the early part of the Pyramid period.\*

The monumental evidence of its existence in its present state, is coeval with the oldest monument with which we are acquainted. Dr. Lepsius has found the symbols which represent the seasons on the stones of the Great Pyramid of Daschour, probably the oldest known monument of Egypt, whose construction he assigns to the third Manethonian dynasty. The origin of the calendar is, therefore, as old, or older than this era, and the internal evidence which it affords, carries it back to a period much more remote.

As the hieroglyphic symbols which are used to signify the three seasons of the year evidently amount to representations of the natural phenomena of the year before alluded to; the period at which they were first employed, may be approximately fixed, if we can ascertain the period at which the natural phenomena and the calendar, or representation of these phenomena, coincided.

The Egyptian vague year we know commenced with the first day of the month, Thoth. At some period of Egyptian history, though at what era we are not able to determine, the commencement of the fixed year was calculated from the heliacal rising of the star Sothis, when the 1st Thoth coincided with that event. But as the vague year of 365 days was less than the period of the sun's course by nearly a fourth part of a day, the termination of the vague year fell behind the commencement of the fixed year, one day in every four years, so that after four years, the commencement of the solar fixed year fell on the second Thoth of the vague year, after eight years on the third Thoth, and so on, until

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\* Birch, *On the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on the Coffin of King Menkere*, in *Vyse's Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii., p. 94; and *Letters to G. R. Gliddon, Esq., On the Relative Epochs of Mummies*, in *Otia Egyptiaca*, p. 79.

the period of 365 times four years, or 1,461 vague years had elapsed, when the next new year's day of the fixed year again fell on the first of Thoth, and hence the period or cycle of 1,460 fixed, or 1,461 vague years, in which the first Thoth of the vague year had fallen on every day of the fixed year until both again came into correspondence.

But the Sothic period of 1,461 vague years, while it served to renew the correspondence between the fixed and the wandering year, was not a cycle to which the written calendar was originally adapted. The first day of the water season of the vague year did not pass round the year from the summer solstice, and the commencement of the inundation, to fall again at the same point in 1460, but in 1505 years, the true length of the solar year being not  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, but rather less, *viz.*, 365 days, 5 hours, 48', 48". The true length of the cycle, therefore, in which the first of Thoth would fall successively on every day of the year from summer solstice to summer solstice was 1,505 years.\*

If the calendar had been framed to represent a year, based on the coincidence of the first Thoth with the heliacal rising of Sothis, its origin would date from a time when this latter event occurred at the time of the summer solstice, and the commencement of the inundation, and this actually took place, according to Professor Lepsius, in Southern Egypt, in B.C. 2,782, when the first Thoth fell at the summer solstice. But the calendar, as I have observed, appears on monuments much older than this date, and the two events never subsequently fell together at the summer solstice. The symbolic calendar, whose fixed point of departure is the inundation, and, therefore the summer solstice, could

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\* This period, taken in round numbers, as 1,500 years, is that which Dr. Lepsius maintains, with great force, to have been the true Phœnix period of the ancients. The Phœnix, according to his explanation, was the sun, as Sothis was the star of the inundation. The connexion of the Phœnix with the inundation is evident, from the monuments and Horapollo, and it is not improbable that this symbol represented the period in which the commencement of the vague year, which once corresponded with the commencement of the inundation, again returned, to coincide with that phenomenon.



not have been originally intended to represent a year whose commencement was fixed by an event which did not coincide with those phenomena.

The term *inundation*, in the sense in which I use it, is applied to the commencement of the rising of the Nile at the period of the summer solstice, as marking the commencement of the year. A very different view of this subject has, however, been taken by Mr. Poole, in his *Horæ Egyptiacæ*,\* who supposes that the year in use before the application of the Heliacal rising of the Sothis to determine its commencement began with the *winter* solstice. "The ancient Egyptian year," says Mr. Poole, "was divided into three seasons—namely, four months of vegetation, four months of ingathering, and four months of the waters or inundation. Any one who is acquainted with the physical phenomena of the year in Egypt will see at once that this nomenclature could not have been instituted for a Sothic year, nor for a year commencing with either of the equinoxes. The character of this year can be most accurately ascertained by the last season, that of the inundation. We find that the four months during which the Nile is higher than at any other period of the year, according to the most accurate modern observations, commence just a month and a half before the autumnal equinox, and terminate just two months and a-half after the same equinox. But we find by the Egyptian Almanacks, that, according to a tradition handed down by the Copts, what is called the 'Bridal of Nilus,' which is the ceremony of the cutting of the dam which closes the mouth of the canal of Cairo, formerly called the Amnis Trajanus, took place in ancient times exactly one month before the autumnal equinox. Now it is by this operation that the inundation is allowed to commence, the water being previously confined between its banks, and no other canals being allowed to be opened before to admit the water upon the lands. *The true period, therefore, of the commencement of the inundation was one month before the autumnal*

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\* Lit. Gazette, Feb. 3, 1849.

equinox, and the end at the winter solstice. *Thus we see that the tropical year anciently in use among the Egyptians commenced with the winter solstice, when all things in Egypt began anew.*"

It is difficult to understand from these statements *how* we are to see that the Egyptian tropical year began with the winter solstice. The basis of the argument is, that the *Season of the Waters* was reckoned not from the commencement of the rising of the Nile, but from the time, arbitrarily fixed at one month before the autumnal equinox, when it had or was accustomed to have attained its greatest, or greatest required height, so that the four months comprised in that season, and the five days added to the seasons, terminated at the winter solstice.

To this supposition the calendar itself offers a decisive contradiction. That the invention of the ancient calendar is not based upon any astronomical event, such as the winter solstice, is evident from a mere inspection of the symbols by which the course of the year is depicted, and which clearly represent three divisions founded on three natural events connected with the Nile and with agriculture, and not with any position of the sun in the heavens. If the fixed year began with the winter solstice, the invention of this vague year's calendar and its symbols must be ascribed to a period when the first day of the water season corresponded with the greatest required height of the river, 125 days before the winter solstice. But the winter solstice has no connection with any one of the natural phenomena of the year. Observation shows, that while the period of the commencement of the rise of the Nile occurs with remarkable constancy at the summer solstice, the rapidity with which it rises is very variable, and the time when it has attained a sufficient height for the artificial inundation very uncertain. To attribute any value to a tradition that "the cutting of the dam at Cairo in ancient times took place exactly one month before the autumnal equinox," in fixing the commencement of the water season, is quite impossible. In 1834 the river rose with such rapidity that

the dam was cut on the 5th of August, only [six weeks after the commencement of its rise,\* and nearly two months before the autumnal equinox. The period varies also with the condition of the canals and the works intended to promote the distribution of the water. According to Strabo, the engineering labours of Petronius placed these works in a state in which the rise of twelve cubits sufficed, while before that time fourteen had been necessary. Nor is there any connexion between the winter solstice and the end of the inundation. According to the best authorities the river continues to fall from the point of its greatest height during the remainder of the year, until its rise again commences. Under these circumstances, there could be no relation between the tropical year, commencing at the winter solstice, and a natural year whose fixed point was regulated by an event of so variable and inconstant a character; no cycle could be invented capable of correcting the aberration of such a year from the tropical one.

The commencement of the rise of the Nile, on the contrary, is intimately connected with the period of the summer solstice. The exact determination of the solstitial point was probably beyond the power of the Egyptian astronomers, and thence the adoption of the heliacal rising of Sirius, to mark the commencement of the year. We have the fact that the year commenced at this point in the time of Rameses the Great; and there is not a shadow of evidence to warrant the supposition that at any previous period its commencement was dated from the winter solstice. What evidence there is shows that the commencement of the inundation, the summer solstice, and the heliacal rising of Sirius were three originally mutually connected phenomena which formed the point of departure for the written calendar, and the commencement of the Egyptian year.

The symbolic representations of the seasons must originally, as Professor Lepsius has observed, have been intended to

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\* Lane *Modern Egyptians*, p. 129. Knight's ed.

depict the course of a *natural year*, and not to be applied to a *vague year*, such as that to which we find them adapted.

According to the usual interpretation of these symbols first given by Champollion, the season commencing with the first Pachons is the season of the waters, and the hieroglyphic symbol employed to designate that season must have been assigned to it, when the first Pachons coincided with the commencement of the inundation, and consequently with the summer solstice.

This correspondence of the artificial calendar with the phenomena of the natural year, could only occur, as has been observed, every 1,505 years; or the period which intervened between one solstitial first Thoth, or Pachons, &c., and another.

Biot\* has ascertained the years in which the first Pachons fell on the summer solstice to be 275, 1780, 3285, 4790, &c., B.C. or according to Dr. Lepsius 272, 1777, 3282, 4782, B.C.

At one or other of these dates, therefore, or a date earlier by one or more periods of 1,505 years each, the present calendar, (supposing the generally received interpretation of the symbols to be correct) must have been framed and adopted. As the appearance of the calendar's symbols on the monuments of the 12th dynasty, and on other monuments whose date extends up to the Pyramid period, precludes our taking either of the two latter of these epochs for its origin, we pass on to the commencement of the next 1,500 year cycle, the year B.C. 3,202.

This is the epoch to which the Chevalier Lepsius, after a lengthened and most instructive investigation, †, refers the origin of the Egyptian calendar. He says, that in the year B.C. 3,282, the first day of the first month of the season, which, after Champollion, is that of the inundation, that is, the first Pachons fell on the summer solstice, and, therefore, corresponded with the commencement of the inundation. In the same year another astronomical event of great importance

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\* Sur l'année Vague, p. 62. † Chronologie der Ägypter. Berlin, 1849.

in this matter occurred, the heliacal rising of Sothis at the same period of the summer solstice.

If, however, the calendar originated at the epoch above indicated, when the month Pachons corresponded with the commencement of the inundation, and was designated as the first month of the year, it is at once evident that at some period between that epoch and the reign of Ramses the 2nd, a great alteration must have been effected, and the calendar modified and reformed, when the commencement of the year was placed in connection with the month Thoth.

This change, which Dr. Lepsius calls the "reform of the solar calendar," he fixes at the year B.C. 2,782. At this point of time, one third part of the cycle of 1,500 years had elapsed, and the first of Thoth now corresponded with the summer solstice. In this period of time also of 500 years, the heliacal rising of Sothis had departed from the solstitial point, between four and five days.

In the year B.C. 3,282, when the calendar was first arranged, the ruling dynasty was that of the great pyramid builders, the fourth dynasty of Manetho, whose seat was at Memphis. But 500 years later, in B.C. 2,782, reigned the sixth dynasty, who ruled in Upper Egypt, either at Thebes, This, or Elephantine. At this epoch also the reigning sovereign was the renowned Pepi (Phiops) who ascended the throne at six years of age, and reigned one hundred years, from 2,844, to 2,744, B.C.

At this time also, the heliacal rising of Sothis happened at Memphis, exactly four days after the summer solstice. The two astronomical events, therefore, which marked the rising of the Nile, no longer were in accordance. But at Thebes, the heliacal rising of Sothis occurred four days earlier than at Memphis, at Syene or Elephantine as much as five days earlier, and therefore corresponded with the day of the summer solstice. At this latter place, then the metropolis of the sixth dynasty, the first Thoth and the two great astronomical phenomena of the year were exactly in

correspondence, and at that epoch was carried into effect the reform of the calendar, which connected the inundation and the commencement of the year with the first of Thoth.

Every one must admire the learning, research, and the ingenuity displayed, in this explanation of Dr. Lepsius. There are, however, some circumstances connected with this supposed reform of the calendar which appear very remarkable. It is evident that, at the same time that the commencement of the year was transposed from the first Pachons, to the first Thoth, the five Epagomenæ must also have been transferred from their then position, between Pharmuthi and Pachons, to the one in which we now find them, between Messori and Thoth. That when they year began with Pachons, these five days must have been placed at the end of Pharmuthi is evident from the nature of the division of the calendar itself. From this also it follows, according to Dr. Lepsius, that the names of the months, such as we now have them, were most probably introduced at the same period. The name of the last month, *Messori*, he says, shows that "the birth of the sun," that is of the year renewing itself at the summer solstice, occurred at the end of that month, and can only be connected with a year which began not with Pachons, but with Thoth; and with a normal epoch when the heliacal rising of Sothis fell on the first Thoth.

The reform of the calendar, therefore, which then took place was radical; the place of the Epagomenæ was shifted a third part of the circle; the names of the months were either altered, or newly introduced, and in either case were, in some instances, at least, significant of the natural phenomena represented by the calendar. "The Sothic period was thereby destroyed, and must after this reform have been altogether reckoned anew." It is hardly possible to conceive a more entire remodelling of the whole calendar than the one here represented, and yet in the midst of all this change the Egyptian priests permitted the hieroglyphic symbols which had been invented to represent the natural

phenomena of the year, as it stood before the period of this reform, to remain unchanged, and in a state in which they gave a false representation of the year. For although the vague year in its departure from the solar carried its new year's day round the whole circle of the natural year, the end of the great year or Sothic cycle would, if the symbols of the seasons and the seasons corresponded, bring them again into their original places. But the system which permitted the symbols to remain unchanged when the whole calendar was re-arranged, prevented the possibility of the first month of the reformed year, the commencement of the inundation of the Nile, and the representation of that season in the calendar, ever coming into correspondence. When the hieroglyphically represented season of the inundation actually corresponded with the rise of the Nile, the new year's day would fall between the autumnal equinox and the summer solstice.

So remarkable a departure from the evident original intention of the framers of the Egyptian calendar requires some explanation, though as far as I am aware none has been offered. The interpretation originally given by Champollion, of the hieroglyphic symbols of the three seasons, is apparently so self-evident, that it seems presumptuous to question its accuracy. There seems, however, to be reasonable ground for the opinion that these symbols have hitherto been misinterpreted, an opinion founded on the names of the seasons as written in the demotic character.

The hieroglyphic symbols of the seasons, according to the phonetic value of their signs, are



The first, comprising the months of Thoth, Paophi, Athur, and Choiak, called the Garden Season or Season of

Vegetation, is explained by Champollion,\* as “an abbreviation of the word *schom*, summer, comprising the *he en schom*, or the spring.” “It represents a sort of garden planted with trees or flowers, (*schni*, a garden).”†

The second, or Season of Harvest, called *her* or *her-t*, is supposed to correspond to the Coptic *hre*, “food.”

The third, or Water Season, or Season of the Inundation, consists of a figure of a basin of water, a well, or reservoir of water, *schei*, following by the determinative sign of water,‡ and therefore interpreted the Season of the Inundation.

The hieratic signs for the seasons are mere transcriptions of the hieroglyphic, and call for no remark; but an examination of the names of the seasons in the demotic character leads to a very different result. It has already been remarked by the learned M. de Saulcy,§ that of the three demotic names of the months, one only, that of the second, was represented by the same word, both in the sacred and in the vulgar dialect, the two others being represented by words totally different, and he adds “proper to each dialect.”

M. de Saulcy, however, has not made any attempt to explain the nature of this difference between the hieroglyphic and demotic names of the seasons. Considering the reading of the hieroglyphic characters to be fully and sufficiently established, he has endeavoured to force the demotic into correspondence with the hieroglyphic reading; the method which I propose, is to show that the names intended to be conveyed by the hieroglyphic symbols are really written in the demotic, and that the reading of the latter must guide us in our interpretation of the former. The investigation of the value of these signs by the learned French archæologist, to whose labours on the demotic writing we are so much indebted, occurred in the course of his analysis of the demotic inscription of the Rosetta Stone; and the characters which he gives as representing the first season of the year, appear to be

\* Dictionnaire Egypt. p. 211.

† Ib. p. 210.

‡ Ib. p. 266.




§ Analyse Grammaticale des Textes Demotiques, &c., p.



taken from that inscription; which from the very nature of the material on which it is engraved, and the carelessness of the execution, is notoriously one of the worst executed and most confused of demotic inscriptions. In this way, M. de Saulcy has been led to argue upon an incorrect reading of the demotic name of the first season.

The general method of arrangements and the notation of the months is the same in both modes of writing; the names of individual months are not written in the demotic any more than in the hieroglyphic; but as in the latter the months are counted as the first, second, third, &c., of each season.

The demotic name of the first season is written in three different ways:—

First	Second	Third
		

In every one of which the word reads *Mau*, water. In the first instance the initial letter is the common and universally recognized form of *M* used in the name of Ptolemy, on the the Rosetta stone; in the second, it is the *M*, in the same name in the Grey papyrus, and in the demotic inscriptions of Philæ, and other places; and in the third, it is the *M* in *Kemou*, "Egypt," of the Rosetta inscription.\* (See plate, figs. 2, 3, and 4.)

The terminal character in the first word is variously read. Champollion considered it a determinative common to words whether symbolic or phonetic, which represented divisions of time. Salvolini attributes to it, when, as in this instance,

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\* This triple proof of the value of the initial letter removes all doubt as to its reading. The best proof we have of the value of unknown characters arises from their occurrence in identified names, or their transcription into the characters of a known language, as in the Leyden magic papyrus. When the value of a letter is fixed by such means, this value must not be changed merely to suit a conjectural or convenient translation. In the *Scriptura Demotica*, a work of which it is impossible to speak too highly, Brugsch reads the word *Mau*, No. 2, where it occurs not as the name of a season, but adverbially in the

a final letter, the value of *r*; while Brugsch\* makes it the vowel sound *ou*. The word whether read *Mou* or *Mare* equally signifies water. In the Coptic, *Mers* is "the inundation," and the same word is similarly written in the hieroglyphical, as well when forming part of the name of the River, God, Hapi Mere, (plate, fig. 8) as where the inundation itself is spoken of, as in the speech of the Goddess Sate to Ptolemy Philometor at Philæ,† or the "the waters," generally as:—



The goddesses who inhabit the waters.‡ Dr. Lepsius has pointed out the connection between this word *mere*, "water," "the sea," and the traditional name Mæris, applied to the construction of the Great Lake of that name.


The word *Nare*, which M. de Saulcy has given as the name of this season, is evidently founded on an incorrect transcrip-

21st and 29th lines of the Rosetta stone; *sha*, "up to;" "usque ad," *sha teten*, (plate, fig. 7,) "for ever," and *sha hooou tou*, (plate, fig. 1,) "for five days." If this were the true reading, the demotic name would be actually a transcription in sound of the hieroglyphic name of the season *Schai*. But in that case, we must give up the reading of the name of Ptolemy with this letter, for it is impossible that the same character can have the power both of *m* and *sh*, though an interchange of *m* for *b*, *v*, *f*, or even *p*, would be perfectly regular. The word in these last instances is evidently *mai*; the Coptic *mah*, a word of common use, prefixed to cardinal numbers to give them an ordinal value, as *hen t. mah*, *snout n. rompi*, "in the second year;" *pi choou m. mah snout*, "the second day," &c. The reading of the places referred to on the Rosetta Stone is *ma teten*, "eternal," "times without end," and *ma hooou tou*, (from the first Thoth) "to the fifth day."

\* Scriptura Demotica, 1848.

† Lepsius Chronolog. p. 263.

‡ Champollion, Gr. Egypt., page 483.

tion of the demotic name of the month Thoth in the 29th line of the Rosetta inscription, which he give as \*.

On comparing the copies of the demotic text published by Salvolini, Birch, Lepsius, and Brugsch, † it will be seen that this transcription is incorrect, and that this season is written in the 29th line with the letter *m*, and that the word is, as in all other instances, *Mau*, or *Mere*.

M. de Sauley's attempt to reconcile the demotic *na* or *nare* to the *Schei* of the hieroglyphic name for this season, by comparing *na* to go, to come, *na erhai* "to ascend," "to arise," (as the sun), with the corresponding signification of *Schei*, is therefore inadmissible.

The name of the first season in the demotic is "the *Water Season*," the season of the *Mere* or *Inundation*; and this, as it appears to me, must be taken to be *the demotic transcription of the Hieroglyphical symbol of this season*. This symbol is a *water plant*, not the usual determinative of plants or vegetation. Its pronunciation is determined by the phonetic character accompanying it to be *Schei*, a plant, as in the name of the ivy, according to Plutarch, Chenoisiris, that is *Schei n osiris*, the plant of Osiris. Reading both the signs together, the name of the plant is *Schesch*.



There is nothing in the symbol itself which particularly characterizes the commencement of vegetation, or the growth of plants generally; on the contrary, it points out a particu-

\* This error has been perpetuated in the plate of Dr. Lepsius. Chronolog. Egypt. page 134.

† *Die Inschrift von Rosetta*, Berlin, 1850.—A new and most valuable production of the learned author of the *Scriptura Demotica*.




‡ The name of the nation whose chief is slain by Ramses II. in the representation at Abou Simbel, Barton's Exc. pl. 53, is *Shos*, and this name is written on the garment of the warrior, who is falling before the spear of the king, by *water-plants* very similar to the sign under discussion, and in the inscription by this sign. The word *Shos* is preserved in the Coptic as the name of the (water ?) lily. With the sign called "a sieve" written underneath the season symbol, the whole word would be *Schesch*, "the water lily."


lar specific kind of vegetation, and taken in connection with the demotic name of the season, this symbol may be considered to represent that period of the year when *the advancing waters of the Nile* gave rise to the rapid development of the *water plants* which fringe its banks; and by their predominance give a decided character to the vegetable physiognomy of the season.

The second season in the Demotic is, first,  or, secondly  *Hi, Her, or Hoou.* This group, especially if, as M. de Saulcy asserts, the final character of the second be an *r*, exactly corresponds with the hieroglyphic name of this season. That the first group is also an equivalent of the hieroglyphic is apparent from the circumstance that it occurs in the well-known title of the Ptolemy of the Rosetta inscription rendered in the Greek *Epiphanes*.

The hieroglyphic characters which form this name are,



 the first part of the corresponding demotic group is . Neither De Saulcy nor Brugsch have recognized the value of the sign in the demotic which represents the determinative of the hieroglyphic group .

It is, however, clear that the demotic  is its representative, as I have ascertained that it represents that sign in several demotic words, and in every case is a determinative. This is very evident on comparing the hieroglyphic

group of the Rosetta stone   "to set up," with

the corresponding demotic (pl. fig. 5), where the relation of the two signs is clear. The same determinative occurs at the end of other words as a determination of action, as in the group which corresponds to the Greek *απελυσσε*, "he has remitted." The whole phrase which in the demotic represents the title Epiphanes, consists of the group above-mentioned, and the following one, and reads altogether, *he em aour*, "coming into light," as the Egyptian translation of the Greek Epiphanes.

The first demotic mode of writing the second season of the year corresponds then to the hieroglyphic. The meaning of the word is somewhat doubtful; it may be "the coming forth," as the earth on the retirement of the inundation, or alluding to the period of vegetation. But the absence of the determinative seems to me decisive against the opinion that the word represents an idea connected with "action." If it represents the same words as the second figure *her* or *hoou*, as it would seem that it must, its signification is tolerably clear. This last word, in six places in the Rosetta inscription, translates the Greek *σιτος* or *σιτικας*, *corn* or *grain*, and the corresponding group in the hieroglyphic, *the figure of*

*an ear of corn, with the determination of grain*



fixes its meaning. This agrees with the translation of Champollion, *hre* "food," who says, that the season represented is "that division of the agricultural year in which corn in general, or the cereals, came to their complete maturity; it is then *the season of grain or harvest*." If, however, the preceding season, is as I have endeavoured to show, the season of the inundation, this, the next following, cannot be that of harvest.

The Greek text speaks of *σιτος* *corn*, and the corresponding symbol in the hieroglyphic text is in the nature of a double determination representing seed or grain, and showing what kind of seed was meant, or representing an ear of corn and

showing that the seed of the corn was the thing to be represented. There is nothing about the symbol which necessarily carries the idea of crops arrived at maturity, or the operation of *harvesting*; on the contrary, the Egyptian texts translates the Greek *σπρος* as the seed of the corn (plant). The season is on this supposition that of *seed sowing*, particularly *corn*, a season which naturally succeeds to that of the inundation.

That the word *her* does not relate to *harvest* or *the gathering of the crops*, but to *tillage*, or the *cultivation of the crops*, appears from a passage cited by Salvolini in support of the contrary opinion, (plate fig. 6). The inscription, which is from a stele in the Louvre, is to this effect, "Amonra, lord of the thrones of the world, lord of heaven, king of the gods, &c., the living god manifested in the celestial Nile, illuminator of the terrestrial world, by the rays of his light, *ouon-nofre*, that is to say, *the nourisher* (ERT HRE) of the race of mortals." The meaning of the word *her* in this passage is determined by the two signs of the *plough* and the *three grains*. The idea expressed is not that of *nourishment* as connected with the idea of *food*, but *cultivation* in the sense of *care*, "he who cultivates the race of mortals, or the human seed, as a husbandman cultivates his crops." In the list of determinations appended to the Chevalier Bunsen's Egypt, the plough is given as the determination of the word *hr* "to harrow."


The usual form of the third season of the Demotic is

𐤏𐤀 hiou. It would be very difficult to decide on the pronunciation of this word, the final character of which is constantly employed as determinative of proper names of individuals, were it not occasionally written in another form

𐤏𐤏 which shows it to have been a double vowel sound.

It does not, therefore, correspond with the sound of the hieroglyphic characters which have the pronunciation *Schei*. These characters represent a basin, well, or reservoir of water. Champollion considered these to represent the inundation of

the Nile; but, as I have before observed, this is not the method of representing the inundation in hieroglyphic characters, either as to the symbols or the sound. The initial character of the word signifying the inundation

 has the phonetic value, not of *s*, but of



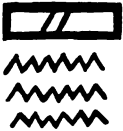
*m*. The idea represented by the hieroglyphic forming the third season, is not that of a rising water, or of an overflow, but of water at rest, contained in a reservoir or canal, and this idea is expressed by the word as written in Demotic. We have in Coptic *hoi*, "a canal, anaqueduct," whence is derived the word *ref-hoi*;\* one who is concerned with canals "an irrigator." On this supposition the third season is both in the hieroglyphic and demotic writing the *season of wells or canals of water*, which applies with great exactness to the last season of the year, when the waters of the Nile had receded to their narrowest limits, and the cultivation of the land was carried on by aid of *irrigation*, and the use of the water collected in the canals and reservoirs during the period of the inundation, and, therefore, the *Season of Irrigation*.†

The result of this investigation is, that the demotic names of the seasons are transcriptions into the demotic characters and dialect of the *meaning* of the corresponding hieroglyphic symbols. That this is so in the instance of the middle season *Her*, is absolutely proved, and that it must be so in the other instances is clear, not only for the reasons given above, but because if it were not so, we should have a discrepancy between the hieroglyphic and demotic, not founded on any system, and totally inexplicable. For if it be supposed that the demotic nomenclature originated after the period when *Thoth* was the first month of the year, and at a time when that month coincided with the commencement of the inundation, it is not probable that the name of the second season

\* De Sauley, *Analyse Grammt.*

† *Seyffarth Syst. Astronom. Egypt.*, reads this symbol "sō" to irrigate; but connects the season which it represents with the inundation of the Nile.

would have been permitted to accord with the same name in the hieroglyphics, when the season represented by the one was the vegetating, that by the other, the season of the ripened crops. The reasonable result is, that in both kinds of writing the same names are contained, and that the true meaning of the hieroglyphic symbols is to be ascertained by the aid of their transcription into the demotic. On this ground, the twelve months of the year must be arranged in three groups of seasons, as follows:—

Symbols.	Months.	Seasons.
	{ Thoth. Paophi. Athor. Choiak.	} Season of (the Water Plants) Inundation.
	{ Tybi. Mechir. Phamenoth. Pharmuthi.	} Season of Seed Sowing, or Tillage.
	{ Pachons. Paoni. Epiphi. Messori.	} Season of Irrigation.

#### The Five Epagomenæ.

According to this arrangement, the written calendar of Egypt, at the time when it received the form in which we now find it, was adapted to a state of things in which the year began with the month of Thoth; and the months Thoth, Paophi, Athor, and Choiak, were comprised in that division



of the natural year in which the inundation of the Nile took place. As the inundation commenced at the summer solstice, and the first Thoth corresponded with the inundation, the calendar must, for the reasons before mentioned, have been framed when the first Thoth fell at the summer solstice.

Following the data of Biot for the periods at which the first Pachons was solstitial, we find the years on which the first Thoth coincided with the summer solstice, to be about

B.C. 1,277—2,782—4,287.

One of these epochs then we must fix upon as the latest date to which the invention of the Egyptian calendar can be assigned, because at no other periods could the natural phenomena and their written representation have been in accordance. The evidence adduced by Dr. Lepsius shows clearly that the calendar was in existence before 2,782 B.C., and the next epoch at which the requisite coincidences occurred was in B.C. 4,282, *at which time the Egyptian calendar must have been in existence, though it may have been invented at a much more remote period.*

The reasons which induced Dr. Lepsius to fix the invention of the calendar at B.C. 3,282 are mainly founded on an interpretation of the season symbols which I have, I hope, shown to be erroneous. The opinion that the season of the inundation began with the month Pachons rendered it necessary to conclude that the calendar had originally been framed when the first Pachons coincided with the commencement of the inundation, and this erroneous conclusion necessitated the assumption of a change in the arrangement of the calendar at a later period, 500 years afterwards, in order to bring the commencement of the year in correspondence with the month Thoth. At the same time it was necessary to assert that the Epagomenæ were once placed between Pharmuthi and Pachons, and that at the period of this great reform they were removed to their present position, between Messori and Thoth, all assumptions unsupported, if not contradicted by monumental evidence, but most admirably adapted to the necessities of the case.

If, as I believe, the positions which I have laid down are capable of being sustained, the Egyptian calendar of the Ptolemies is the same as that of B.C. 4,287; the year was at that remote period divided into three natural seasons, the first of which originally coincided with the commencement of the inundation; the year began with the month Thoth, and ended with Messori; or if those names were introduced at a later period, they were adapted to the original and existing form of the calendar. The hieroglyphic symbols which represent the natural season of the year are not self-contradictory, nor did the Egyptian priesthood permit so remarkable an anomaly as the entire change of the arrangement of the calendar, with the exception of the symbols by which it was to be represented. The place of the Epagomenæ was that in which we see them in the sculptures of the Temple of Ramses II., between Messori and Thoth, the position they must have occupied in a year in which that month commenced the year. In this way, also, the discrepancy supposed to exist between the hieroglyphic symbols and the demotic names of the seasons, is shown to have no real existence, but both methods of Egyptian writing are in harmony with each other, and with the evident nature of the phenomena to which they refer.

The bearing of this investigation on the antiquity of the Egyptian civilization is very important. The commencement of the fourth dynasty of the great pyramid-building kings of Memphis, is placed by Dr. Lepsius on other grounds, at B.C. 3,282, and to the same period he refers the origin of the Egyptian calendar. The pyramids and the tombs contemporaneous with them demonstrate that the mythology of Egypt, the Isis and Osiris myth, the practice of embalment and its attendant ceremonies, the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or at least, of the soul's wandering through the heavenly regions, were at the time of their construction fully developed on the banks of the Nile. The perfection to which the arts had arrived may be judged of by the same testimony. The coffin of Menkare exhibits a system of

hieroglyphic writing as complete and perfect as at any later period. Indeed, it may well be questioned, if the grandest period of the Egyptian empire, is not that which precedes the obscurity out of which springs the brilliant but comparatively short period of the Thothmesside and Ramesside sovereignty. And yet, if the origin of the calendar be assigned to no earlier date than B. C. 3,282, this invention (which from its nature is purely Nile-born) was only coeval with a time when such monuments as the Great Pyramid of Daschour was in course of erection. The carrying its origin back upon philological evidence to the period I have assigned, viz., B.C. 4,287, gives, at least, another thousand years to the unknown period, during which the civilization of the world was gradually developing in the valley of the Nile, and in which the power, the skill, and the intelligence of the Egyptian people were gradually attaining to the degree of which the great monuments of Memphis are the material symbol.





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# ORIGINAL PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

## SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON.



سلام عليكم

VOLUME I.

PART I

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**THIS** work is devoted exclusively to Papers which have either been read at the General Meetings, or which, by reason of their importance to Oriental Literature and Science, the Council may think worthy of being published under the sanction of the Society.

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# PHARAOH AND HIS PRINCES;

OR,

## THE DYNASTIC CHANGES

IN THE

## ANCIENT EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT,

AS ITS FIVE ΠΕΠΙΘΟΝΟΙ, OR STATES, SUCCESSIVELY TOOK THE FORM

OF A

PENTARCHY, TETRARCHY, DYARCHY, MONARCHY,  
AND DODEKARCHY:

IN ANSWER TO THE UNSCRIPTURAL AND UNHISTORICAL HYPOTHESIS  
OF THE THIRTY DYNASTIES OF THE HISTORIAN MANETHO,  
REPRESENTING A CONSECUTIVE MONARCHY, AND THE  
THEORIES FOUNDED ON THIS BASIS.

BY

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1844,

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.



## PHARAOH AND HIS PRINCES.

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A **DUE** appreciation of the several changes in the government of the ancient Egyptian empire, from the paternal Monarchy of Menes, the reputed Misor, as the respective dynasties of the line of that patriarch fell in, under the forms of Pentarchy, Tetrarchy, Dyarchy, Monarchy, Dyarchy again, and Dodekarchy, till the permanent restoration of the monarchichal form by Psammitichus in the sixth century before the Christian era, being indispensable to the study of Egyptian History and Chronology, it is hoped that the following observations may not be unacceptable to readers interested in this branch of inquiry, and its bearings upon the monumental tablets of succession, and the sacred Mosaic record; more particularly as the principles asserted by the historian have been hitherto, for the most part, overlooked; so much so, that the original passage which acquaints us that his Thirty Dynasties represented the records of five Egyptian *Περίεθνοι*, or national cycles, is not even quoted from Syncellus (p. 40, edit. Par. 1642) in Cory's Fragments of Manetho, the most useful compilation on the subject that has issued from the press.

### THE EGYPTIAN PENTARCHY, &c.

There are few writers less beholden to their critics than the Egyptian historian Manetho. The dream of Scaliger, two hundred years ago, has not yet vanished; and, notwithstanding the extraordinary verification from contemporary monumental records, of at least sixteen of his (Manetho's)

Thirty Dynasties, it is still a question among the learned whether his Menes was not, according to the system, anterior to our Adam, originating a series of dynasties which were uninterrupted by the universal deluge. For, although a few of the German archæologists are perhaps the only literal followers of Scaliger in the present age, the theories of the French and Italian hierologists, and their followers in this country, by placing dynasties in succession, without reference to titles or geographical relations, tend to the same result as regards the early dynasties, and thus throw doubt on the rest of them ;—theories which have been for ever set at rest by the monumental connection of the twelfth and eighteenth Diospolitan dynasties, discovered by one of the most zealous advocates of the elongated system, Dr. Lepsius ; in correspondence with the tables of Eratosthenes, which assure us that the third, fourth, and sixth Memphite dynasties reigned in succession at the commencement of the Egyptian government, and hence that the Scaligerian hypothesis is unfounded.

The Remains of Manetho, however, assure us that he never thought of such principles, which the presence of the seventy biblical translators of his patron, Ptolemy Philadelphus, rendered altogether impossible ; and the wonder is, that his clear statements should have been so unaccountably overlooked. Independently of the terrestrial gods and demigods which, in the Manethonian record, replace the ante- and post-diluvian patriarchs of the Mosaic, and thus give a similar beginning to both, the fundamental statement is, that his thirty dynasties which followed, contained, as already noted, a record of *five Περιεθνοι*, or national cycles of succession ; consisting, therefore, in the first ages, as the titles of the dynasties teach us, and as Eusebius, according to the Armenian version, understood it, of the contemporary lines of the Thinites and Elephantinites, the Memphites, the Heracleots, the Diospolites, and the Heliopolites and shepherds of Lower Egypt ; answering to the Pathrusim, the Naphtuhim, the Anamim, the Capthorim, and the Casluhim and Philistim of the tenth chapter of Genesis, and disposed



in the geographical as well as the historical order of their respective origins.\*

The Pentarchal was the common form of government among the descendants of Ham in the first ages. It was common to the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Pentapolites, and the Philistim; and was adopted by the Midianites, and

\* In a Paper which appeared in the *Athenæum* of April 6, 1844, I stated the Manethonian and Mosaic relations of the descendants of Mizraim, the Mestroi of the *Chronicon Vetus*, or Old Egyptian Chronicle, somewhat differently, viz.

MANETHO.	MOSES.	
	ATHENÆUM.	PENTARCHY.
Tanites or Thinites.	Caphtorim.	Pathrusim.
Memphites.	Naphtuhim.	Naphtuhim.
Elephantinites.	Pathrusim.	Pathrusim.
Heracleots.	Casluhim.	Ananim.
Diospolites.	Ananim.	Caphtorim.
Heliopolites,	Included with the	Casluhim.
Shepherds. } }	Tanites.	Philistim.

It did not then occur to me that the Tanites, or Thinites, who first inhabited the scriptural Caphtor of Lower Egypt, were not, on this account, less the Pathrusim who, in the time of the Elephantinite dynasty, gave their name to the land of Pathros in the Thebaïd; while the Diospolites extended that of the Caphtorim from Caphtor, and their original seat in the Tanite Nome, to the Coptite and Diospolite Nomes; and, there being no doubt as to the identity of the Memphites and Naphtuhim, the Ananim and Casluhim, "out of whom came the Philistim," remain to the Heracleots and Heliopolites, and the Shepherds who followed the latter on their return into Egypt.

The five Egyptian families of the Mizraim seem thus fully appropriated—the Lehabim and the Ludim taking their place on the Lybian and Arabian confines; while the Pathrusim, the Naphtuhim, the Caphtorim, the Casluhim (and their descendants the Philistim, who migrated from Caphtor), and the Ananim, identify themselves with the country; the four first geographically, and the last in the name of the first king, Menes, and the many Amenemes who followed him, and which led to my previous Diospolite appropriation of the Ananim, now superseded on geographical evidence, which leaves only the Heracleots to represent that family of the Mizraim in the national Pentarchy of Manetho.

also, there is reason to suppose, by the Edomite descendants of Shem and Abraham.

The Philistim were an Egyptian colony, and their Abimilech and five Lords doubtless resulted from Pharaoh and his Princes—the heads of the five Egyptian *Περιεθνοι*, which seem again alluded to in the five cities of prophetic restoration (Isaiah xix. 18); while the law of Joseph, according to which a fifth of the land was at the disposal of Pharaoh, seems to connect itself, in common with other Egyptian Pentads, with this territorial distribution. Our Saxon Heptarchy was very similar to this form of government, and exhibited all the phases from Monarchy to Heptarchy, and back again to Monarchy, from the reign of Hengist to that of Edgar.

The record of Manetho commences with the *Thinite* dynasties, a name derived from their metropolis, where this part of the history was composed, after the Pathrusim had migrated southwards to the land of Pathros in the Thebaïd: for it is certain that Menes and his early successors never reigned at the comparatively modern city of This, supposed by many to be the Abydos of Greek writers.

Neither do the events recorded under the first two dynasties of Thinites (Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 93—98. London, 1832) belong to Upper Egypt. The raising of the palaces of Memphis by Athotes, and of the pyramids of Cochone, or Goshen, by Venephes; the earthquake at Bubastus, in the reign of Bœthus, which synchronizes with the destruction of the Pentapolis; the consecration of the Bulls, Apis and Mnevis, at Memphis and Heliopolis, and that of the Mendesian Goat, have all reference to the lower and first-inhabited part of the country.

It has therefore been conjectured by Rosellini that *Tanite*, rather than *Thinite*, is the original reading of Manetho, so far as regards the second dynasty. But, admitting this dynasty to have reigned at Tanis, how much more the first, at a period when Upper Egypt was scarcely inhabited; and especially as the Tanite character equally pervades both of them—Tanis, as the Septuagint translates the Hebrew "Zoan," having been the metropolis of the Delta from before the days

of Abraham, till the exodus of the Israelites (Gen. xiii. 18. Numb. xiii. 22. Psalm lxxviii. 12.), and the seat of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth dynasties—the first three of Lower Egypt—according to Manetho, as respectively stated by Apion Alexandrinus, and Syncellus, and the Old Egyptian Chronicle.

As, however, the reading of the most ancient copy of Africanus, preserved by Syncellus, is also found in the Armenian version of Eusebius, which is more than two centuries older than Syncellus, and in the Latin translation of Hieronymus, which is above one hundred years older than the Armenian, as well as in the Greek fragments of Eusebius, who wrote fifty years still earlier, there can be no question that we possess the original reading of Africanus, who wrote one hundred years before Eusebius, and with whom the misstatement therefore rests, if it be one.

But there is no occasion to imagine it. The records of the Pathrusim of *Tanis* were, as above, preserved at their subsequent metropolis *This*, in the land of Pathros; so that the geographical order of the history, from north to south, remains unembarrassed, and the original Tanite line of Menes takes both geographical and historical precedence. It seems to follow, that Africanus has preserved the true reading of Manetho.

The first and second Tanite or Thinite dynasties of the Pathrusim are followed in the record of Manetho, and in geographical order, by the third and fourth of Memphites or Naphtuhim, whose history proves them to have been contemporaries of the former, in agreement with the tables of Eratosthenes, already alluded to, at least from the end of the reign of Athothes I., son of Menes, who built the palace of Memphis (which all agree to have been founded by his predecessor), and so reigned over that district: besides that the Lybians revolted from the *first* Memphite king, Nechephes, and were therefore ruled or subjected by his predecessors. To the second Memphite dynasty—the fourth of Manetho—belong the Pyramids and Tombs of Ghizeh, and

most of the earliest referable hieroglyphic tablets, a few of those of the contemporary Shepherd or Philistim dynasty—the fifteenth—being the principal exception.

Next follow the Elephantinites of the fifth dynasty, whose names shew them to be a continuation of the Tanite or Thinite line: so that we seem here to have nearly the date of the transfer of the Pathrusim from Lower to Upper Egypt, to which the cities of This and Elephantina owed their origin.

The list is continued by the sixth dynasty of Memphites, which the tables of Eratosthenes, as above mentioned, prove to have immediately succeeded the fourth dynasty: so that the kings of the fifth of Elephantinites are excluded from an intermediate place, and have therefore none remaining but as the successors of the second dynasty of Tanites or Thinites, as above.

The title and periods of the seventh and eighth dynasties—the fourth and fifth of Memphites—are only extant; so that we have no alternative but to leave them as successors to the sixth of Manetho.

We have also only the title and periods of the ninth and tenth dynasties of Heracleots (the first king, Achthoes, excepted), who come next in geographical order southward to that of the Memphites, and whose contemporaneous place is determined, as will appear, by the record of the Diospolite line which follows in the geographical order of both the lesser and greater Diospolis.

This line, or rather the first series of it, occupies the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties. Of the first and third of these, the titles and periods only remain, as in the case of the latter Memphites and the Heracleots; but of the second—the twelfth of Manetho's history—we have fortunately the names and reigns of the kings, whom the recent discoveries of Dr. Lepsius, already alluded to, have indisputably determined to be the monumental dynasty of the Osirtesens who immediately precede the great eighteenth dynasty in the hieroglyphic record of Abydos; in confirma-

tion of the previously published opinions of Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar, Samuel Sharpe, Esq., and the Rev. E. Hincks.

The omissions of Manetho's copyists are, however, in a great degree, supplied in the Theban or Diospolite record of Eratosthenes, which occupies, with a difference of four years only (that of Eratosthenes 1076, of Manetho 1072.), the period of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties of Manetho (when the present reading of forty-three years in the eleventh, is replaced by 443, as it manifestly stood in the original), and restores to us the first five reigns (probably the first seven) of the eleventh, and the whole of the thirteenth; the intermediate reigns of Eratosthenes being Memphites of the third, fourth, and sixth dynasties of Manetho.

Manetho's intermediate twelfth dynasty is also, in part, identical with his fourth, while the monumental line of the Osirtesens springs from the united Memphite and Diospolite series: so that the difference between Manetho and Eratosthenes is explained by this doubly-proved connection of the Memphites and Diospolites.

The Diospolite series begins, like the Tanite or Thinite, with Menes and Athotes, who, we have seen, also reigned at Memphis; so that the death of Athotes becomes the indisputable era of the Pentarchy.

The Tanites or Thinites are, moreover, like the Memphites, connected with the Diospolites at a later period, by the apparent identity of their sixteenth king *Sesostris* with the *Sesostris* of the twelfth dynasty, the eighteenth Diospolititan king—forty-eight years being the reign assigned to both.

Neither is the wanting Heracleot line without relations, as above, which fix its contemporary place: for, the period of the ninth and tenth, or Heracleot dynasties, is five hundred and ninety-four years; while Lachares, of the twelfth dynasty of Diospolites, whom Manetho records to have built the Labyrinth in the Heracleot Nome, reigns from the five hundred and ninety-second to the six hundredth year of the Diospolititan line; during which interval the little State of Heracleopolis appears, from its period, to have merged in that of the

Diospolitans; this being probably the interval of the joint reigns of Lachares and Ammeres, the monumental Osirtesen III. and Amonemhe III., of whom the name of the latter appears in the remains of the Labyrinth discovered by Dr. Lepsius.

We have, thus far, four of the five States of the original Pentarchy of the successors of Menes—the Tanite or Thinite, the Memphite, the Heracleot, and the Diospolite. The third of these appears to have been the first to amalgamate with a more powerful one, when the original Pentarchy became a Tetrarchy; while the periods of the Tanites and Memphites shew that they followed in augmenting the Diospolite empire at the interval of about eight hundred years from the era of Menes, and in the time of the Thothmoses of the Tablet of Abydos, and Manetho's eighteenth dynasty; the preceding Tetrarchy being thus reduced to a Dyarchy.

We now come to the fifth State of the original Pentarchy, and the second of the Dyarchy, which followed it and the intermediate Tetrarchy, to be succeeded, in due time, by the undivided Monarchies of the Ramses and Saïtes.

Having conducted us from the oldest State of Tanis, southward to Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Diospolis, Manetho returns northward to that branch of the original Pentarchy from which the main and usually recognised succession of the dynasties is traced or derived.

It originates with the fourteenth dynasty, which is another blank in almost every thing but the period. It is called Xoïte and Tanite, but may perhaps be most properly termed Heliopolite, agreeably to the predicted restoration of Isaiah xix. 18, and was succeeded by the Shepherd rulers of the fifteenth dynasty (whose monumental remains connect themselves, as above, with those of the Pyramid builders of the fourth dynasty); both lines being represented, *in genere*, by the Casluhim and the Philistim of Genesis x.

These were followed by the mixed Shepherds and Natives of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasties, who had a collateral place after the fifteenth was reduced by the powerful Diospolites of the twelfth dynasty. The seventeenth mixed

line of Shepherds and Diospolites is followed by the great eighteenth dynasty of Diospolites, the legitimate successors of the twelfth, or the line of the Osirtesen, as above.

The seat of government of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties was Thebes, or Diospolis Magna, which was erected by the united line of the Memphites and Diospolites, towards the close of the fourth and eleventh contemporary dynasties; the founder being the second Busiris of Diodorus, called Bicheres by Manetho, and Biuris by Eratosthenes, and who was the immediate predecessor of Sebercheres, Chmubus Gneurus, Geson Goses or Sesonchosis, as Manetho and Eratosthenes are pleased to denominate the first Osirtesen of the monuments, in the records of the fourth and twelfth dynasties.

The building of This or Abydos, and Elephantina, followed soon afterwards, and that of the latter probably in or about the reign of Lachares of the twelfth dynasty, the builder of the Labyrinth, who is the third monumental Osirtesen, and in all probability the Tanite or Thinite Cheneres (for he is elsewhere named Concharis and Chenophres,) who ends the second dynasty, and follows Sesochris as Lachares does Sesostris, the subordinate line being then continued in the Elephantinites.

The twelfth and eighteenth dynasties of Diospolites being successive, it follows that the thirteenth was contemporary with the eighteenth: and it accordingly ends with Amuthantæus, Amuntæus, Amendes, Ismendes or Osymandes, reigning sixty-three years, all names of the great Rameses Meiamon or Amon-me-Rames, whose historical reign is sixty-six years, and his monumental reign sixty-two. This identity is confirmed by the three hundred and seventy-four years which are equally the period of the thirteenth dynasty, as stated by Eratosthenes, and of the eighteenth till the death of the Monarch Rameses Meiamon, whose son Amenoph, Phthamenoph or Menepthha II. continued the Diospolite line, while his brother or relative, Mendes or Mandouphth, founded the new twenty-first dynasty of Tanites, which was followed by the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, called

Bubastite, Tanite, and Saïte, but all doubtless of the same race : and these reigned collaterally with the Diospolites of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, till Bocchoris the Saïte, and Anysis or Amasis the Diospolite, were, as we learn from Herodotus and Diodorus, alike conquered by Sabacon or Actisanes the Ethiopian, who founded the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty, and, according to Manetho, restored the monarchy of Egypt in succession to the *Dyarchy*, *Monarchy*, *Tetrarchy*, and *Pentarchy* which had preceded it in the times of the anterior dynasties, ascending to the first or paternal monarchy of Menes and his son Athotes. But Sabacon more probably originated the Dodekarchy, or Council of twelve Princes, to govern Egypt, while he reigned as supreme monarch over Egypt and Ethiopia, as will appear in a supplementary paper on the Dodekarchy, in which I have endeavoured to restore the names of the twelve rulers to history. The foregoing changes, and their bearings upon history, both written and monumental, will be fully elucidated by a tabular view of the five Egyptian States and thirty Dynasties, dated according to the astronomical system of the "*Chronicon Vetus*," or Old Egyptian Chronicle, which was followed by Claudius Ptolemy in his Nabonassarean Canon, and corresponds with the authorised Hebrew Chronology of the Bible in the early ages, as the Canon of Ptolemy does in the later.

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*Arlington Street, Camden Town,*  
*Dec. 1844.*



**REMARKS**  
**ON THE**  
**OBELISKS OF ANCIENT EGYPT,**  
**THEIR SUPPOSED USES,**  
**AS DEDUCED FROM WELL-AUTHENTICATED HISTORICAL FACTS,**  
**THEIR INSCRIPTIONS,**  
**AND**  
**SEVERAL OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST CONCERNING THEM.**

**BY**  
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**READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,**  
**ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1844,**  
**JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.**



**REMARKS**  
ON THE  
**OBELISKS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.**

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**I**N the excellent and learned Paper which you have just heard, allusion has been made to the principal metropolitan cities of Ancient Egypt, in reference to the revolutions which took place in the various periods of Egyptian history, and the changes which were effected in the form of government as one dynasty prevailed over another, and the "Tanites" or "Pathrusim," the "Memphites" or "Naphtuhim," and the "Diospolites" or "Capthorim," successively ruled the destinies of that empire. There is nothing visionary or speculative in Mr. Cullimore's statements: his conclusions are the result of elaborate research, and the most careful investigation, founded on facts recorded in the Bible, and confirmed by a comparison of the writings of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other historians, with the inscriptions which have been found upon the Egyptian and Græco-Egyptian monuments, and which the discoveries of modern times have enabled the hieroglyphic scholar and the philologist to decipher and interpret.

At our opening Meeting, when speaking of the rise and fall of empires, and of the state of our knowledge concerning the language, attainments, government, and religion of the early fathers of mankind, I stated that one of the principal sources of our information on these very interesting but intricate subjects was the monuments which have been preserved to us of the remote ages; and it may not be unprofitable, on the present occasion, to say a few words on one

class of them more particularly, viz. the Obelisks of Ancient Egypt; a commentary on which is well calculated to illustrate what I advanced in the general address, and also to confirm the observations made by Mr. Cullimore in his Paper.

Those of my hearers who have not been in Egypt may form some idea of the obelisks of that country, by the models and drawings which are now in the room, and by the definition given by Mr. Bonomi, who is one of the best authorities on this subject.\* “The monuments properly called Obelisks may be described as long stones, quadrilateral, diminishing from the base upwards till within about a tenth of the height, when the sides converge to a point. The width of the base is usually about a tenth of the height to the part where the sides begin to converge.” They were always monolithic, most commonly of syenite or red granite, and received a very high polish; ~~but~~ in the British Museum there are two basaltic obelisks eight inches and a half high, and one of sand-stone: and there is a plain sand-stone obelisk still standing at the Island of Philoe, on the frontiers of Nubia. Moreover, in the Fayoom, and at Axum, there are obelisks (improperly so called by Strabo) which are rounded at the top, instead of having a pointed apex. These ought rather to be called “Pillars,” or “Tablets.” They are considered to have been erected, either for the purpose of recording events—the progress of an army, for example—or in memory of the dead; and similar tablets were used for royal proclamations and decrees. They are, for the most part, clumsy, heavy, and out of proportion, ~~like that in the Fayoom, the breadth of whose base, on one side, is about one-sixth of the entire height, and nearly one-fourth on the other.~~ It is the only instance of any thing like an obelisk being found on the western bank of the Nile, which rather strengthens the idea of its being a *tomb-stone*. Such pillars or tablets are spoken of by Strabo as occurring near the rock tombs of the Theban monarchs, who desired to record their conquests in Bactria, Scythia, and India—just as, in modern times, we erect sculptured monuments to

\* See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol. iv. Part i.

record the victories of military and naval heroes. I have seen some of these; but they do not appear to be allegorically associated with religion, as the obelisks are. Similar pillars have also been found in Assyria and other countries of the East; in Greece also, and Italy, specimens of which have been preserved. At the Mound of "Sarabout el Kadem," near the "Ouadi Megara," in the Peninsula of Sinai, there are a great many upright tablets, bearing inscriptions which, according to the shields of catalogued kings which accompany them, severally date from the age of the Pyramids to the eighteenth dynasty. These tablets were thought by Dr. Young to be tomb-stones; but some of the inscriptions seem to refer to the opening of the quarries in the Ouadi Megara: and Colonel Felix, who once read a Paper to the Royal Geographical Society on the subject of these monuments, gave it as his opinion that they were *Votive Tablets*, and that the historians of the Pentateuch alluded to this very spot when they inform us that Moses asked permission of Pharaoh to go "three days' journey into the wilderness" to sacrifice (Exodus viii. 25—31.) Some have even fancied that on one or two of the stones they could make out the names of the Patriarchs Moses and Aaron; and Colonel Felix's opinion is further strengthened by the fact, that the Mound of "Sarabout el Kadem" is exactly *three days' journey* (in the wilderness) from Egypt; that is, from the site of "Tanis or Zoan," the capital where Moses resided at that time. Mr. Bonomi is of opinion that the "Tzlm" also, or image of gold, which Nebokt-náz'r set up in the Plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon (Dan. iii. 1.), agrees with the proportions of an Egyptian obelisk; and the Temple of Bel or Belus (Dan. i. 2.), erected by that monarch and his father, with those of an Egyptian pyramid (Herod. i. 181.) "The image," he observes, "was sixty cubits high, and six wide, making the height ten times its width"—proportions which, he thinks, cannot refer to the image of a man, though exactly to that of an *obelisk*, which Pliny defines as "*a type of the solar rays*," as connected with the Sabian Religion of the Babylonians. This idea of an obelisk is, I think, confirmed

by their inscriptions, sites, and apparent uses, concerning which I now propose to say a few words.

There are about thirty obelisks still standing; but of these eight only are in Egypt.\* If we add those which have been thrown down, viz. the prostrate obelisk at Alexandria (which makes the second of the so-called "Cleopatra's Needles"), nine which are distributed among the ruins of "Saan," or "Tanis," and two others at Karnak (of which fragments only remain), in all, *twelve* of the Colossal order, and of the period of the twelfth, eighteenth, and twenty-second dynasties, the total number of known Egyptian obelisks will be augmented to forty-two.

Obelisks must ever be ranked among the most elegant and interesting of the Egyptian monuments; but to appreciate their beauty, they must be seen in Egypt, and in connection with the temple-palaces which they were designed to grace. The effect is then heightened by the climate, and by the associations which they call forth. In Europe, they are out of place, unmeaning, and, I had almost said, *uninteresting*; for their inscriptions have all been accurately copied; and, viewed as isolated objects, in the midst of a busy trading city, beneath a cold and clouded sky, the magic spell by which they are surrounded on the banks of the Nile is at once broken, and they are no longer the same. Several attempts were made by Zoega, Kircher, and others, to explain their uses; but very little was known about them until after the discovery of the Phonetic system of hieroglyphics by Dr. Young. Mr. Burton, Mr. Bonomi, Mr. Birch, Mr. Sharpe, and other gentlemen, then devoted their attention to the subject; and it is to them that we are indebted for nearly all that we know

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\* Viz. One at Alexandria; one at Heliopolis; four at Karnak; one at Luxor; and one at Philoe, by the first Cataract. No less than twelve have been conveyed to Rome; and at Florence there are two. One may be seen at Paris, one at Arles, and two at Constantinople: and in England we have four; viz. the two Basaltic Obelisks in the British Museum, the Obelisks of Ptolemy and Cleopatra at *Soughton Hall*, and one of the most interesting (on account of its great antiquity), viz. that which was brought to England by Lord Prudhoe, and is now at *Alnwick Castle*.

about them. Our knowledge concerning them, however, is still imperfect: and although all are *agreed* as to their relative *dates*, and the names of the kings whose acts they were evidently designed to commemorate, the details of the inscriptions have been variously translated. Still, enough has been made out to explain their uses. They furnish valuable data connected with the early history of Egypt, and the kings by whom they were set up; and the interest is increased by the fact that their hieroglyphics were added to at subsequent periods by the reigning monarchs. These inscriptions present a strange admixture of allegory, apparent piety, arrogance, presumption, and superstition. The same monument refers to the adoration of the gods, and to the self-aggrandizement of the creature: it records the mighty deeds of the hero, his power, and assumed divinity: and whilst it alludes to the glories of the creation, and to the omnipotent Author of the Universe, it ascribes to the monarch, not only the titles, but the *attributes* of the Deity. Thus, for example, on one of the obelisks which was taken from Heliopolis, and is now at Rome, the king "Menephtha Sethai," after being styled "Lord of the Diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt,"—"Divine Priest,"—"Establisher of Justice, who renders illustrious the everlasting edifices of Heliopolis by foundations fit for the support of the Heaven\*,"—"who has established, honoured, and adorned the Temple of the Sun, and of the rest of the gods, which has been sanctified by him, the 'Son of the Sun'"—"everlasting like the Sun,"—the "powerful,"—the "*director of the years*,"—the "great one of victories,"—the "*Lord of the World*,"—"giving life for ever,"—and so on, he is designated "*begotten and educated by the gods*,"—"builder of their Temples,"—the "*piercer of foreign countries*,"—the "*chastiser of foreign countries*,"—the "*scourge of foreign countries*,"—and "*piercer of the Shepherds*,"—the "establisher of justice, who fills Heliopolis with obelisks, to illustrate with their rays the Temple of the Sun; who, like the phœnix, fills with good things the

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\* We have a similar instance of presumption in the building of the Tower of Babel. (Genesis xi.)

great Temple of the gods, inundating it with rejoicings." It would occupy too much time to quote other instances: they are all somewhat after this fashion.

I mentioned, in the Introductory Address\*, that, in patriarchal times, it was the custom, whenever it was desired to commemorate important events, or to honour any particular individual, to set up a heap of stones; and that, in like manner, such were often dedicated to the Almighty, and then denoted a spot set apart for His worship. The Egyptians did the same: but it would appear that what was once a simple and pious custom, became, in more corrupt ages, converted into a profane usage; and that these haughty monarchs, who waged extensive wars, made triumphal processions, and, after returning to their country laden with rich spoils, and followed by numerous bands of mutilated captives, (paintings of which are represented on the walls of their palaces,) erected statues, and adorned and enriched the temples, were not only deified after death, but *through fear*, worshipped during life: and there can be little doubt that obelisks were erected by them in token of their having attained to the very acme of human greatness; and we have, in the instance of Nebokt-náz'r, or Nebuchadnezzar, requiring the people to fall down at his bidding before the image or column, or whatever it was which he had "set up," a very striking illustration of the presumptuous arrogance of these ancient kings (Dan. iii. 5.) Another instance is afforded by the figures on the Lateran Obelisk, now at Rome. The god Ammon is represented holding to the nostrils of Thothmes III. the emblem of life; and something similar occurs on each of the façades. It has been thought that this may be an allegorical allusion to the creation of man. Why, then, should it be applied always to the king, and not to any other being? Besides, on the south side the king is represented *sitting*, and offering the same *emblem of life* to the beak of a hawk, which is the usual emblem of royalty: and as he is called also the "giver of life," "everlasting like the sun," and the

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\* See the Society's "Transactions and Reports." Vol. i.



"begotten of the gods," it seems rather as if it were designed to intimate the *divine origin of kings*, or at least to leave an impression of the *divine authority of kings*: and indeed, if the hieroglyphics are correctly translated, the idea is expressed in unequivocal terms.

That the Egyptian monarchs were in the habit of arrogating to themselves the most high-sounding titles, epithets which were calculated to inspire the people with awe, is proved, not only by the inscriptions on the obelisks, but by those which are to be seen on the temples, and in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, where several of the most powerful dynasties were interred. For example, we have there recorded the names and honours of Rameses III., to whom the splendid palace at Medinet Haboo, two or three of the temples at Karnak, and other important buildings are attributed. His acts, as well as his titles, are vauntingly set forth: and, according to the representations upon the walls, his magnificence and power must have been such as to ensure the most abject submission to his decrees; and his very name must have been a terror to his enemies. We learn that he was a great warrior, and ambitious to imitate, if he could not surpass, Rameses II., "Sesostris," "Osymandias," or "Ismendes," who invaded Syria and Asia Minor, and who may perhaps be described in the Iliad as "*Memnon*," one of the famous heroes of the twelfth century (the period of the Trojan war, and of the reign of Rameses II., or Osymandias, the "*Memnon*" of Strabo), who, according to Hesiod, "*were distinct from other men: a divine race, who lived by the care of Jupiter.*" Certainly, if we may judge from the works which now remain, Rameses II. was one of the most renowned of all the Egyptian rulers, and, under his auspices, the arts arrived at their greatest perfection. According to the best authorities, it was he who built the temples of Aboo Simbal, Sebooa, Dehr, Ghyshe, and the small temple of Kalabshe in Nubia; also the "*Memnonium*" at Thebes. He erected the beautiful obelisks at Luxor; and his name occupies a most conspicuous place on almost every temple throughout the land. Having conquered the adjacent coun-

tries, he crossed the Ganges, and subdued the whole of India, even to the ocean; and, returning home in triumph, he was regarded by the people as "*superhuman*." Even Homer says of him, that "at the siege of Troy, Pyrrhus was the most beautiful after the '*Divine Memnon*.'" Many instances are related by Sir Walter Raleigh of the arrogance of this monarch; and we read in Eutropius, that "when he was disposed to be seen, and to *ride in triumph*, he would cause four of his captive kings to draw his caroch. One morning, when he was in this way taking the air, observing one of the enslaved princes cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him, he inquired what he found worthy of admiration in that motion. He received for answer, 'that in those wheels he beheld a remarkable illustration of the instability of all worldly things; for that the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downwards, and under all;' which, when Sesotris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude in future." The fallen Colossus in front of the Memnonium (and to which I have already alluded, both in this Paper and at our last Meeting) bears hieroglyphics on the back and arms which sufficiently identify the statue with the hero whose bold achievements are sculptured on the adjacent walls (where the king is seen *driving his chariot furiously over the body of the vanquished chief*); and, according to Diodorus Siculus, one of the tablets reads thus:—"I am Osymandias, king of kings. If you wish to know how great I am, and where I lie, surpass my works!" It is not my purpose to inquire which of the Egyptian heroes was *the true* "Memnon." I must reserve that interesting question for a future occasion\*. We read of many other striking instances of the arrogance of the Egyptian rulers, who, not satisfied with the fame which falls to the lot of mortals, aspired to *immortality*, and sought to

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\* I have treated more fully on this subject in my work on Egypt, Vol. ii. pp. 391—424, 554, *et seq.*

acquire a name which should *never perish*; and we have a remarkable illustration of the *obsequious* homage which was rendered to monarchs, as late even as the time of Herod; for when the king harangued the multitude, they exclaimed, "It is the voice of a god, and not of a man!" (Acts xii. 21—24.)

Some obelisks had only a single line of hieroglyphics down the centre; others had *three*. Examples of the former are those of Al-Matariah, that of the Et-Meidan, or Hippodrome, at Constantinople, and the small obelisk in the Piazza Rotonda at Rome. When there are *three*, the centre column is often polished, as in that of the "Lateran" and those of Luxor, and they are not unfrequently deeper cut and better formed; whilst the two lateral ones are left comparatively rough from the chisel, and are almost always the work of subsequent monarchs, as is particularly the case in the great obelisk of Karnak, and that of St. John Lateran. Moreover, particular figures are found to have been purposely obliterated, and sometimes others have been substituted, according to the caprice of monarchs, or as changes have taken place in the feelings or in the religious views of the people. A remarkable instance of this practice of substituting one figure for another occurs in the "Flaminian" obelisk at Rome. Generally, a line was drawn, just above the shaft, to denote the heaven of the region below; and sometimes the pyramidal portion was covered with a bronze cap, — the Luxor obelisk to wit, and that of Al-Matariah, on the apex of which Abd-el-Lateef, an Arabian physician who lived in the thirteenth century, saw the *bronze*. This bronze was, in my humble opinion, perhaps *gilt*, with a view, in that glowing climate, to make the obelisk still more resemble one of the *sun's rays*. Obelisks were erected chiefly in cities where the people worshipped the *sun*; and the idea seems to have been, that as a sun-beam is an emanation from that resplendent orb which was regarded as the representative of the Deity, so a pointed obelisk would allegorically denote such an emanation, and at the same time do honour to their high priests and kings, to whom, we have seen, they were wont to attribute affinity with the gods, and consequently regarded them

as rays or emanations of the Deity. Some obelisks have been broken up by Mohammed Ali, the present ruler of Egypt, and used by him as building materials, either for cotton manufactories, fortifications, or docks; and at Rome a large obelisk is said to form the foundation of a palace in the Corso.

As regards the sites of the Egyptian obelisks, it is remarkable that there are *none* found on the *west* or *left* bank of the Nile: and in like manner, we *never* see any *pyramids* on the *eastern* side;—certainly not in Egypt Proper. Obelisks were commonly placed in front of the principal entrance to the temple-palaces; and, in my opinion, we have satisfactory evidence that the approach to them was made by an avenue of couchant sphinxes, or other colossal statues.

Enough has been said, I think, to shew that obelisks were intended to uphold the consequence, and subdue or overawe the vassals of the living monarch; and, as we might have expected, they were intended to adorn the palaces of the living: whilst, on the other hand, pyramids (as I endeavoured to illustrate the other day) being devoted to a twofold object, viz. Sepulture and Devotion, were only to be found among the habitations of the *dead*—the one being a symbol of the sun's rays, or *rising* sun, the other of its decline, or *setting*. The ancient Egyptians were a very imaginative people: they compared the life of man to a summer's day; and as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, they invariably had their tombs to the west of their dwellings. This is found to hold good universally, except in a few instances in which the mountains are near to the banks of the river, when, for the most part, the tombs were excavated in their rocky sides.

#### HELIOPOLIS.

*El-Matariah*, a wretched village situated in a fertile plain on the confines of the desert, about three hours east of Cairo, marks the site of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, or, as it is termed in the Scriptures, "On." (Gen. xli. 45.) During the glory of this celebrated metropolis, the inhabitants worshipped a bull, under the title of "*Mnevis*," with the same

ceremonies as the "*Apis*" of Memphis; but the idols of both have long since perished with their deluded votaries. The spots on which they stood, however, are contemplated, in the present day, with no ordinary feelings, being associated with events which our infant lips have been taught to lisp, and of which we have since been accustomed to read with peculiar satisfaction. Not a vestige remains of the ancient magnificence of "On," once so remarkable for its palaces, obelisks, temples, and statues, if we except one solitary monument which has been left, as it were, to note the departure of Egypt's glory, and to commemorate this ancient seat of learning, the favourite dwelling-place of Pythagoras, Herodotus, Plato, and his friend Eudoxus, a celebrated astronomer, the pupil of Ichonuphy, a priest in the Temple of the Sun, of Aristotle, and many others. It would seem that, at this time, "On" was the seat of government; but, after the building of Memphis, it began to decay, and gradually dwindled down to nothing; and now, as if to mock the vanity of kings and heroes, and to remind us of the instability of all human greatness, one well-proportioned beautiful obelisk, of the reign of Osirtesen I., is the only object which has withstood the devastating hand of man. It is about sixty-seven feet four inches in height, and is covered with hieroglyphics: its breadth at the base is six feet, and it is formed of one single piece of red granite.\* Its façades do not differ, and it is considered one of the oldest monuments in Egypt. Its hieroglyphics struck me as not so well cut as some others. Diodorus Siculus mentions that Sesostris set up *two* obelisks there, which were 120 cubits (*i. e.* 180 feet) high, and 8 broad (*i. e.* 12 feet); and Pliny tells us that Sochis and Rameses, who was the contemporary of Priam, each erected *four*; that those of Sochis were 48 cubits (72 feet), and that the others were about 40 cubits high (60 feet). The obelisk which now remains is thought, by some, to be one of those

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\* We frequently find a discrepancy in the accounts of travellers respecting the height of Egyptian Monuments; which may often be referred to the *débris* of ruins and sandy accumulations at their base being greater at one time than at another.

put up by Sochis: and supposing Sochis to be identical with Asychis, mentioned by Herodotus, and the Osochon of the twenty-first dynasty (Tanite) of Manetho, it must have been erected, we are told, about 1020 years before the Christian era. If, however, we refer it to the time of Sesostris, it would carry us a century further back. It is called by the Bedoueens the "Pillar of Abraham." There was once an avenue of sphinxes, leading possibly to the Temple of the Sun, so often referred to on this obelisk and on that of Thothmes III. at Rome, to which I have already alluded. Some of the fragments of these sphinxes were still to be seen in the time of Pococke, and they had been previously described by Strabo, who visited Heliopolis about thirty years before Christ. According to the observations of Pococke, the soil had not accumulated to more than seven feet and a-half or eight feet: and it is probable that if excavations were made there, much that is interesting might be obtained. Dr. Richardson speaks of a colossal statue similar to that of Memnon at Thebes. Of this I saw nothing. I observed other ruinous masses lying about in different directions, but no appearance of a temple or tombs. Not far from the village of Matariah, in the midst of cotton plantations, acacias, and palms, is the trunk of a venerable sycamore, which is pointed out as the "Tree of the Madonna," beneath whose branches, the Christian Monks assert, the Holy Family rested when they fled from the pursuit of Herod. I now pass on to the consideration of the obelisks at Thebes.

#### ALKARNAK.

The space which intervenes between that portion of the great Temple at Karnak, which was added by Sesostris or Rameses II., in the twelfth century B. C., and the very ancient and original Temple of Jupiter Ammon, which may be traced back as far as the reigns of Osirtesen I. (in the eighteenth century B. C.), and of Thothmes (in the fourteenth century B. C.)—the names of these monarchs appearing upon the walls—was formerly adorned with four tapering monolithic, granite obelisks, varying in height, to 70 feet and

93 feet 3 inches, referable to the time of Thothmes I. and III. Three only now remain erect: the fourth, which lies on the ground, is divided in half, ready to be carried away. The hieroglyphics are well cut, and surmounted by the hawk, the central line being much deeper, and more ancient than the other two. These obelisks are situated close to what has been termed the "Gate of Shishak," or "Shishonk," in consequence of the contiguity of a colossal figure without, intended, as is supposed, for that monarch. The largest obelisk was erected by Thothmes I., who continued the celebrated temple supposed to be founded by Osirtesen I., in the age of Joseph, inasmuch as his is the oldest name inscribed thereon, and which was further continued by Thothmes II. and III., and subsequently by Rameses III. (who built the magnificent palace at Medinet Haboo, and covered the walls with historical bas-reliefs), and by Shishak and other kings.

#### ALUXOR.

The distance between Karnak and Luxor is about two miles, and the communication was formerly made by a magnificent paved avenue of couchant sphinxes;—I say *formerly*; for, although a great number of these statues still remain, the last two-thirds of them are more or less mutilated, or concealed by dust, crumbling, sun-burnt bricks, and decayed vegetable matter, which affords nourishment to tufts of rough grass, and weeds, and rushes. The first third of the way is comparatively clear. It is approached by four magnificent gateways of polished granite, each sixty feet high, and flanked by towers covered with hieroglyphics, which relate to the monarchs who built them. The roofs are composed of single stones, and the whole presents a frontage of 400 feet. Passing beneath these gigantic porticos, we enter upon the causeway, which is about sixty feet wide. The sphinxes on either side are what are termed "*Cryo-Sphinxes*," i.e. figures with a ram's head and the body of a lion. They are of sand- or grit-stone, and arranged at equal distances of twelve feet, and face their opposite neighbours, holding, between the paws, an Osiris mummy-idol of the same mate-

rial, in the erect posture, with the arms crossed on the breast, and the sacred *tau* in each hand, and there is a row of hieroglyphics down the front. Some of the sphinxes are now overshadowed by palms. The other extremity of this imposing avenue is terminated by the great temple of Luxor, founded by Amonoph III.; immediately in front of which, are the mutilated remains of several colossal granite statues, and two in particular, bearing the mitre-shaped cap, and a Cartouche bearing the titles of Sesostris upon the shoulders.

But the objects with which we have now to do, are the two elegantly-tapering syenite obelisks which stood one on either side of the propylæ of the granite gateway. One of them measures 93 feet 6 inches in height, the other 76 feet 6 inches. Both are exquisitely shaped and polished, and beautifully sculptured with three lines of hieroglyphics, the centre one being deeper than the others, as if of an earlier date: and surmounted by the hawk, denoting that the obelisks were dedicated to the sun: and probably it was this that stayed the destroying hand of the Persian invader; for both were in a perfect state until the French thought proper to remove one of them to Paris. This was brought to Europe (as I have already stated\*) at an expense of 40,000*l.*, where it is likely, in a few years, to fall to pieces.†

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\* See the Society's "Transactions and Reports," Dec. 3, 1844.

† *The Obelisk at Paris.*—"A fact interesting to the antiquary has been elicited in taking out the *wooden* keys which closed a fissure in the base of the obelisk, to replace them with two other keys of *copper*. They were completely corroded by the action of the air and moisture, and there is every reason to believe that they were inserted when the obelisk was first put up at Thebes, and shews that, 4000 years ago, the Egyptians were acquainted with the powerful means of uniting two pieces of wood now used, and called 'dove-tailing.'"—*Galignani*. Again, the *Temps* of Nov. 24, 1841, states that "the fissure which runs from the base of the obelisk of Luxor, on the south side, to about a third of its total height, *increases enormously*. All the material which was put into it for the purpose of stopping it has fallen out, and the air and rain enter freely. Whether the increase of the fissure is to be attributed to the double action of the air and the rain, or to the obelisk not being placed quite upright upon its base of granite, is a question daily put, but without any solution being obtained.

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## THE ALNWICK OBELISK.

One of the most ancient, as well as of the most interesting obelisks which remain to us is one which was brought to this country by Lord Prudhoe, from a village in the Thebaïd, where it was found in 1838, and presented to him by Mohammed Ali, and it is now in the museum at Alnwick Castle. As I have not had an opportunity of seeing it, I will avail myself of Mr. Bonomi's description of it. "The apex," he says, "is broken: its entire height now from the base is only 7 feet 3 inches. Although small, it resembles the other obelisks. It is one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity, bearing the nomen and prænomen of Amonoph II., who ascended the throne of Thebes in the 160th year of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty, as the immediate successor of Thothmes III., *Mæris* or *Menophres*, viz. in the fourteenth century before the Christian era. There are, accordingly, only three obelisks known which are of more ancient date, viz. those of Osirtesen, Ammon Nitocri, and Thothmeses. It takes its place, therefore, in point of antiquity, immediately before the great sphinx which was the work of Thothmes IV., the son and successor of this Pharaoh, viz. Amonoph II. He reigned thirty years, and is supposed to be the '*Memnon*' to whom the musical or speaking statue was erected in the plains of Thebes.

"The hieroglyphics of this obelisk are *incavo*, which is rather unusual for that period. Another peculiar feature is, that it is inscribed only on one façade; but the inscription is perfect, with the exception of two characters, and, 'as usual on many of the remains of the Amonoph family, the usurping propensities of the god Ammon are to be observed, the name having been inserted to the prejudice of some former characters.' "

It appears, then, that this is one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity perhaps in the world; for there are

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Whatever may be the cause, it is easy to predict that this monument will soon fall, if a remedy be not speedily applied;—whereas, if it had been allowed to remain with its companion in Egypt, there is every reason to believe that it would have stood 4000 years longer without injury.

scarcely any relics of this distinguished monarch, notwithstanding there are so many of the memorable eighteenth dynasty to which he belonged; and it suggests many important problems for the consideration of the learned.

THE ROMAN OBELISKS.—ST. JOHN LATERAN AND FLAMINIAN OBELISKS.

Of the obelisks at Rome, there are two which deserve particular notice, viz. that of "*St. John Lateran*," which is the largest, and that which is termed the "*Flaminian*" Obelisk. Both were brought from *Heliopolis*; the one by *Constantine the Great*, the other by *Augustus*. They were removed to Rome in 1588 and 1589, and set up, one in the *Piazza San Giovanni Laterano*, the other in the *Piazza del Popolo*, by Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who dedicated them to the purposes of Christianity. The height of the one is 105 feet 8 inches; the height of the other is 87 feet 5 inches. It would be impossible to do justice to either in a Paper of this kind; but as some of those present have doubtless seen them, a few words on the authority of *Zoega* and *Cipriani*, *Mr. Bonomi* and the *Rev. Dr. Tomlinson*, now Bishop of Gibraltar, who have published concerning them, may not be unacceptable. As regards the first-named, *Mr. Bonomi* informs us that, as on the celebrated obelisks of *Luxor* at *Thebes*, and on that of the *Porta del Popolo*, the two vertical columns of hieroglyphics are inferior in workmanship, and have been added at a later period; and he calls the attention of antiquarians to the fact, that on this and on the large obelisks of *Karnak*, wherein, on these more ancient works of the Egyptians, *Ammon* usurps the place of some divinity who has preceded him; his figure and titles have been most scrupulously erased to make room for those of his rival; "and it still remains to be ascertained," he says, "who or what this more ancient divinity was, and when this change took place." The inference to be drawn from this is, that the obelisks which shew this must be referred to a very early date; and although the names of *Thothmes* III. and IV. and of the *Rameses* appear upon them (kings of the dynasties which were most remarkable for the progress made in the arts and sciences), so elegant are they in form

and proportion, that they afford additional proofs that, at a still earlier period, the people must have attained to a very considerable degree of skill and ingenuity; and the best hieroglyphic scholars, artists, and architects in the present day, agree that some of the very earliest works of the Egyptians, both in regard to sculpture, painting, and building were the most complete and admirable; in fact, that they were never surpassed in any subsequent generation.

"*The Flaminian*" obelisk is the third in size at Rome; but it is considered highly valuable in an historical point of view, bearing the dates and titles of *Ousirei I.*, or *Manephthasethai*, the father of *Sesostris* or *Rameses II.*, called "*the Great*:" "but," observes Dr. Tomlinson, "the greater part of the inscriptions are of the reign of *Rameses* himself." The date, according to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, is between 1385 and 1355, B. C.; according to Rosellini, it is between 1600 and 1580, B. C.: both of which are impossible, if *Thothmes III.* be *Mæris* or *Menophis*, the author of the *Canicular era*, 1325 B. C.; and Mr. Cullimore has accordingly referred the reigns of *Rameses II.* and his father to the twelfth century B. C., and is supported by the astronomical date of the ceiling of the *Memnonium*, 1138 B. C. The inscriptions are, as usual, flattering to the king, who both *implores* and *imparts to others* power and length of days. They record high-sounding titles, victories, magnificence, and zeal in erecting temples and adorning sacred edifices. The hieroglyphics are deeply cut, like those at *Medinet Haboo*; yet they are considered inferior to those of the "*Lateran*" obelisk. The centre column is the deepest and best; and, as already mentioned, some of the figures have been obliterated, and others substituted: "and," observes Mr. Bonomi, "the wretched attempts made by the Romans to renovate them afford another proof of the great superiority of Egyptian art, in regard to these sculptures, to those of later ages."

#### OBELISK IN THE PIAZZA ROTONDA.

The obelisk in the *Piazza Rotonda* was erected A. D. 1711 by Pope Clement XI. It is 52 feet 6 inches in height, has a

single column of hieroglyphics on each of its four sides, and also records the names of Sesostris or Rameses II.

#### THE OBELISKS AT ALEXANDRIA.

The celebrated "Needles of Cleopatra" at Alexandria are two beautiful obelisks, which are supposed to have been brought from Memphis, and to have once adorned the palace of the Ptolemies. They are about sixty-nine feet in height, that is, above the sand, and eight feet square at the base. Dr. Clark says, sixty-six feet high and seven square. They are covered with hieroglyphics, as in other instances, characteristic of the reigning monarchs; and they are formed of one entire piece of Syene granite, which, however, has lost its florid red colour and become pale, in consequence of the partial decomposition of the feld-spar. One of them is still standing; the other is prostrate; and although it is considered the best of the two, and belongs to the English, no attempt is made to defend it from injury. Pieces are continually being chipped off by strangers; and the pedestal on which it formerly stood has been carried away by the Pasha, as materials to repair the harbour. Champollion cleared away the rubbish from the base of the "Needles," and found a flight of beautiful polished steps leading up to them, from which we may infer that the original level of Alexandria was much below the present one.

As, many years ago, when the Alexandrian obelisk was presented by the Pasha to the English Government, a tablet, bearing an inscription commemorative of the valour of the British army was placed on it, we have been charged with lukewarmness and apathy for not causing such a trophy to be erected in London, as it would then be calculated to keep alive the recollection of that effectual blow which was given by the English to the ambition of Napoleon, the modern Sesostris! In the metropolis we do not require such a memento; and it may be questionable how far we are justified in thus triumphing over former enemies. It is true that war is sometimes unavoidable, but it is always to be lamented: and it is surely vain glory to be continually

reminding our neighbours that they were beaten; and I think we should act more nobly were we to let the obelisk be *preserved in its original site*, in memory of *all* of the contending Europeans who shed their blood, on that occasion, in Egypt. The "Needles of Cleopatra" are not only to be ranked with the finest monuments of their kind, but they form connecting links in the chain of historical evidence; and we cannot be too careful to *watch over and protect* them. Much, therefore, as I desire to see my country enriched with whatever is valuable or excellent, I cannot subscribe to the opinion which advocates the *removal* of such relics. There are many points of interest connected with obelisks which I cannot notice here; as, the means by which they were cut in such immense masses from the native rock, and the mode of transportation adopted by the workmen; for the nearest granite quarries are at Es-Souan, a distance of not less than 750 miles from the sea. I myself saw two obelisks lying in those quarries, in the rough state, just as they had been cut; and they must have been in progress when the country was invaded. They measured 65 feet by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and yet the two extremities were imbedded in the sand. There is a stone lying in the quarries of Baalbec in Syria which measures 68 ft. by 21, and 14 ft. 8 inches. Several similar ones have been used in the construction of the basement wall of the neighbouring temple; and *three* that are quite equal to it. The Luxor Obelisk, which is still in Egypt, measures 93 ft. 6 in. without the pedestal, and it is 8 ft. 2 in. square at the base. Its fellow, which is now in Paris, measures 76 ft. 6 in. without the pedestal, being 7 ft. 6 in. square at the base; and the obelisk of Thothmes at Karnak measures 93 ft. 6 in.; and the Lateran Obelisk at Rome, 105 ft. 8 in. If we add to these the "Rameses" Colossus at Thebes, the weight of which Sir Gardner Wilkinson estimated at 887 tons  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cwt., we shall have, at one view, the comparative size of six of the largest stones made use of in the ancient world. The sitting statues in the Plains of Thebes are no small masses, and surpass every thing of the kind in our day; the rock on which the statue of Peter the Great is erected at St. Peters-

burg being the greatest effort made by the moderns. As Mr. Hall has remarked concerning the quarries of Ancient Syracuse—"These trivial, but distinct and indubitable traces of the handiwork of the ancients carry with them a peculiar sort of authenticity and unpretending truth, which bring old times more vividly before our minds than even the great works of art do." When contemplating the wonders of Egyptian architecture, we find it difficult to reconcile what we see with what we know of the people's history. But the simple touch of a pickaxe on the face of a rock in an old quarry, like one of those at Es-Souan, tells a story which none can doubt. We almost hear the sound ring in our ears, and half wonder that we do not see the workmen labouring about us.

When we look at these stupendous monumental remains, consider their symmetry and beauty, and reflect how great a distance they are brought, and that they are formed out of the hardest and most unmanageable of all materials, viz. Egyptian granite, the question naturally suggests itself, "Where did these extraordinary people procure the tools requisite for such a work?" But we are reminded by Mr. Bonomi, in his interesting Paper on this subject, that the art of working in brass and iron was known even prior to their existence; and he adds—"The knowledge of natural history which the Egyptian Obelisks exhibit must have been derived from a higher and still more ancient source; viz. from the instruction in that science which was given to Adam by the Creator himself, and of which these most ancient and interesting monuments of human genius exhibit perhaps but a feeble manifestation."

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

NOTE  
ON  
THE EMPEROR TRAJAN'S CAMPAIGN  
IN  
MESOPOTAMIA.

BEING A COMMENTARY OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS CONCERNING THE  
WARS WAGED BY THIS GENERAL AGAINST THE PARTHIANS,  
AND ON  
HIS CONQUEST OF SELEUCIA AND CTESIPHON.

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HONORARY MEMBER OF THE LIMERICK INSTITUTION, &c. &c.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,  
ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1845,  
ISAAC CULLIMORE, Esq., M. R. S. L. &c., IN THE CHAIR.





## NOTE ON THE EMPEROR TRAJAN'S CAMPAIGN

IN

## MESOPOTAMIA.

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THE historical materials which assist in investigating the progress of the Emperor Trajan in his wars against the Parthians are limited to the latter books of Dio Cassius, to the abbreviations of Xiphilinus and Niceus, and to certain numismatic resources. The Correspondence of the Emperor with the Younger Pliny; the Treatise of Rittershusius, "*Trajanus in lucem reproductus*," Ambeguaë, 1608, which MS. contains a careful collection of all the passages in the ancients in which the Emperor is made mention of; and Mannert and Engel's elaborate works upon the Danubian Campaigns; are of no utility in this inquiry.

We learn, then, from the only available sources of information in reference to the Emperor's Campaign in Mesopotamia (Dio Cassius. Edit. Reimar. Hamb. Lib. lxxviii. cap. 26), that, "In the beginning of spring Trajan entered the enemy's territory. But, as the country near the Tigris does not produce timber fit for ship-building, he had the ships, which had been constructed in the woods near Nisibis, conveyed in carriages to the river; for they had been so contrived, that they might be taken to pieces and put together again. And, with considerable difficulty, he formed a bridge over the river against the mount *Καρδυνον*, or Kardymus. The Romans crossed the river, and subdued the whole country of Adiabene; and, after this, advanced, without meeting any one to oppose them, as far as Babylon itself."

The river here alluded to, is rather by inference than by positive statement, found to be the Tigris. The mountain alluded to, is also admitted by geographers (Cellarius *Notitiæ Orbis Antiqui*, &c. p. 383) to be the same as the Gordæus, or mountains of Kurdistan. There is no other author who uses the same name as Dio Cassius does for the hills in question; but the *Γορδυαία* of Strabo (xi. p. 359), *Γορδίαϊον* of Ptolemy, Kardu of the Targum of Onkelosius (Genes. viii. 4.), or mountains of the Karduchii, as they are still more generally called, approximate sufficiently in their various readings to attest, with other circumstances, their reference to one and the same chain of hills; and which, to be more minute in our geography, correspond either with that portion of the Kurdistan hills, which, under the name of Jibal Abyadh of the Arabs, and Chá Spi of the Kurds, both signifying "the White Hills," approach the Tigris in the parallel of Nisibis; or to the hills which hem in the same river a little to the northwards, at Jazirah ibn Umár, the Bezabde of the Romans.

The other circumstances here alluded to are furnished to us by the passage of the river, conducting the Romans into Adiabene, of which the Karduchian Mountains, and the rivers Tigris and Greater Zab, constitute the boundaries. Adiabene was especially designated by geographers (Cellarius, *op. cit.* p. 768) as the most noble portion of Assyria, and it contained the cities of Nineveh and Gangamela. It is supposed to have derived its name from the river Zab, by a not uncommon mutation of Zab into Diab, and which is discussed at length in Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxiii. c. xx. Vales. vi.). By comparing the passages in Strabo (xi. 530. xvi. 736. 739. 744), it would appear that the province was also understood to extend on both sides of the river Tigris above Nineveh. Ptolemy placed Arbela in the same province; but that city was more generally considered as the capital of its own province of Arbelitis; and Pliny reverses the order of consideration, and makes (vi. cap. xiii.) Adiabene a part of Arbelitis.

The river, the mountain, and the province, then entered upon by Trajan, leave no other meaning to the above pas-

Sulimán, the Takhti Kusrá, and Takhti Kaiser, the respective thrones or seats of open audience, of Dejoces, Cyrus, Chosroes, and Valerian; and which, in this case, is described by Zosimus as being a lofty tribunal, hewn out of stone.

In addition to these combined proofs of Trajan's having visited these bitumen fountains, so celebrated in all antiquity, Xiphilinus further relates, that the Emperor, having visited the ruins of Babylon, he wished to have made a canal from the river Euphrates to the river Tigris; but that failing in this, he was obliged to drag his vessels from the one river to the other; all these transactions having occurred previously to his construction of a bridge across the Tigris for the purpose of attacking Ctesiphon.

Niceus (Vol. ii. p. 86.) explains this portion of the narrative as follows: "Trajan had it in his mind to establish a communication between the Euphrates and the Tigris by a canal; but having learnt that the Euphrates was much higher than the Tigris, he desisted from his purpose, fearing that the Euphrates, which had already too much slope, might be no longer navigable if he wished to continue his enterprise. So he had boats transported from one river to the other, and took possession of Ctesiphon."

We are thus placed, by these contradictory statements, in the dilemma of being obliged to reject one or the other. It is not conceivable that the Emperor would have approached Ctesiphon at once by the river Tigris and by the river Euphrates. But, in regard to the first of these statements, we have only the fact of the crossing of the Tigris at or near the Karduchian Mountains, and the reduction of the province of Adiabene. There is a total silence in what relates to the long tract of country intervening between that province and Babylonia; and there is also the fact of the historian conveying him from thence to Babylon, and not direct to Ctesiphon; and which would lead us to infer that the Emperor returned, after the conquest of Adiabene, into Mesopotamia: the more so, as on his return from the Parthian capital, by the valley of the Tigris, he would have had to combat the warlike Atrenians, who would scarcely have let

navigation, had the opportunity presented itself. There would then have been nothing further to do, than, after the construction of the boats, from woods apparently growing on the very banks of this river itself, or on the adjacent hills of Masius (Jibal Túr), to launch them on the waters of the Mygdonius, and float them down to the "great river" itself. Unfortunately, history is silent upon a transaction which otherwise admits of so simple, and, in every respect, so satisfactory an explanation.

It is also to be remarked, that the circumstances of Nisibis, on the one hand, and Cercusium (which was at the mouth of the Khaboras) on the other, being so long "limitrophal," or frontier towns of the Roman Empire in the East, (and Hadrian, after the decease of Trajan, hastened to bring the empire within its older limits,) are highly presumptive of their having been generally made the points of departure for incursions carried into the neighbouring countries.

It also remains to be noticed, that we possess a few facts, in the subsequent events of history, confirmatory of the navigation of the river Euphrates by Trajan. Thus we find that the Emperor Alexander Severus, when advancing to repel the Sasanian Prince, who, succeeding to the Arsacide or Parthian dynasty, had revived the claims of the house of Cyrus over all Anterior Asia; that, in the words of Xiphilinus, he went to Nisibis, which had been a short time previously besieged, and vigorously and successfully defended by Letus, and that he afterwards sailed upon the Euphrates with all expedition, attended by a great number of vessels. Severus is here made, like Trajan, to go first to Nisibis, and to travel from thence, not by the Tigris, but by the Euphrates, to Babylonia; and the same historian particularly dwells upon the fact, that he was anxious to imitate his predecessor in his Oriental progress. With respect to the epoch of Alexander Severus, we have the additional materials furnished to us by Eutropus, Aurelius Victor, and Sextus Rufus; but they do not throw any further light upon the question whether or not it was also (as is most probably the case), by the Khaboras that the Emperor passed from Nisibis to the Euphrates.

We also find, on the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus

(Am. Marcellinus. Edit. Wagner. Erfardt. Lib. xxiii. cap. 2.), that the Emperor Julian, who is also expressly stated by his historian to have followed the steps of Trajan, took to the river on his arrival at the Khaboras, and sailed down the stream, followed by part of his army in ships of timber and boats of hide. Cercusium had, in the interval, been surrounded by walls and towers by Dioclesian, when that Emperor occupied himself in giving security to the frontiers of the empire.

Thus, notwithstanding the negative facts of the silence of history upon the subject, the positive indications of Trajan's having built his boats upon a stream tributary to the Euphrates, of his having visited the bitumen fountains of Babylonia, and of his having been obliged to transport his boats by land or by water from the one river to the other, a distance, in the parallel of Ctesiphon, of about twenty miles; would leave scarcely a doubt as to the conqueror of the Parthians having approached Ctesiphon by the river Euphrates, and not, as is generally admitted, by the river Tigris; and which deductions we find to be further corroborated by the proceedings of the Emperors Alexander Severus and Julian, who, according to the testimony of their respective historians, both professed to follow in the footsteps of their distinguished predecessor.

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH.



# NOTES ON THE HIEROGLYPHICS

OF

## HORAPOLLO NILOUS.

BY

SAMUEL SHARPE.

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1845.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F. R. S. &c., IN THE CHAIR.





## INTRODUCTION.

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THE work entitled the "Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous" is remarkable as being the only ancient work which is written to explain the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. It professes to have been written in Coptic, and translated into Greek by one Philip; but in its present state, it is Greek in more than its language. It always speaks of the Egyptians as "they" and "them," and sometimes blunderingly attempts to explain Egyptian words by the help of the Greek language. For example, the writer says that **ΝΟΥΝ**, "the inundation," a well-known Coptic word, means "New," deriving it from the Greek *Neos*. Upon the whole, it seems more probable that it is a Greek work written by Philip, from explanations given to him by Horapollo, and which he did not understand. He gives, clause by clause, the description of the hieroglyphical characters, and the reasons, founded on figurative considerations, for the characters having such meanings. As the greater part of the characters which he describes are not found in any of the numerous inscriptions known to us, and as most of the meanings are such that it is scarcely possible they could have existed on the monuments at all, the work has, both on external and internal evidence, usually been rejected as of little worth. But now that modern ingenuity, guided by the sure and philosophical rules of induction, has given us some insight into hieroglyphics, we are led by a rational curiosity to compare our knowledge with the assertions of Horapollo; not expecting to gain much information from him (for it would be unphilosophical

to rely on a witness who is evidently mistaken in nine cases out of ten), but to see what knowledge he had of the subject which he professes to teach. His work is full of puerile reasoning. Out of the one hundred and eighty-nine groups which Horapollo undertakes to explain, it would be difficult to point out forty in which he has a knowledge of the true meaning: and in most of these, he is remarkably mistaken in the reasons which he assigns for the meaning. He is not aware that the characters represent sounds, but supposes them all to be figurative or allegorical.

We are told by Suidas that Horapollo was a grammarian of the reign of Theodosius, who, after teaching for some time in the Schools of Alexandria, removed to Constantinople; but we may fairly doubt whether our author is the person he is speaking of. Beyond this doubtful account, nothing else is known of him.

The two last editions of this work are those by Dr. Lee-mans of Leyden, and by Mr. A. T. Cory of Cambridge; and from the latter, in particular, I have freely borrowed in the following Notes. But the subject of hieroglyphics is still in a state of progress; and as it would be wholly unnecessary for every fresh annotator to print a new edition of the text, there can be no better method of calling the attention of students to his views than by laying them before this Society. This I venture to do; and the following few extracts from Horapollo are the whole of those in which his explanations seem to be just, according to the present state of our knowledge of the subject; and they are followed by such remarks, and illustrated by such hieroglyphical characters, as I should add if I were now publishing an edition of his work.

NOTES  
ON THE  
HIEROGLYPHICS OF HORAPOLLO NILOUS.

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BOOK I.

CHAP. 1. To denote an age [or period, *αιων*] they draw the sun and moon, because their elements are lasting for an age [*αιωνια*]. But to write an age otherwise [meaning eternity] they draw a Serpent with its tail covered by the rest of its body.

*Note.* Thus in each of the hieroglyphics for the words *Year*, fig. 1,<sup>1</sup> *Month*, fig. 2,<sup>2</sup> and *Day*, fig. 3,<sup>3</sup> which are the more common periods of time, we find a Sun; and in the word *Month* a Moon, as well as in the names of the several months. We find the Serpent with a long tail forming part of the words *For ever*, fig. 4;<sup>4</sup> and the Asp with a twisted tail is the word *Immortal*, fig. 5.<sup>5</sup>

*Again*—This Serpent the Egyptians call Ouraius, which is, in Greek, Basilisk.

*Note.* **Ορρο** is the Coptic for King, and hence the Greek name for the animal, a Basilisk.

CHAP. 3.—When they wish to denote the Natural Year, *ἐνιαυτός*, they draw Isis, that is to say, a Woman. By the same they also represent the Goddess. And Isis, with them, is a Star, called, in Egyptian, Sothis, and in Greek, the Dog-star, which seems also to rule the rest of the stars.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 1, Sharpe's Vocab. 634.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 2, Voc. 643.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 3, Voc. 671.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 4, Voc. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 5, Voc. 191.

*Note.* I do not find the word *Year* represented by a woman; but in the zodiac of the Memnonium, the Beginning of the Year, the heliacal rising of the Dogstar, or when that star rises with the sun, is a woman in a boat, fig. 6;<sup>1</sup> and in the Planisphere on the Temple of Dendera, we have a Cow in a boat, fig. 7,<sup>2</sup> for the same part of the heavens; each meaning the goddess Isis.

*Again*—When they write a Natural Year otherwise, they draw a Palm-branch.

*Note.* As we have seen in fig. 1, a Palm-branch is part of the hieroglyphical word *Year*. ΖΑΛΠΙ and ΡΟΛΠΙ, the Coptic words for *Year*, seem to mean the complete heaven, from ΠΗ, the heavens, and ΖΑΛΛ and ΡΑΛΛ, rich, splendid. If this be the case, we see, in the similarity of sound between ΠΗ, the heavens, and ΒΑΙ, a palm-branch, why a palm-branch is used for the word *Year*.

CHAP. 4. When they write a Month, they draw the Moon inverted . . . . . because they say that on its heliacal rising, when it has come to fifteen degrees [from the sun], it appears with its horns erect; but in its decrease, after having completed the number of thirty days, it sets with its horns downward.

*Note.* In all the hieroglyphics for *Month* the Moon has its horns downward, as in fig. 2; but on the sarcophagus of the wife of Amasis, in the British Museum, where the deceased is addressed "Thy name is New Moon," the horns are upwards, as in fig. 8.<sup>3</sup> The resemblance of this figure of the moon rising heliacally, when one day old, to the moon in a boat, seems to be the reason why the other constellations, when rising heliacally, in the zodiac of Dendera, are all in boats, as figs. 6 and 7.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 6, Burton, pl. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 7, Denon, pl. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 8, Sharpe's Egypt. Inscript. pl. 118. 7.

CHAP. 5. When writing the current Civil Year, ετος, they draw the fourth part of an aroura [their term in the square measure of land].

*Note.* Fig. 9<sup>1</sup> seems to be the hieroglyphic here meant, and it may be compared with fig. 1. But the Palm-branch with a Square is used when a number of years are spoken of, and the Palm-branch with a ring is used in dates; which is the reverse of what seems to be Horapollo's meaning.

CHAP. 7. Moreover, the Hawk is put for the Soul, from the meaning of the name; for among the Egyptians the Hawk is called Baieth.

*Note.* In many sculptures we see a bird over the mouth of the dead man, meaning the soul which has quitted the body, as in fig. 10.<sup>2</sup> In chapter 34 this bird is called the Phœnix.

CHAP. 8. When writing Ares and Aphrodite they draw two Hawks.

*Note.* Horus is often drawn as a Hawk-headed Man, fig. 11;<sup>3</sup> and the name of Athor, here called Aphrodite, is written with a Hawk within a House, as fig. 12.<sup>4</sup> The word Athor is obtained from its resemblance in sound to the Coptic words for "House of Horus," **ⲏⲓ ⲧⲗⲠⲡ**.

CHAP. 9. To write Mother . . . . . or Minerva, or Juno, or Two Drachms, they draw a Vulture . . . . ; Minerva and Juno, because among the Egyptians Minerva is thought to preside over the upper hemisphere, and Juno over the lower . . . . . and Two Drachms, because among the Egyptians the unit [of money] is two drachms.

*Note.* The Vulture, as in fig. 13,<sup>5</sup> is the usual hieroglyphic for Mother. In fig. 14,<sup>6</sup> we have the two goddesses, Neith and Isis, representing Heaven and Earth.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 9, Voc. 635.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 10, *Materia Hierog.* I. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 11, *Egypt. Inscript.* pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 12, Voc. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 13, Voc. 1013.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 14, *Denon*, pl. 129.

As our author remarks, a Didrachm is the unit of money; and fig. 13 is **ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ**, "alone."

CHAP. 13. When signifying a Mundane God, or Fate, or the number Five, they draw a Star.

*Note.* We find the Star part of the word God on all occasions, as fig. 15.<sup>1</sup>

Fig. 16.<sup>2</sup> is the numeral Fifteen, where the Star is the numeral Five.

CHAP. 16. Again, when signifying the Two Equinoxes, they draw a Cynocephalus sitting.

*Note.* On the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, a sitting Cynocephalus, or Dog-headed Monkey sitting on a landmark, marks the Summer solstice, as fig. 17.<sup>3</sup>

CHAP. 17. When they wish to denote Courage they draw a Lion.

*Note.* A Lion seems to have this meaning in the hieroglyphics. See Vocab. 770.

CHAP. 18. When writing Strength they draw the fore-parts of a Lion.

*Note.* Fig. 18<sup>4</sup> is the word **ⲭⲐⲠ**, 'victorious,' and the latter half of the word Neit-cori, or Nitocris, *Neith the Victorious*. It is spelt Thor, but the instances are common of Th and Ch being interchanged, through the guttural sound.

CHAP. 21. When signifying the rising of the Nile, which in Egyptian they call *Noun* . . . . . they sometimes draw a Lion, and sometimes three large Waterpots, and sometimes Heaven and Earth gushing forth water.

*Note.* In Coptic we still have the word **ⲛⲟⲩⲛ** for water; and the god of the Nile is called Hapinou, or

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 15, Voc. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 16, Egypt. Inscript. 73. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 17, Burton, pl. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 18, Wilkinson's Thebes, pl. 1.

“Waterman,” fig. 19,<sup>1</sup> though more usually Hapimou, fig. 20.<sup>2</sup>

We also meet with the title “*Lord of the Waters*,” as fig. 21,<sup>3</sup> with a water-pot.

CHAP. 24. When they wish to write Protection, they draw two Human Heads, that of a man looking inwards, and that of a woman looking outwards.

*Note.* Fig. 22<sup>4</sup> and fig. 23<sup>5</sup> each mean *Guardian* and *Belonging to*.

CHAP. 26. When they wish to denote an Opening, they draw a Hare.

*Note.* Horapollo probably means a rabbit, as there is a resemblance between the hieroglyphic name of the animal SOAT, fig. 24,<sup>6</sup> and the Coptic word  $\text{CWTZ}$ , “to burrow.” When a rabbit occurs in the hieroglyphics, it has that syllabic sound, and with the letter  $\text{ST}$  it forms the very common word  $\text{COWTEST}$ , *just*, as in fig. 25.<sup>7</sup>

CHAP. 32. When they would represent Delight, they write the number Sixteen.

*Note.* We have a coin of Hadrian with the figures sixteen over a reclining figure of a river god, to denote that sixteen cubits was the height of rise in the Nile at all times wished for. We have other coins on which the river god is surrounded by sixteen little naked children or Cupids; and it would almost seem that the Alexandrian artist had, in this case, had in his mind the similarity in sound, in the Latin language, between Cupids and Cubits.

CHAP. 28. To denote Egyptian letters, or a Sacred Scribe, or a Boundary, they draw Ink, and a Sieve, and a Reed.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 19, Burton, pl. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 20, Burton, pl. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 21, Voc. 781.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 22, Voc. 496.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 23, Voc. 493.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 24, Rossellini, M. C. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 25, Voc. 620.

*Note.* In Fig. 26,<sup>1</sup> the hieroglyphic for *Scribe*, and *Letters*, we perhaps have these objects. This character is not used when Greek letters are spoken of on the Rosetta stone.

*Again*—And among the sacred scribes there is a sacred book called Ambres, by which they judge as to a person lying sick, whether he will live or not.

*Note.* We recognise this word on the Gnostic gems in the word *Chambre*, and perhaps in *Abrasax*, whence the more modern word *Abracadabra*. See fig. 27. and fig. 28.<sup>2</sup> In the last two words, the sound of *MB* has sunk into *B*.

CHAP. 39. And again, when they would write *Sacred Scribe*, or *Prophet*, or *Embalmer*, or *Spleen*, or *Smelling*, or *Laughter*, or *Sneezing*, or *Government*, or a *Judge*, they draw a *Dog*.

*Note.* Anubis was the god of embalming; and the priest, whose duty it was to embalm the dead is represented with a dog's head. See fig. 29.<sup>3</sup> He probably wore a mask of that form, for his dog's head is always large enough to hold a man's head concealed under it. A dog-headed sceptre (fig. 30.<sup>4</sup>) is also the hieroglyphic for *Power*. But by the help of the next chapter, we see that our author more particularly meant the *Dog*, fig. 31,<sup>5</sup> which stands before Osiris in the judgment scene on the Papyri, and seems to be the original of the Greek dog *Cerberus*.

CHAP. 40. But when they would write *Government*, or a *Judge*, they place before the dog a royal garment.

*Note.* This is always the case in the judgment scene: it is the skin of some spotted beast, as fig. 32,<sup>6</sup> hanging on a pole.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 26, Voc. 545.

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 27 and 28, Walsh's Gems.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 29, Young's Hierog. pl. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 30, Voc. 556.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 31, Young's Hierog. pl. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 32, Voc. 142.



CHAP. 43. When writing Purity, they draw Fire and water.

*Note.* We find a flame of fire and a bucket of water with this meaning. See fig. 33,<sup>1</sup> *Purifications*.

CHAP. 44. When any thing unlawful or hateful, they draw a Fish.

*Note.* The nearest hieroglyphic to this, is the word *dead*, fig. 34,<sup>2</sup> in which the letter *M* is a fish.

CHAP. 46. To denote Manliness with Prudence, they draw a Bull.

*Note.* Fig. 35,<sup>3</sup> is the word *Brave*. The arm is only the final vowel. From **MACI** a bull, we get **MAACE** to fight, by the similarity of sound.

CHAP. 52. And when writing Knowledge, they draw an Ant.

*Note.* The group, fig. 36,<sup>4</sup> forms the title of one of the four chief orders of the priesthood, and was also used by the king.

CHAP. 53. And when they wish to write Son, they draw a Goose.

*Note.* Fig. 37,<sup>5</sup> is *Son*, and fig. 38,<sup>6</sup> *Daughter*.

CHAP. 54. For an Unjust and Ungrateful Man, they draw two claws of an Hippopotamus turned downwards.

*Note.* Fig. 39,<sup>7</sup> the hieroglyphical group for *enemies* begins with the character here spoken of.

CHAP. 59. The serpent's name, among the Egyptians, is Meisi.

*Note.* We find this name in hieroglyphics, as fig. 40,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 33, Egypt. Inscript. 66. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 34, Egypt. Inscript. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 35, Egypt. Inscript. 42. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 36, Egypt. Inscript. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 37, Voc. 996.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 38, Voc. 997.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 39, Egypt. Inscript. 74. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Fig. 40, Egypt. Inscript. 65.

where it is followed by the demonstrative sign to distinguish it from *Born*. We have the same word in Coptic for *serpent*, ⲘⲚⲘⲚ.

CHAP. 60. And otherwise to denote a Watchful King, they draw a Serpent watching, and in the place of the king's name, they draw a Watcher.

*Note.* There seems to be a mistake in this sentence; and I should conjecture, that instead of the last word *φυλακα*, a *watcher*, we should read *γυπα*, a *vulture*; and that the group meant was fig. 41,<sup>1</sup> a *sole ruler*, or *Monarch*.

CHAP. 62. When denoting a people obedient to a king, they draw a Bee.

*Note.* Our author seems to be thinking of the Twig and Insect, fig. 42,<sup>2</sup> the well known title of the kings. It is strictly a double title, each used by an order of Priests, and one peculiar to the Upper, and one to the Lower Country. Hence it is to be translated *King of Upper and Lower Egypt*.

CHAP. 70. When they speak of Darkness, they draw the tail of a Crocodile.

*Note.* Fig. 43,<sup>3</sup> may be meant for a crocodile's tail. It is the word *Black*; and has that meaning from the similarity in sound between *Χαμψη*, Herodotus's name for a *Crocodile*, and ⲘⲁⲘⲘⲘ, the Coptic for *Black*.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 41, Voc. 403.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 42, Voc. 417.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 43, Rossellini, Mon. Reg. 41.

## BOOK II.

CHAP. 3. Two feet joined, and walking, signify *the path of the sun in the winter solstice.*

*Note.* In the zodiac of Tentyra, the twelve signs are enclosed within two female figures, representing the heavens, as in fig. 44;<sup>1</sup> where the feet represent the *summer*, and the hands the *winter solstice.*

CHAP. 5. The hands of a man, one holding a shield, and the other a bow when drawn, denote the *Front of the Battle.*

*Note.* The hieroglyphic nearest to this is fig. 45:<sup>2</sup> a man's arms, one holding a shield and the other a club; this is the word *Brave* or *Victorious.*

CHAP. 9. When we would denote the loins or constitution of a man, we draw the *backbone*; for some say that the seed is brought from thence.

*Note.* Fig. 46,<sup>3</sup> which is a thigh-bone with the flesh on it, is the word *Son*, and may be the hieroglyphic here meant.

CHAP. 11. Two men joining their right hands denote *Concord.*

*Note.* We find this group in the hieroglyphics, as fig. 47,<sup>4</sup> and it seems to mean *Friends.*

CHAP. 12. A man armed with a shield and a bow denotes a *Crowd.*

*Note.* We find a man with a bow for the word *Soldier*, as fig. 48;<sup>5</sup> and a man with an arrow, as fig. 49,<sup>6</sup> with the same meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 44, Denon, pl. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 45, Egypt. Inscript. 42. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 46, 1012.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 47, Burton, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 48, Voc. 988.

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 49, Voc. 989.

CHAP. 29. Seven letters enclosed in two rings signify a Song, or Infinite, or Fate.

*Note.* This seems to allude to the Seven Tens in fig. 50,<sup>1</sup> which mean the seventy days of mourning and embalming between the death and burial, during which the funeral song may have been sung.

CHAP. 30. A straight line, together with a curved line or a Ten, signify *prose writing*.

*Note.* I know no such group as our author speaks of; but as we have seen in fig. 50,<sup>1</sup> a curved line is a Ten.

CHAP. 32. When they wish to draw a woman, who remains a widow till death, they draw a black Dove.

*Note.* The Vulture, fig. 13, which is more often the word *Mother*, is also *Widow*; as with us, the Queen-Mother is the Queen-Widow. Moreover, in Coptic, the words *Mother* and *Solitary* are nearly the same.

CHAP. 41. When they wish to signify a man that caught a fever and died from a stroke of the sun, they draw a Blind beetle.

*Note.* This is a good instance of how our author blunders about the meaning of a group, without quite understanding it. The Scarabæus rolling up a ball of dung between its feet, as in fig. 51,<sup>2</sup> is one hieroglyphic for the *Sun*, or *Ra*.

CHAP. 56. When they wish to signify a King that governs absolutely, and shews no mercy to faults, they draw an Eagle.

*Note.* The eagle and globe, fig. 52,<sup>3</sup> is the usual title of a King. The eagle is an *A*, the globe is the sun, *Ra*, making the word **OPYO** king; and with the article prefixed, the well known word *Pharaoh*.

CHAP. 57. When they wish to signify a great Cyclical Renovation, they draw the bird Phoenix.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 50, Voc. 676.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 51, Egypt. Inscript. pl. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 52, Voc. 406.

*Note.* We have a coin of Antoninus, as fig. 53,<sup>1</sup> with the word ΑΙΩΝ, *the age or period*, written over an Ibis with a glory round his head. This was coined in honour of the end of one Sothic period or Great Year, and the beginning of another. On each of these occasions, the Ibis or Phœnix was said to return to earth. In hieroglyphics, the Palm-branch, fig. 1 and fig. 9, is the word *Year*; and the bird seems to have that meaning from the similarity of sound between ΒΑΙ, *a palm branch*, and ΑΠΟΙ, *an ibis*. In Greek, the fabled bird seems only to have obtained its name Phœnix from φοινίξ, *the palm branch*.

CHAP. 72. When they wish to denote a man that *passes fearlessly through the evils which assail him, even until death*, they draw the skin of an Hyena. For if a man clothe himself in this skin, and pass through any of his enemies, he will be injured by none, but pass through without fear.

*Note.* The skin of an Hyena, as fig. 32, is hung before Osiris in the judgment scene, when the dead man is brought to his trial. And again, on the funereal tablets, we sometimes see the deceased clothed in an Hyena's skin.<sup>2</sup> Either of these may have given rise to our author's remark.

CHAP. 73. When they wish to signify *a man skilled in heavenly matters*, they draw a Crane flying.

*Note.* Fig. 54<sup>3</sup> is the word *High-priest*, in which the flying Crane is the first syllable.

CHAP. 115. When they wish to signify a prolific [or a generous] man, they draw a House Sparrow.

*Note.* Fig. 55<sup>4</sup> is the word *Great*, of which the first character is a Sparrow.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 53, Zoega's Numi Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Egypt. Inscript. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 54, Voc. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 55, Voc. 582.

CHAP. 116. When they would signify *a man that is constant and uniform*, they draw a Lyre.

*Note.* The character, fig. 56,<sup>1</sup> is the word *Like*; but it is doubtful whether it is a musical instrument.

CHAP. 118. When they wish to signify *a man that distributes justice equally to all*, they draw the Feather of an Ostrich.

*Note.* Fig. 57<sup>2</sup> is the God or Goddess of Truth. The letters are *MO*, forming the word *𐩔𐩢𐩣 true*.

CHAP. 119. When they wish to signify *a man that is fond of building*, they draw a Man's hand.

*Note.* Fig. 58<sup>3</sup> is the word *to set up*. •

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 56, Voc. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 57, Egypt. Inscript. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 58, Voc. 925.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

Notes on Horapollo.



Samuel. Sharpe.

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A  
VISIT TO THE RUINS  
OF THE  
ANCIENT CITY OF NAUCRATIS,  
AND TO THE SITE OF  
SAIS,  
IN THE DELTA OF EGYPT.

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FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT OF  
J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. M.G.S., PARIS, &c.

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,  
ON TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1844.  
JOHN LEE, Esq., LL. D. F. R. S. &c., IN THE CHAIR.



VISIT TO THE RUINS OF NAUCRATIS,  
AND  
TO THE SITE OF SAIS.

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IN a voyage up the Nile, in the month of July, between Rosetta and Cairo, we landed at the village of SA-'L-HADJ'R, then the scene of great festivity, from the celebration of a village fair. This has been fixed on as the site of the ancient SAIS, in the French maps, though Arrowsmith has, with greater accuracy, placed that city farther within the Delta. Niebuhr had visited the same village, without assigning to it the site of any ancient city; but Rennell has reconciled it to that of NAUCRATIS, upon the following arguments:—

“SAH, the site of the ancient SAIS, stands, according to Mr. D'Anville, at five miles to the east of Lebben, a position in Mr. Niebuhr's chart. Strabo says, that 'NAUCRATIS stood at two schoenes, by water, from SAIS;' and as the latter lay *inland*, to the east, from the Canopic River, but the former *on* that river itself, the water passage must have been by a canal crossing the Delta; and as the canals at present run to the north-west at that very place, NAUCRATIS should have been to the north-west of SAIS, and about eight miles from it.”

Again: “NAUCRATIS, by the Theodosian Tables, is fifty-six miles from Alexandria towards MEMPHIS; and, as this road must also be supposed to lie through RAHMANIEH (taken for HERMOPOLIS), NAUCRATIS should be twelve miles beyond HERMOPOLIS, towards MEMPHIS. In other words, SAIS and HERMOPOLIS should be twenty Roman miles asunder, of which twelve are between HERMOPOLIS and NAUCRATIS, eight between

the latter and SAIS; and the construction founded on the above mentioned data allows twenty-two such miles, which is sufficiently exact for the purpose in hand. NAUCRATIS should then be one hundred and three miles, by the road, from MEMPHIS, and the construction actually allows one hundred and one. This position of NAUCRATIS falls precisely at SA-'L-HADJ'R, about twenty-eight geographical miles above Rosetta, at the east side of the river, within the Delta." \*

This reasoning, like that which Major Rennell in general offers upon disputed points, is such as needs neither comment nor addition; and to me appears highly satisfactory. If, then, it be so, in point of distance and position only, his arguments will derive additional strength from the existence of such remains as could have been only those of a celebrated and opulent establishment; and proofs of these are not wanting.

Mr. Niebuhr says: " On voit encore aujourd'hui de grands monceaux de ruines, près de SA-'L-HADJ'R, dans le Delta. Le nom de ce village est un nom Arabe: mais la ville, qui autrefois le portoit, doit avoir fleure dès le temps des anciens Egyptiens. Je vis à BULAK un grande coffre de granît, chargé d'une multitude de caractères hiéroglyphiques; on l'avoit transporté de SA-'L-HADJ'R. J'y fis un voyage exprès de KAHIRA, sur ce que l'on m'avoit assuré, qu'il y avoit encore beaucoup de monuments anciens et superbes. Mais je n'y trouvai que les *indices* d'une grande ville, dont je viens de parler, et quelques colonnes de la même figure, que Norden et Poccoke ont dessinée dans la Haute Egypte, et dont les pauvres habitants de ce village avoient étayé leurs maisons. Je me contentai de dessiner la pierre que je trouvai devant un prefoir à huile. Quelques figures hiéroglyphiques, dont cette pierre est chargée, font preuve, qu'elle a été taillée par les anciens Egyptiens. Elles étoient engravées, comme tous les autres caractères de cette espèce, que j'ai vus sur des pierres, mais les figures du milieu étoient en relief." †

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\* Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, 4to. p. 530.

† Voyage en Arabie. Vol. I. p. 78. Utrecht ed. 1776.

In our examination of the village of SA-'L-HADJ'R, which, as Mr. Niebuhr observes, is an Arab name, and signifies literally "a heap of stones," we found sufficient reason for that appellation in its present state; and doubted not but that, on the original application of it, the ruins on which it was founded were much more extensive than at present. At this moment, around the skirts of the modern town, are scattered fragments of granite columns, mounds of destroyed buildings, and other vestiges of antiquity, which extend to some distance; and, in visiting the mosques, where the largest and best-preserved masses are generally found, we observed portions of sculptured stone that had evidently entered into the construction of a temple, hewn into the form of square pillars, and surmounted with Greek capitals to support the cross-beams of these chequered buildings. Besides these, the thresholds of all the doors of entrance were formed of similar fragments; and the sculptures, both on these and on the square hewn columns, contained the usual subjects of hieroglyphics—priests, offerings, sacred animals, &c. At each of the mosques, we found also that, the cisterns for ablution were formed of yellow marble sarcophagi, in a good state of preservation, but without sculpture, though most decidedly of ancient Egyptian execution.

Strabo attributes to the Milesians the foundation of the city of NAUCRATIS, after they had established themselves near the mouth of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, in the reign of Psammetichus; and Herodotus, when describing Amasis as being very partial to the Greeks, and favouring them upon every occasion, says, "Such of them as wished to have a regular communication with Egypt he permitted to have a settlement at NAUCRATIS. Formerly," continues he, "this was the sole emporium of Egypt: whoever came to any other than the Canopian branch of the Nile was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was, in the same vessel, obliged to go thither. NAUCRATIS was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta

to NAUCRATIS ;”—a restriction which Rennell has aptly compared to that of our Canton establishment in China, when it was the sole port of that great empire at which the Europeans could land their goods.

The ancient historians have related many facts illustrative of the state of society in Lower Egypt at this period : I propose to allude to one or two.

Among other traits of character which Herodotus gives of Amasis, this founder of the first Greek settlement in Egypt, is the following remarkable anecdote :—“This king,” says he, “made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, to cement which, he determined to take a wife of that country, either to shew his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus ; by others, of Arcesilaus ; or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, Amasis, it seems, suspecting his wife of witchcraft, thus addressed her : ‘You have certainly practised some charm to my injury : expect not, therefore, to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death.’ When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed in the temple of Venus, that, ‘if the Goddess would counteract her husband’s wicked designs, and restore her to his favour, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene ;’ whereupon, her wishes were accomplished : the wrath of Amasis subsided ; and, ever afterwards, he distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus : it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Egypt, was, as soon as it was discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.”

The same author, Herodotus, describes the courtesans of NAUCRATIS as generally beautiful, the most famous of which was Rhodopis, who, says he, “was so universally celebrated, that her name is familiar to every Greek.” She was indeed

the greatest beauty of her age, even to a proverb; and it was by her that the pyramid, spoken of by Diodorus Siculus as being, "though less in size and extent to the others, superior to them in the costliness of the materials and excellence of the workmanship," was, by some, supposed to have been erected.

The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo:— "It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha. She was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to NAUCRATIS Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt. Others called her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day, when she was in the bath, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to MEMPHIS. The king was then sitting in his tribunal: the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom. The prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at NAUCRATIS, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife. When she died she was buried with honours, and this pyramid was erected to her memory."

Diodorus Siculus says that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expense of some governors who had been her admirers.

Perigonius, in his notes on Eliar, says that there were two persons of this name; one a courtesan, who afterwards became the wife of Psammetichus; the other the fellow slave of Esop, who lived in the time of Amasis.

Herodotus, in giving her history, asserts her to have been born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Esop, who wrote fables, and was also the slave of Iadmon. Rhodopis was first carried to Egypt by Xanthus, of Samos, whose view was to make money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus becoming free while she afterwards continued in Egypt, her

beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid.

The race of Naucratian beauties had, however, sadly degenerated; for among the Arab women we saw here, most of them were singularly deficient in personal charms, with the exception of two only; one of which was a young girl of graceful figure, delicate arms, eloquent eyes, and expressive features, which a consciousness of her own perfections induced her to display to us by throwing up her veil as we passed; and her long blue dress, with bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, and other ornaments, was infinitely more elegant than I had before thought the Arab costume capable of being made. The other was a young wife, of about eighteen, who came running after us as we were leaving the village, with antiques to offer us for sale. Neither my friend nor myself were at first disposed to purchase; but jestingly telling her that we might be tempted if she would display her face, she threw aside her veil without a moment's hesitation, and certainly surprised us both by the exhibition of a clear, smiling, and beautiful countenance; after which, we could not of course decline to buy her wares.

On leaving the village of SA-'L-HADJ'R, we passed through all the mirth and revelry of the fair which was celebrating, and had an opportunity of witnessing the dancing-girls, musicians, and jugglers of an Egyptian festival, as gay in their exhibitions as any of the feasts of NAUCRATIS could have been, but without the splendour and elegance which must have marked the entertainments of a city whose females were renowned throughout the world for their beauty, whose splendid temples, obelisks, and statues, dedicated to the worship of the Hellenic Goddess, must have increased, by their attractions, the number of their votaries; but of which every trace is now destroyed, except the few scattered fragments which remain to tell the wondering passenger how low the pride of the mightiest may be reduced.

When we set out together in company from Alexandria, I had intended making a tour across the Delta, and returning to Caïro through the upper part of the Sharkieh, visiting all



the places of interest in the route ; and in this excursion my friend had promised to accompany me ; but finding land journeys in Egypt less agreeable than he had expected, he was by no means disposed to fulfil his engagement ; at the same time, pressing me so warmly to abandon the intention for the present, or at least postpone it until the cooler air and more verdant beauties of winter should render it more inviting, that I was at length forced into a promise of accompanying his party, in the canjee of Ali Bey, to Caïro, on condition that while I made my excursion to Sais, the boat was to wait for me at Kafr-el-Lebben, about three miles up the river.

Procuring animals, therefore, at SA-'L-HADJ'R, we rode about five miles inland, in an easterly direction, inclining to the north, over a dusty plain, and halted, near some mounds and scattered ruins of brick pottery, upon the banks of the canal of Hashabi, the bed of which was now perfectly dry. Our guides were unacquainted with any other spot than this in the neighbourhood, where vestiges of ancient settlements could be traced, and the evening was too far advanced for us to extend our researches further ; which assurance, with the correspondence of bearing and distance, was scarcely sufficient to satisfy me that what we saw could be all that remained of the wreck of so celebrated and magnificent a city as SAIS is described to have been. Not a fragment of all the proud temples, sphinxes, groves, or tombs, described by the ancient historians as existing in this city, were now to be found ; all, perhaps, sunk beneath the mud of the Nile, the waters of which yearly inundate this spot, and all traces of the foundations even of the public buildings are thus obliterated by the plough in the cultivation of the surrounding plains.

Among other circumstances which tended to the celebrity of the ancient city was, its being the burial place of many distinguished characters, particularly of Apries and Amasis, the former of whom, according to Dr. Prideaux, is the personage called in the Scriptures "Pharaoh Hophra," who lived about the period when the Prophet Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem and shewn the different kinds of idolatry then

practised by the Jews. The outline of his history, as given by Herodotus, informs us that he succeeded his father Psammis, the son of Psammetichus, made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in a battle by sea; but having been unsuccessful in an expedition against the Cyrenians, he was deposed, or revolted against, by his subjects. Amasis, whom he sent to soothe those malcontents, suffered himself to be crowned by them with a helmet, and afterwards headed their party as their king.

At the head of 30,000 Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, Apries departed from SAIS, where he had a magnificent palace, and proceeded against Amasis, who commanded his rebel subjects. They met and fought at MOMEMPHIS; and although the despised king still thought his authority too permanent to be shaken even by a deity, he was conquered, and taken in captivity to SAIS. Here he was confined in the palace, formerly his own, but now that of Amasis, who continued to treat his prisoner with great kindness, until the importunities of the people obliged him to deliver him up to their power, when they strangled him, and buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, "which," says Herodotus, "stands on the left side of the vestibule of the temple of Minerva. In this temple," continues he, "the inhabitants of SAIS buried all the princes who were of their province; but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building than that of Apries and his ancestors."

The decided manner in which the Greek traveller speaks of the principal edifices of SAIS leaves no doubt of his having visited the city during his stay in Egypt. Alluding to the temple of Minerva, he says, "In the area before this temple, stands a large marble edifice, magnificently adorned with obelisks in the shape of palm trees, with various other ornaments: in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have also at SAIS the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to specify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone: it is of a circular form, and, as I should

think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochœides. Upon this lake are represented, by night, the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their mysteries." \*

The historian mentions, then, some anecdotes illustrative of the character of Amasis, the successor of Apries, which are extremely curious, particularly the stratagem which he used of transforming a certain golden vessel into the statue of a god, to elucidate his claim to reverence, though of plebeian origin; and his reply to those who reproached him with unbecoming levity, as derogatory to his kingly dignity. "This prince," says he, "thus regulated his time. From the dawn of day until such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table, where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some of his friends remonstrated. 'Sir,' they observed, 'do you not dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities? From your awful throne you ought to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs; and, by such conduct, increase the dignity of your name, and the veneration of your subjects. Your present life is most unworthy of a king.' 'They,' replied Amasis, 'who have a bow, bend it only at the time they want it: when not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed; it would otherwise break, and not be of service when exigence required. It is precisely the same with a man. If, without some intervals of amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigour both of mind and body. It is the conviction of this truth which influences me in the division of my time.' "

Of this Amasis it is asserted, that, whilst he was in a private condition, he avoided every serious occupation, and gave himself up entirely to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had

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\* Herodotus "Euterpe," 170.

recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and neither offering them presents nor sacrifice: this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice, he revered as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem;—a conduct which has been very aptly compared by Beloe to that of our young Prince Harry, so beautifully elucidated by Shakspeare.

“In honour of Minerva,” continues the same historian, “this prince erected at SAIS a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphinxes of enormous magnitude. To repair this temple, he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of MEMPHIS, and part from the city of ELEPHANTINA, which is distant from SAIS a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, was most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from ELEPHANTINA, constructed of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, an entire period of three years. The length of this structure, on the outside, was twenty-two cubits; it was fourteen wide, and eight high. In the inside, the length of it was twenty cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It was placed at the entrance of the temple. The reason it was carried no further is this—the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it, for which reason it was advanced no farther.”

Not a vestige of all this magnificence, bestowed on SAIS by the most liberal monarch Egypt ever enjoyed, the donor of its most superb temples, the founder of its Grecian colonies, the institutor of some of its best laws, and the sole monarch under whom the Egyptians could boast of twenty thousand cities well inhabited,—not a fragment of the splendour with which he embellished this his favourite seat now remains. Time, that effectual destroyer of the most colossal works, has no doubt been the chief, because the most unceasing, agent of its destruction. Yet the splendid remains of THEBES and other ancient cities may be admitted as proof that time alone could hardly yet have rendered its annihilation so complete. It is stated that Cambyses, the Persian, when only ten years old, had been urged by his mother's complaint of being neglected by Cyrus for a supposed daughter of Amasis, to exclaim, "Mother, as soon as I am a man, I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt." It is probable, therefore, that in order to perform his vow, he would vent the first efforts of his vengeance against the monuments of him on whose account he was chiefly instigated to the war; more particularly when Amasis himself, against whose living person he would have been so glad to direct his fury, had died a natural and tranquil death before Cambyses had advanced to Egypt, having, during the whole enjoyment of his power, in a long reign, experienced no extraordinary calamity, and being, at his death, embalmed and deposited in a sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva. The history of this expedition and march across the Syrian Deserts; the battle of the hostile armies near PELUSIUM; the subsequent surrender of MEMPHIS; the trials inflicted by Cambyses on the captive family of Amasis; and the subsequent death of the son who then filled his father's throne; are all descriptions of that devastating spirit by which the Persian conquerer was actuated: but more particularly the dastardly act of wreaking his vengeance on the dead, in which he had not even the poor plea that Achilles might have urged for his ignominious treatment of the brave and injured Hector, when he drew him, at his chariot

wheels, around the walls of Ilium, upon the field of battle, and before the boiling anger of the fight in which he vanquished him might have subsided; for the Egyptian king had lain in peace within his tomb before ever his dominions were invaded.

Herodotus thus relates this outrage:—"As soon as Cambyzes had entered the palace of Amasis, at SAIS, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression. When they were therefore fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned; in which last act, Cambyzes even disregarded the religion of his country; for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity."

The destruction of the tombs, the palaces, and the temples themselves, would seem to follow as a matter of course from the hands of so enraged an avenger, whose whole conduct could only be accounted for, by considering him as deprived of his reason; but if the edifices which Herodotus describes existed at the time of his writing, which seems, from his manner of description, to be implied, their destruction could not *then* have taken place; although the succeeding events of war might have assisted towards their overthrow and demolition. Of this, at least, I am persuaded, that some powerful cause must have operated, conjointly with time, to sweep away every vestige of a magnificence so great as that of SAIS.

On leaving this instructive scene of utter desolation, the impressions which I had so often felt before, when treading on the rased foundations of fallen greatness, were renewed with increased force, and occupied me in our silent ride to the banks of the Nile.

It was considerably past sunset when we reached the village of KAHR-EL-LEBBEN, where my impatient fellow-travellers awaited my return. We supped together on board. The canjee having spread the lofty lateen sail to a fresh northern

breeze, and favoured by the moon, we continued to stem the current of the Nile until we brought up at SHABOOR, in a midnight calm.

The fatigue of the preceding day being recruited by sweet sleep, we were stirring at four o'clock. The morning calm was delightful; and immediately opposite to the Scala at which we were moored, were fine continued groves of palms and sycamores, whose reflection on the clear surface of the stream presented a beautiful picture.

After bathing in the Nile, we made an excursion round SHABOOR, which has been marked as the site of the ancient ANDROPOLIS, though it presents no vestiges from which one might infer its former consequence. In the course of our walk, we frequently halted to enjoy the shade of some fine groups of trees by which the village is surrounded, and, in passing through the town itself, visited an Egyptian school. The blind master desired to feel the palms of our hands and foreheads, from which he was polite enough to infer our being good and sensible men, and insisted upon our taking a morning cup of coffee with him, and hearing his pupils read. The last we would willingly have dispensed with, were it not that refusal would have been an unkind return for the favour of the first: we therefore did both, and were much pleased. Leaving our slippers at the door, we entered, also, two of the village mosques, both of which were neat, simple, and clean.

Departing from thence at nine o'clock, when the northern breeze sprung up, we continued to advance up the Nile, passing SALAMOON and the smaller villages on either side, until we brought up for half an hour, at NEGEELY, on the western bank, a town not included in Arrowsmith's map, although larger and more populous than either SHABOOR or SALAMOON. Along the borders of the river, tobacco appeared to be the chief cultivation at that season.

In the evening, one of the crew, a grey-bearded old man, personated the deity of Lampsacus; and having his turban taken from his head, it was formed into a ceinture for his waist; then, regardless of all decency, he commenced a dance characteristic of the divinity, singing, at intervals, the

leading stanzas of an Arab song, while the rest of the crew who surrounded him, formed a species of response, by singing and clapping their hands in chorus. This was not the first occasion on which I had remarked the vestiges of ancient usage still preserved among the Egyptians of the present day. I had before noticed them in many instances; and this was also unquestionably a remnant of those very mysteries formerly celebrated at SAIS upon the lake, in honour of the certain personage whom Herodotus did not feel himself at liberty to mention.

We had anchored on a sand-bank in the middle of the stream, at night, and the breeze being favourable in the morning, we made sail at day-light, passing ZAERA, and TANOOP, the ancient TANA, on the eastern, and having the Desert soon afterwards descending to the water's edge on the western bank of the Nile.

On entering the reach of NADIR we had to tow against the wind and current, from its lying in nearly a north-east direction. We were desirous of passing from hence into the Canal of Menouf, and thus shortening, as well as varying, our route to Caïro; but at this moment there was not sufficient water for the purpose. We therefore continued our course up the river, passing TERRANEY, the ancient TERENCEUS, and WOODAUN, both on the western bank; above which, soon after noon, the wind shifted suddenly to the eastward, and increased the heat to an oppressive degree, from which we all suffered considerably.

We reached the southernmost point, or apex, of the Delta about four o'clock, where is the village of Kafr Mansoorah, not marked in the map; and, soon afterwards, passed the small islands which begin first to divide the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, the whole cluster bearing the singular name of Bain el Bachara, or the "Belly of the Cow." The wind freshening, and veering round to the northward at the same time, our progress was rapid; and we passed Shoobragh, the seat of the Pasha, at sun-set, and landed together at Boulac, the Scala of Caïro, at about eight o'clock.

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.



# NOTICES OF ABYSSINIA,

AS HISTORICALLY CONNECTED WITH

EUROPE, SYRIA, AND THE HOLY LAND;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A FEW SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO THE SOURCES

AND COURSE OF THE NILE.

BY

CHARLES JOHNSTON, Esq. M.R.C.S. F.S.E.S. &c.

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1845,

WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c., IN THE CHAIR.



NOTICES OF ABYSSINIA,  
AS CONNECTED WITH  
SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

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**A**BYSSINIA, a remote country of intertropical Africa, has only become a subject of popular interest since the publication of the travels of the celebrated Bruce. Previously, it had only been the subject of curious inquiry as to its identity with a certain Prester John's country, which, according to monkish legends, existed in some unknown part of the world, and where it was generally believed the primitive Church of Christ, as established by the Apostles, was preserved in its original simplicity and purity of faith.

The attention of the learned of Europe had been directed to Abyssinia, as the probable seat of this hidden Church, by the discoveries made during the expedition sent out in search of a passage to the East Indies more direct and convenient than the one monopolized, to their great gain and emolument, by the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and which corresponded, in a great measure, with that of our present overland route.

Landing on the coast of Africa, near the mouths of the Zaire, or Congo River, the Portuguese Commander was surprised to hear of a country in the interior, whose inhabitants were represented as adoring the Cross, and performing many religious ceremonies similar to those which they themselves practised. Now, although it can be easily shewn that considerable intercourse existed from the earliest times between the Abyssinian nation and the Pagan empire, and subsequently, when the latter, converted to Christianity, was, in a general sense, designated "the Church of Rome;" still, we cannot feel surprised that, in the then state of geographical

knowledge, the identity of the African Christians, spoken of at Benin, with the Abyssinian Church, was not perceived by the Portuguese discoverers, or that they should have considered it to be an entirely distinct and separate nation, and which, in accordance with the prejudice of the age, might readily have been supposed to be the country of Prester John, rather than the ascribed Asiatic Christian country, of which continent Abyssinia was then considered to form a part.

In 1487, the practicability of a passage to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, being no longer problematical, the Portuguese sovereign naturally desired to be better acquainted with the geography of the shores of the Eastern Seas. To further this object, he despatched two ambassadors by way of the Red Sea, Covilham and de Payva, one of whom was directed to enter Abyssinia, the other to explore the coasts of India. De Payva died on the Red Sea; but his companion, after proceeding to Calicut and Goa, carried out the full intentions of his sovereign. By re-crossing the Indian Ocean, and reaching the Continent of Africa, he penetrated to Abyssinia, from which country he transmitted home much interesting and valuable information. It is impossible to say whether Covilham was constrained by force, or induced by favours shewn, to remain in Abyssinia: all that is *known* for certain, being, that he was conducted to the remote southern province of Shoa, where he lived several years, and ultimately died there.

From his time, however, Abyssinia and its Church became the subject of much learned discussion in Europe; and its conversion from heresy to the all-sufficient Catholic faith was made a grand object with the Church of Rome. The agent she employed to effect this was the Court of Portugal, then an enterprising commercial state, and one of the most powerful of the European kingdoms. At that time, it accorded well with the policy of the Portuguese Government, to obtain influence among, if not possession of, those countries which were presumed to be, by their situation, well adapted to forward these ambitious views with respect to the conquest of the East Indies, which was then contemplated. With this

subject, however, we have this evening nothing to do. So far it was necessary to comment upon the previous relations of Abyssinia with Europe. But it is only since this critical period, that a correct knowledge of Abyssinia, and of the Christianity professed by its inhabitants, has been acquired; and it is principally from writers of about this time that all compilers of modern works upon the Abyssinian Church, have derived most of their information, and to whom I am also indebted myself for whatever knowledge I possess upon the subject: for, although once a visitor to this interesting country, such is the confusion of doctrines and religious schisms, that it would be an impudent imposition did I attempt to give the principles of any systematic or uniform belief as being, at the present day, generally professed in Abyssinia. I do not believe, indeed, that even the present Bishop, or, as he is called, the Abune Salame, himself holds, for two years together, the same articles of faith, but rather that he adapts his creed to the exigences of opinion that characterize the very differently-believing Potentates who recognise his spiritual charge, and whose annual presents to their religious Superior depend considerably upon the conformity existing between them upon points of religion.

We derive our information concerning the most ancient historical connection of Abyssinia with Judæa from the annals of the former country; and, in this instance, so general is the national belief of its truth, and so exact the apparent authorities upon which the opinion is founded, that the learned of Europe, although far from being satisfied with its correctness, have not presumed to question the truth of the relation, although it admits of being easily proved to be an error of the rankest legendary tradition. Our own history by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which our origin is traced from the Trojan refugees, is gospel, in my opinion, to the account which derives from a son of Solomon and the renowned Queen of Sheba the present dynasty of Abyssinian Kings.

We are told that Menilec, the first Emperor of Abyssinia, was one result of the far-famed journey to Jerusalem made by the Queen of Sheba to test the sagacity of the wisest of

Israel's Kings. That Solomon did receive such a visit is beyond doubt, confirmed as it is by the account contained in the Old Testament. Sheba, the Abyssinians say, is the ancient name of Shoa, the word having submitted to certain modifications in sound by the operation of some dialect-dispersing principle, upon which is founded far stranger transmutations of ancient names, and which are, with great difficulty, recognised in their modern guise. Thus the *Hebe* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and the *Eve* of our sacred history, are identical with the *Hour* of Arabic and Oriental records; whilst *Ahwe*, the serpent god, of the ancient Abyssinians and Gongas, is none other than the circling river *Abi* which surrounds their country.

Modern geographers, however, contend that the Sheba of the Scriptures is the Arabia Felix of our maps. In some parts of the holy writings, the celebrated Queen of this country is designated, not as of Sheba, but of the South; and as the situation of Arabia, with respect to Judæa, is in that direction, so far they have good authority for not conceding to Abyssinia the distinction of being considered the kingdom of which such honourable mention is made. Another corroborative evidence of Arabia Felix being the Sheba of the Bible, is, the circumstance that its name, Yemen, or "the right," signifying also the south, is the exact term employed to designate the possessions of the Queen of Sheba. Again, it should be observed that the interpretive meaning of "Menilec," the name of this presumed son of Solomon, signifies nothing more or less than "the same as myself"; that is, I think, that the party so called was the Deputy or Viceroy of some powerful Monarch; and such I believe to have been the title of the Governor appointed over the Abyssinian provinces, and which, at the period of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba's reigns, formed part of the kingdom of the latter. I have been led, therefore, to suppose that Menilec was originally merely a title indicative of rank, and which, like the term "Pharaoh" in Jewish history, had improperly become employed in their records as the proper name of one monarch, when, in fact, it was a general title for all. Perhaps the Menilec of Abyssinian regard

might have been some ambitious governor, who found it convenient to repudiate the authority of his Principal, took upon himself the sovereignty of his province, and established the dynasty of its present Kings.

Considerable light might be thrown upon this subject by the publication of the cotemporary annals, not only of neighbouring independent states or people, such as the Wurges or Adjows; but also of the Persian records of their earliest monarchs, which, at the present, remain buried in the royal libraries at Ispahan and Teheran. The Abyssinian Adjows are the descendants of the aborigines of the country, and differ considerably, in descent, from the Amhara or red people, being, by their appearance, language, and habits, proved to belong to the Gongas or the yellow Mongolian people, who once occupied nearly the whole of the continent of Africa. The Adjows inhabit the fastnesses of the hills of Lasta, and they have traditions and written records tracing the descent of their monarch also from the illustrious Queen of Sheba; but the account they give of this lady's progeny differs very materially from that contained in the Amharic annals; for she, they say, was delivered of a girl, who was called Solomina, in compliment to her reputed father. Let us hope that, at no very remote period, some adventurous traveller will undertake a journey to this interesting people, for the purpose of obtaining all the information which may be extant on a subject of so much importance for illustrating our own Biblical records of the same remote age to which they relate. In the meantime, my only authority for mentioning this discrepancy between two national records, is derived from conversation with Dr. Beke, who, during his return home from Gojam, passed through the country of the Adjows, and obtained some valuable information relative to their early history. The learned world wait, with some impatience, the more detailed account it is in this gentleman's power to give.

Dating their connection with Jews, and their knowledge of the Mosaical law, from the time of Solomon; in the same spirit of national self importance, the Abyssinians assert that

they received Christianity direct from the Apostles, St. Mark and St. Thomas being the agents of their conversion. Another tradition, however, which has been made to accord more with evidence afforded by the relation contained in the New Testament of the baptism of the servant of Candace, states, that the Empress herself, on the return home, of the Christian convert, consented to receive the new religion in her kingdom, and, with her subjects, was accordingly baptized. This legend has certainly some appearance of probability; and if it could be shewn that Abyssinia at that time was a dependency of Upper Egypt—the Ethiopia of the Bible—then it might readily be supposed that Abyssinia did receive her Christianity from that source.

What we learn from our own Church history regarding the introduction of our religion into that country is, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Meropius, a Christian philosopher, going to India with two scholars, touched on the coast of Abyssinia. Here, it seems, he was killed; and the two boys, Frumentius and CEdesius, were taken to Axum, the seat of government, as presents to the Emperor. From the circumstance that Frumentius was made a duptera or scribe, we may suppose his education was somewhat advanced. CEdesius was made a servant in the kitchen. That they were slaves is certain; for we find that, on his death-bed, the Emperor gave both their liberty, with permission to leave the country. They were prevailed upon, however, by the Queen-Regent, to remain in Abyssinia, to educate her sons; and that they obtained considerable authority in the government, is proved, by the protection they afforded to the Christian merchants residing in the ports of Abyssinia, who were directed to pray and worship as they ought to do, without fear. Having finished the education of their charge, Frumentius and CEdesius left Abyssinia, and proceeded to Alexandria, where the former was prevailed upon to return to Abyssinia in the character of Bishop; whilst the latter, we are told, “gave up travelling, and went to live with his relations.” Ruffinus, however, from whom



this account is derived, informs us that he had the whole story from the mouth of **CEdesius** himself, who was then ordained a **Presbyter** of the Church at **Tyre**.

When **Fruementius** undertook his second mission to **Abyssinia**, no less celebrated a personage was **Bishop** of **Alexandria** than **Athanasius**. He it was who consecrated **Fruementius** to the duties of the new **See**: so we may safely presume that he was orthodox in his belief on his return to **Abyssinia**. At this time, however, the **Arian** controversy in the Church was at the highest; and the question of supremacy—for it was a struggle for nothing else—was principally between the **Emperor Constantius** and the **Alexandrian bishop, Athanasius**. The former was the great champion of the heresy of **Arius**, and ultimately overcame his ecclesiastical opponent, who was driven from his **See**, excommunicated, and died, a miserable fugitive, in one of the western States of **Northern Africa**. His pupil **Fruementius** was more fortunate; for, in the remote **Abyssinia**, he was enabled to set at defiance the intrigues of the **Emperor**, who had sent emissaries with letters to the then sovereigns of that country, **Abia** and **Azba** (**Aizana** and **Saizana**), directing them to send back **Fruementius**, that he might be examined as to his principles by the **Venerable George**, and other **Egyptian Prelates**; and promising that, if they were satisfied with his creed, they would re-ordain him **Bishop** of **Abyssinia**, which, under the existing circumstances, he was considered not to be entitled to. No attention, however, was paid to these spiritual demands, either by **Fruementius** or the princes; and, for a time, the Church of **Abyssinia** may be said to have been as orthodox as the **See** of **Rome** itself.

The next historical record connected with the reception of the **Christian Religion**, at a very early period, by the inhabitants of **Abyssinia**, is the arrival, in 480, of nine holy men from **Egypt**, whom the **Portuguese** travellers of the sixteenth century represent to have been all **Dominican friars**, forgetting that this order was not established until the middle of the fifteenth century, nearly one thousand years after the death of these **Abyssinian Fathers**.

With the exception of this, no circumstance of importance occurred between the reigns of the Emperors Constantine and Justinian that would connect Abyssinia with the seat of the early Churches of our religion. In the reign of the latter, however, we are told by Metaphrastes that one Elesbean, a Christian king of Ethiopia, invaded Arabia, and vanquished a Jewish tyrant, who had cruelly persecuted the Christians in that country; but this is stated by Geddes, in his *Ethiopian Church History*, to be a tedious, blind story, not fit to be offered to any reader that has not a legendary nose. All such traditions, or, if you please, historical fables, have some foundation upon truth; and this very Abyssinian invasion of Arabia forms a very interesting historical episode to introduce here, especially as the recent decipherment of the Himyaritic inscriptions make the date of it to coincide with the very period to which the following expedition is referred.

About the year 530, Justinian engaged in war with the Persians, and sent one Julian as ambassador to the king of Axum, then the seat of government of the Abyssinian Empire, and where, it will be recollected, inscriptions in the Himyaritic characters are known to exist. Julian was also directed to proceed to the Himyarites on the opposite coast of Arabia, who, being Christians, it was supposed would make common cause against the Persians, the great enemy of their religion. At this time, the king of Axum was Hellesteus, otherwise Elisbean, who, in zeal for the religion he professed, had, a few years before, on complaint of the Christians of Hadhramaút, crossed the Red Sea, with a numerous fleet and army, defeated and killed the king of the Himyarites, and placed Ismetheus, a Christian, upon the throne.

The principal inducement employed to enlist in the cause of the Romans the Christian Powers of Abyssinia and Arabia, was not, however, of so disinterested a character as might be supposed; for we find that Julian, the ambassador, negotiated a mercantile treaty with the king of Axum, in which the Romans stipulated to purchase all the silk coming from India they might require from Abyssinian traders. Previously,

this commerce had been entirely in the hands of the Persians ; and it may be also observed here, that after all these negotiations, it remained with them, as the route through the Indian and Red Seas was more inconvenient than the direct course through the Persian Gulf to the Holy Land, and so to the Mediterranean. Besides, the Persians in the Indian markets, bought up all the commodity, and so retained the monopoly, and defeated the machinations of the Roman Emperor. Julian was equally unfortunate with the Himyaritic monarch ; for, although he succeeded in negotiating an alliance offensive and defensive, and it was agreed that attacks should be made coterminously on two sides of the Persian Empire, it was discovered, when the attempt was made, that the deserts of Arabia were an insurmountable barrier to the troops of Esimethus. Not, however, to be idle, the auxiliaries kindly sent by the Ethiopian monarch to his Arabian *protegè*, took the opportunity of seizing upon the country, and deposed the monarch, giving the crown to one Abraham, a Christian, who had been a slave to a Roman merchant at the port of Adal in Ethiopia, the monarch of which, after two unsuccessful attempts to put down the rebellion, was at length compelled to leave Esimethus to his fate, and Abraham in the quiet enjoyment of the throne.

In this age, so ignorant of the geographical situation of Abyssinia was even the infallible government of the Holy Church, that in 1177, when an embassy arrived from Abyssinia to the Pope in Venice, the Emperor Frederick having driven him from Rome, it was given out that the strangers had arrived with offers of assistance from Prester John, whose country was supposed to be somewhere in Asia, near to the Tartars and Russians, and it was joined in the same mission, and committed to the charge of the Dominican Provincials of Poland, as being its next neighbour. The promulgation of such a geographical error may indeed have been intended as a political *ruse*, to have a salutary effect upon the belligerent Emperor ; for, to a purpose of this kind, it is known was turned the circumstance of another Abyssinian mission

to the Papal Court in the year 1300, and which consisted of no less than thirty ambassadors. These reported that their master had seventy-four kings under him, and who, excepting five of the smallest, were all Christians; that he had also in his dominions 127 archbishops, each having twenty bishops under his jurisdiction; all which, says the historian, was a pious fraud spread about by Pope Clement, to encourage the Latins to undertake a new crusade to the Holy Land, they being thus assured of the assistance of this mighty Christian Emperor, whose dominions were represented to lie conveniently for carrying on a war in Syria.

We find an Abyssinian embassy again employed in 1434, to effect a delicate matter arising out of some political exigency that had compelled the Pope (Eugenius IV.) to remove from Rome to Florence; and which, having passed by, he now desired to return again with a good grace to the Holy City. Accordingly, he announced the approach of an embassy from Ethiopia; and under pretence that Florence was a mean city to receive the messengers of such a powerful Potentate, he adjourned the council to Rome; where, ultimately, he received the embassy, and, as stated by the historians of the time, the submission of that Church, and of its Prince Zarah Jacob. But this is shewn by Geddes to be an impudent imposition; for this very Zarah Jacob, when solicited by some Jerusalem monks to make this submission, absolutely refused; and we have this confirmed by the fact, that, 200 years afterwards, his soul was anathematized to the lowest pit of the infernal regions, for his contumacy, by the Jesuits, who entered Abyssinia at that time, and who actually prevailed upon his successor, Sultaun Sagid, to pronounce the horrid curse; and who, however orthodox he may be considered to have been in consequence, could not have had much grace about him to damn his great-grandfather in such a manner.

Of this very Zarah Jacob, however, we possess evidence of his having been one of the most pious, consistent, and benevolent princes that ever reigned over Abyssinia. In his

reign, we first hear of convents of Abyssinian monks already founded at Jerusalem, and which this monarch munificently endowed. One letter of his, to these holy brethren at Jerusalem, I shall read, to give you some idea of his real character, and also as a specimen of the correspondence between a king of kings and the mendicant friars whose wants he supplies.

“ Let this come to the hands of my beloved, the College of Saints, who reside at Jerusalem, the Holy City.

“ In the peace of the Lord, Amen.

“ I do proclaim you very happy, for having, in the first place, obeyed the word of God, which saith, ‘He that forsaketh not his father and mother, wife and children,’ &c. ; for which reason you have left the world, and have taken upon you the yoke of monkery. The word of the prophet hath likewise bound you, which saith, ‘I will not go into the tabernacle of mine house, nor climb up to my bed, neither will I give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find the house of the Lord the habitation of the God of Jacob.’ Whereupon you determined to repair to Jerusalem, the city of the Great King, not being discouraged from going thither either by the incommodities of the journey, or the heat by day, or the cold by night, nor by dangers of robbers ; whereby, when you arrived, was fulfilled what was said by the prophet of you, ‘Let us therefore go into his house, and worship in the place where the face of our Lord stood ;’ for to you is given to kiss the place which his presence hath hallowed from his nativity to his ascension. For which cause I do very much rely on your prayers, and on the afflictions you have suffered for God’s sake.

“ I do salute you from the bottom of my heart, saying, Health to you, sons of Ethiopia, whom the earthly Jerusalem hath tied to herself, that she may convey you to the heavenly one.

“ Health be to your faith, which is perfect in the Trinity ; and to your course of life, which is like that of angels.

“ Health be to your feet, which walk ; to your hands, which touch ; to your lips, which kiss ; to your eyes, which do freely behold Galilee, where God was inanimate ; and Bethlehem, where He was born ; and the cave, where He lay ; and Nazareth, where He was educated ; and Jordan, where He was baptized, that He might cleanse us ; and Corontum, where He fasted for our sake ; and Calvary, where He was crucified for our sake ; and Golgotha, where He was buried, and rose again, that He might quicken us ; and the Mount Olives, where He ascended to His Father and our God, that He might introduce us into the inner vail of the highest heavens, into which He himself entered, and introduced the Apostles, who were before us ; and the oratory of Zion, where the Comforter descended on our fathers the Apostles.

“ Health be likewise to your eyes, which behold the light that cometh out of the sepulchre of our Lord on the old Sabbath, to wit, on the eve of the Passover.”

Accompanying this letter was a deed of gift, conveying to the monastery of Jerusalem the land of Zebila, and half of all tributes arising from it for two years, which amounted to one hundred ounces of gold. It is stated at length how the donation is to be applied, both for food and raiment, for the monks ; and also to celebrate all the festivals of the Virgin which are ordered in the Book of Miracles, and which amounted to no less than thirty-two during the year. Lamps were also to be kept constantly burning at the most celebrated spots in the history of Christ, chiefly those which had become sanctified by his sufferings. The correspondence terminated with an admonition, which breathes the true spirit of the religion of which Zarah Jacob, semi-barbarian as he was, was a bright ornament :—“ My beloved, do not you offer to say, Light descendeth only upon us, that your glorying in yourselves be not in vain ; since you know evil attends glorying, and blessing, humility. Peace be with you ! the peace of our Lord be with you ! Amen.”

Of the connection, at a former period, of Abyssinia with

Egypt, it is now necessary that I should speak ; as subsequent events to the death of Zarah Jacob, and the conflicts of the Abyssinian Church with the Portuguese instruments of the court of Rome, belong to general history, and would require volumes to do full justice to, and to give you a proper idea of, the contentions of the two Church parties that agitated all Abyssinia, from the first appearance of the Portuguese in that country in 1590, until their expulsion by Facilidas, the energetic son of the imbecile, but perhaps well-meaning Soci-nios, whose indecision led to so much blood being spilled in the unnatural wars occasioned by the endeavours of the Jesuits to establish the Roman faith in Abyssinia.

On the former connection of Egypt and Abyssinia, I shall confine myself to the illustration of the origin of the mysterious religion of the ancient Egyptians, as being probably derived from certain physical features of the surface geography of Abyssinia, so singularly coincidental in their character with what I believe to be their typical representatives in Egypt, that little doubt exists in my mind, from whence was derived the worship of Apis and Serapis, the chief gods of Egyptian mythology. Here let me observe, in the first place, that the genius of the Greek language required the terminal to be added to words of foreign origin ; and that, accordingly, the Egyptian pronunciation of Apis and Serapis was Api and Serapi. This is no assumption of mine to suit foregone conclusions, or any particular theory, but a recognised principle with classical authors, and who, in fact, are my authorities, since I do not myself pretend to any critical knowledge of Greek.

Abyssinia, as is now pretty generally known, stands like an island in a dried-up sea—a vast table-land, some ten or twelve thousand feet high above the level of the sea, and having its own system of rivers, its own lakes and water-sheds, distinct from those of all the surrounding country.

The course of the Abi, or Bruce's Nile, through Northern Abyssinia, is too well known to require any description ; but of the unknown southern portions of this country, unvisited

by any modern traveller, we are of necessity compelled to speculate; and it is here, accordingly, we find that great differences of opinion exist among those who have visited the neighbouring countries, and have therefore acquired some right to form conjectures of their own, founded upon the information they received, and their capability to discriminate and judge correctly. The problem will be solved some time or other; but, until the question of the geography of Southern Abyssinia is set at rest by actual observation, the opinions of all travellers, erroneous or correct, are deserving of equal attention; and I have therefore ventured to form conjectures upon this subject, assisted no little by the statement of Herodotus regarding the belief of the ancient Egyptians as to the sources of the Nile.

I must here observe, that it is generally admitted that the western branch of the Nile, termed by us Bahr-al-Abiad, was altogether unknown, or, at least, unrecognised as a part of the sacred river. It was not until long after the publication of Bruce's Travels that it was laid down even in European maps; and it is charged against that traveller, as one sin of omission amidst a multitude of others of commission, that he did not give publicity to what, from his Journal, he was evidently well acquainted with—the junction, above Sennaar, of this river with the main stream of the Nile, and, indeed, a much larger branch than the one, the sources of which he had been visiting. Merely observing that, after all, Bruce has been more sinned against than sinning, I return to the consideration of the Abyssinian Nile, or Bahr-al-Azzareek of our maps; which, from circumstantial evidence, would appear to be the chief origin of the religion of the Ancient Egyptians, in fact, the god of their idolatry. River-worship, let me observe, is the national religion of nearly two-thirds of our fellow-subjects at the present moment; and as, in India, the streams that bestow fertility to the land, and competency to the inhabitants, are made the objects of adoration; so this superstition characterized the religion of the ancient inhabitants on the borders of the Nile.



Of the sources of this celebrated river, Herodotus states, (on the authority of some priests of the temple of Minerva, in Sais,) that they were supposed to be forty days' journey to the south, in the country beyond Elephanta. He was told, also, that there were two sources; one in the north, flowing from thence; the other in the south, with a course towards the north: and that these, uniting, formed the main stream of the Nile, which then proceeded in its course through Egypt to the Mediterranean.

In Abyssinia, a stream, arising in Gojam, passes through Lake Dembea, bends to the south, then to the west, until it falls off the table-land, after encircling Damot, and, under the name of the Bahr-al-Azzareek, joins the Nile. The true name of this is *Abi*, signifying "father," and has ever been, and is now, the chief god of the Pagan Adjows living on its banks. Bruce, it will be recollected, speaks of the altars that existed, and the sacrifices of oxen which, in his time, were occasionally celebrated at its sources. The Bahr-al-Azzareek is unknown under that name in Northern Abyssinia; but, in the south, we find the Zibbee or Gibbee, the sources and course of which is the great geographical problem of that unvisited country. In the Zibbee, however, I perceive the elements of the name *Assabi*, which I believe to be the true name of what is erroneously called *Azzareek* in our maps. *Azzareek*, as one word, let me inform you, positively is an error: it is properly two words, *azza* and *arogue*, which, together, signify, "the old red," and, with *abi*, as *assaabi aroque*, would signify "the old river of the red," meaning, of course, the red people, as we call the Red Sea from its being among the Assyrians, or red people, and as the Arabs call the Mediterranean the White Sea, because it is in the midst of the countries of the whites. It is curious, also, to observe, in the same ethnological system of names, that what we call the Indian Ocean is termed by the Arabs "the Sea of the Blacks," or Negroes.

The *Assa aroque* of the inhabitants of Sennaar, from some fancied resemblance to a Turkish word, is interpreted on our

maps the Blue River, whilst there can be no doubt—and I risk my reputation as an observant traveller upon the assertion—that it is the Nile itself which derives its name from this circumstance, *nil*, or indigo, abounding upon its banks, and the colour of which, *blue*, was typical of all things sacred in emblazoned hieroglyphics. Again, this very word *assa* can be shewn to signify a very different colour—red; for independent of the Scriptural name Esau, notoriously derived from this colour, the name Amhara, indicative of modern Abyssinia, bears no other interpretation than that of *red people*, and is a mere translation of the word. These were the Assyrians of history, and they inhabited an extensive tract, including Arabia, and all the country around the western sources of the Nile.

It is necessary for the exact correspondence of the reputed sources of the Nile, according to Herodotus, that a branch proceeding from the south, should unite with that from the north of the Abi, to form the river of Egypt; and accordingly, when in Abyssinia, I made particular inquiries as to the course of the Zibbee or Gibbee, and was at length satisfied that this represented the southern branch. I was confirmed in this when I found every preceding traveller had received similar information, but who were unable to reconcile it with their ideas of two opposite watersheds, which they conceived the northern and southern parts of Abyssinia opposed to each other; that is, the level, sloping in different directions so as to throw the waters of the north to the north and west, whilst those of the south were directed to the south and west. On the contrary, I have attempted to demonstrate, from an analogy of continuity, that the same abrupt termination of the table-land characterizes the country to the south as to the north; that the surface is one continuous plain; and that, instead of two watersheds, we ought to consider Abyssinia as presenting a shallow basin, which concentrates the water from all points of the circumference, to one break from off the table-land, to the low country surrounding it. In that case, the Zibbee or Gibbee drains the country to the south,

passing between Enarea and Kuffah, then bending towards the north it receives the Abi of Northern Abyssinia, and both fall together from the table-land, and receive the common name of Azzareek, or, more properly, Assabi.\*†

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

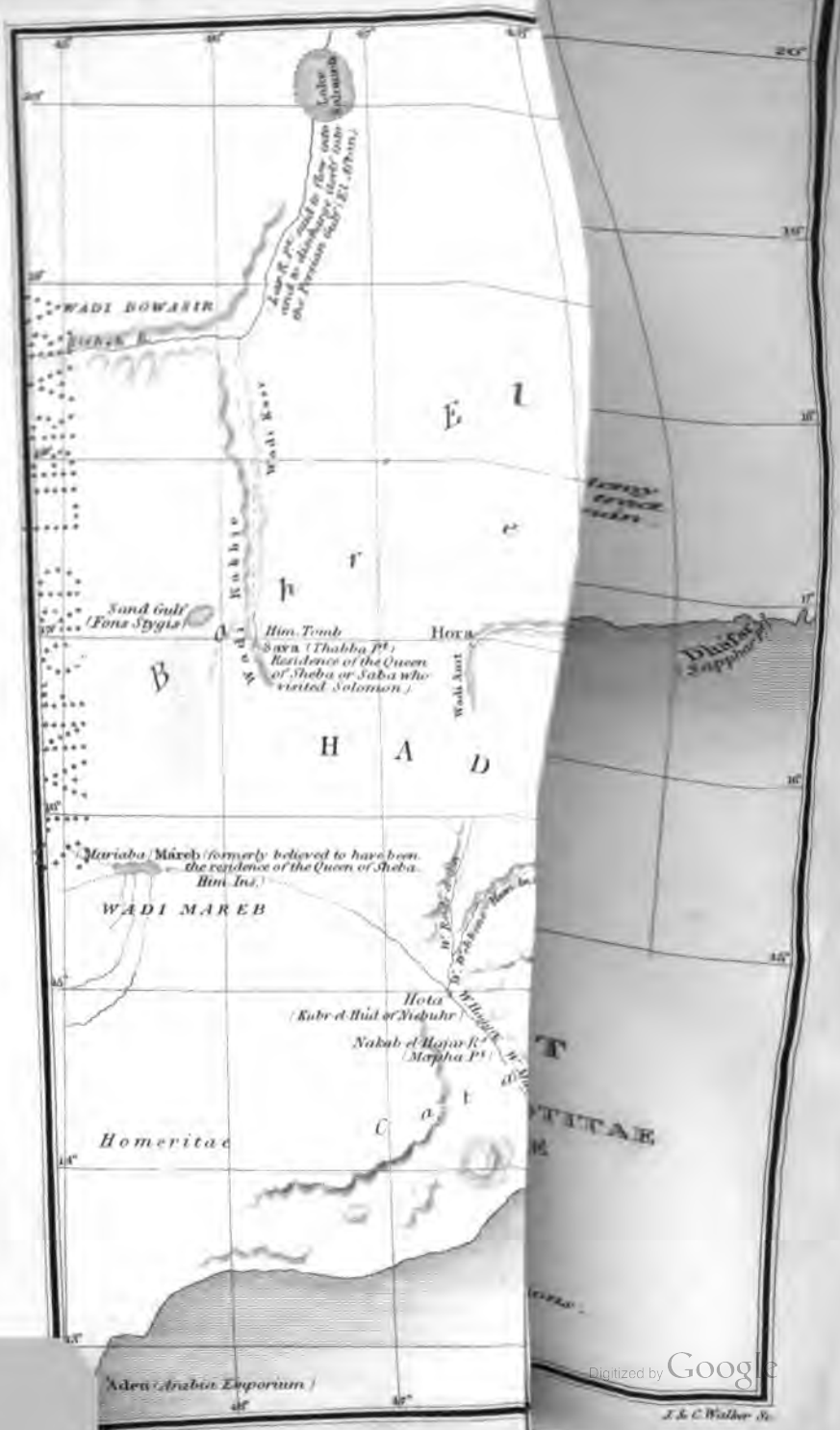
\* Pliny tells us that Assabinus was the Jupiter of the Ethiopians. Now the *nus* or terminal syllable of this word, like the sigma or *s* of the Greeks, was necessary to adapt it to the Latin tongue; and we have here, I think, a direct proof of the connection of this river Assabi with the chief object of Ethiopian worship; for no one can deny the identity of the two names—the Assabinus of Pliny and the Assabi or Assa of modern Abyssinia. From Assabi, Serapi the Egyptian god is readily and naturally derived; whilst, again, Api, another of these deities, is evidently none other than the river Abi of Northern Abyssinia: and in these two streams, we have, I believe, at once, the mythological sources of the mysterious Nile, according to Herodotus, and also the origin of the two principal gods among the ancient Egyptians, the god Api and the god Serapi.

† The Council are indebted to Mr. Johnston for an interesting coloured model of Abyssinia, made, according to a scale, under his own superintendence. This the reader will do well to consult, as it affords an admirable illustration of this very interesting subject. It may also be observed, that the accounts recently received from Mr. Abbadie, from Abyssinia, seem fully to confirm the correctness of Mr. Johnston's views concerning the geography of the country.



1892

1893



**GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMARKS**

**ON THE**

**PROVINCE OF HADHRAMAÚT;**

**WITH A REVIEW OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY**

**INTO SOUTHERN ARABIA AND CHINA.**

**BY**

**W. PLATE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.G.S. PARIS;**

**HONORARY FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON;**

**&c. &c.**

**PART I.**

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**WITH A MAP OF HADHRAMAÚT.**

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**READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,**

**ON TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1845,**

**JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.**





## GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO HADHRAMAÚT.

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WHEN I first claimed the honour of addressing the Society on the subject of Arabia, it was my intention to speak not only of the introduction of the Christian Religion into the Province of Hadhramaút, but also of the religious history of other parts of Arabia, and to take into consideration many particulars relative to the state of civilization in that country, especially during the first centuries of our era. I was not then aware that Mr. Wright, who preceded me, intended to enter upon this very important question.\* That gentleman, however, having anticipated much of what I intended to say, I now find it necessary to modify the subject. Instead, therefore, of recapitulating the leading facts in the history of the various tribes which have, from time to time, peopled the great continent of Arabia, and the geographical relations of adjacent territories, which it was, perhaps, essential also to keep in view, in order fully to understand the subject, I will proceed at once to the consideration of the state and progress of Christianity in the *Province of Hadhramaút* only; and as it is scarcely eighteen months since we received any geographical details of that province which are at all to be relied on, I shall begin by presenting to your view a sketch of the country itself.

The most complete account we have of Hadhramaút is that of the Baron von Wrede, a German Officer, who travelled there in 1843; but this intrepid gentleman was robbed of his papers; and the account he sent to the Royal Geographical Society is so short, and, in many instances, so vague, that it

\* Mr. Wright's Paper is now preparing for publication, and will appear as a distinct work.

cost me a great deal of time and study to lay the principal facts down in a map. A map is the true test of all geographical description. In proportion to the difficulty we experience in drawing a map, we have reason to doubt the accuracy of our data; for we can hardly fail to form a correct map when we have sufficient and trustworthy material. The accounts of the eastern geographers on Hadhramaút are very vague; and the task of composing a map, according to them, has baffled the sagacity, the criticism, and the indefatigable patience of the most learned and judicious among modern geographers. I am in possession of a great number of extracts from the writings of Arabian geographers, whose works have never before been printed, and which were made by my excellent and learned friend, Dr. Sprenger, now in Calcutta. I attempted to avail myself of these, so as, if possible, to form a tolerably correct map of this part of Arabia, for General Chesney's work on the memorable Euphrates Expedition, and other subjects connected therewith; but, although among these MSS. there is one from the pen of Ibn Khordádbeh, who held the office of Postmaster-General under the earlier Khalifs, I am sorry to say that, with regard to Hadhramaút, his accounts, too, are no less scanty and vague than those of the other Arabian geographers. We must consequently rely upon the Baron von Wrede more than upon any other writer.

The name of Hadhramaút is sometimes given to the whole of the immense tract of land which lies between Yemen in the west, and 'Omán in the east; but, there is reason to believe that the term applied originally only to the western part of that tract, or "Hadhramaút Proper." The name, in its larger meaning, seems to refer to the countries which once formed the Himyaritic Kingdom. It is not my intention to speak of this at present: my purpose is to describe "Hadhramaút Proper."

The Province of Hadhramaút is bordered in the west, by Yemen, and in the east, by the province of El-Sheher, commonly, but erroneously, called Mahra, because it is inhabited by the tribe Mahra. In the south, it is washed by the Indian Sea, and its northern boundary is the famous wilder-

ness El-Ahkaf. According to most of our maps, Hadhramaút is not contiguous to Yemen, but separated from it by two extensive tracts; one of which, the sandy El-Yáffa, lies in the south, and the other, the fertile Belád-el-Jóf, or the district Jóf, lies in the north. But we ought to assign these two tracts to Hadhramaút. That El-Yáffa belongs to it there can be no doubt; and as to Jóf, there is a proverb of the Arabs, which says that "those who go to Máreb (which lies in the Belád-el-Jóf) ought to know the Himyaritic language." It is true that Niebuhr attaches the Belád-el-Jóf to Yemen; but we know, on the other hand, that Máreb was, in former times, one of the principal, and, during some time, *the* principal seat of Himyaritic power. Hadhramaút extends nearly 600 miles from west to east, along the coast of the Indian Sea; and its greatest width, between the sea in the south, and the wilderness of El-Ahkaf in the north, may be calculated at from 200 to 280 miles.

The Belád-el-Jóf, and especially the Belád-el-Yáffa, seem to be sandy table-lands of considerable elevation; but the remaining eastern and larger part of Hadhramaút is a mountainous country, having a complete alpine character. The country rises in terraces, and becomes higher in proportion as the traveller advances from the coast to the interior. These terraces are formed by several parallel chains (consisting chiefly of granite and porphyry), which stretch from west to east. Between the chain nearest to the coast and the sea, there is a narrow tract of sandy low land; but, in some places, the mountains approach the sea. The mean elevation of this chain seems to be between 1800 and 2000 feet, but some portions are considerably higher. It is intersected by numerous deep valleys and gaps, through which the traveller ascends the second terrace. At about 70 miles from the coast, north-west from the sea port Makallah, rises Mount Sidara to a height of about 4000 feet; and on its summit, about a mile asunder, stand two rocky peaks, each 800 feet high, between which, winds the road from Makallah to the Wadi Dóán. North-west of Mount Sidara, one terrace rises above the other; and a day's journey distant from that mountain, the traveller, the Baron

von Wrede, found himself at an elevation of about 8000 feet above the sea. There towers the *Jebel Drora* to an unknown height; and east of it, *Jebel Kar Seban*, a colossal peak that is visible from a great distance. The ridges, of which these mountains are the highest summits, consist mostly of iron sand-stone, overlaid by a sand-stone of a fine granular texture, and very hard. South of *Mount Drora*, the eye wanders over a labyrinth of dark granitic cones; but north of it, is an immense plain, of a yellowish appearance, a colour which originates probably from the plain being covered with fragments of iron sand-stone. This plain, which is of considerable width from south to north, and extends to a great distance from west to east, is the high table-land of *Hadhramaút*, and produces nothing but a few acacias and shrubs. The mountainous alpine tract, however, is very fertile and highly cultivated wherever the rock is covered with a sufficient quantity of mould. The upper parts of the mountains are covered with those aromatic plants for which the country was renowned as early as the time of *Solomon*; but its myrrh and frankincense are now far from being of superior quality. *Aloes*, gum, and dragons'-blood are among the chief products of the mountainous tract; and large quantities of them are exported from *Makallah*, and other sea-port towns, to *Maskát* and the ports of *India*. As to coffee, we may suppose that it produces less than *Yemen*, though perhaps it is not inferior in quality.

The immense yellowish table-land of which I have just spoken, is intersected, in some places, by deep ravines, through which the water flows in the rainy season towards the lower parts. It is evident that the slope of the table-land is towards the north, a fact indicated by the existence, in these northern parts of *Hadhramaút*, of a deep and extensive valley, the celebrated *Wadi Dóán*.

Among so many obscure points referring to the geography of *Arabia*, none has excited the curiosity of our Orientalists so much as the *Wadi Dóán*. While the native writers unanimously praise its fertility and its flourishing cities, they differ much as to its situation; or, at least, they described its geo-

graphical position in such a manner as to mislead the most distinguished of our travellers. Thus, Niebuhr, in all other respects unrivalled in accuracy, places the Wadi Dóán by some hundred miles too far to the north-east, in the midst of El-Sheher; but Seetzen, whose name would doubtless, ere this, have been no less bright than that of Niebuhr, had he not been murdered by the Bedouins—Seetzen knew its exact position; and the correctness of his opinion is now corroborated by an eye-witness, the Baron von Wrede.

The Wadi Dóán has its origin at about 16° 10' N. lat., 48° 10' E. long., in the yellow and barren table-land described above. On advancing from the south, the traveller suddenly entered a deep gap in the rocky soil; and, on descending, found himself in a narrow valley overtowered on both sides by steep and craggy rocks. A stream of running water flows through the valley, which becomes gradually wider. Gentle slopes lead from the banks of the river to the bordering rocks; and on these slopes, towns and villages rise contiguously, in the form of an amphitheatre. This upper part of the Wadi Dóán is called Wadi Nebbi: it soon widens to an open plain, covered with forests of date trees, and presenting all the appearance of a most fertile and highly-cultivated tract. The portion of the valley below the Wadi Nebbi is, properly speaking, the Wadi Dóán. In this upper part, are the towns of Khoreibeh, Grein, and Seif, all thriving, well populated, and governed by Sultan Mohammed 'Abdullah-Ibn-Isa-Ibn-Ahmed. The portion below the Wadi Dóán Proper is called Wadi Hajarín; and it appears that this valley is joined in the north by another, which is likewise called Hajarín, and which begins, under the name of Wadi Amt, at two long days' journey distance north-west from the Wadi Nebbi. The Wadi Amt, with its continuation, the Wadi Hajarín, is, without doubt, the main branch of the Wadi Dóán, in the larger meaning of the word; and that main branch is no less fertile, and no less covered with flourishing villages and towns than the southern minor branch. Below the Wadi Hajarín, the valley is called Wadi Kasr; and it reaches the sea under the name of Wadi Missile, near the village of Sähüt, in 15° 14' N.

lat.,  $50^{\circ} 11'$  E. long., and not far from the sea-port of Keshín. The origin of the Wadi Dóán, as I have mentioned above, is about  $16^{\circ} 10'$  N. lat.,  $48^{\circ} 10'$  E. long., whence it is evident that its general direction is from north-west to south-east; but it seems to describe a curve, running, at first, north with both its branches, though only for a short distance, then east, and finally, south-east. We learn, from the Baron von Wrede's account, that the town of Kubr-el-Húd is situated in the lower portion of the Wadi Dóán, namely, the Wadi Missile. Until now, it was generally believed that that celebrated town was in the western part of Hadhramaút; and accordingly, it is so placed in our best maps. Niebuhr was told by the Arabs in Yemen that Kubr-el-Húd was in the neighbourhood of Keshín; but he gave more credit to the statement of a native of Ainád, who told him that it was in *Western* Hadhramaút. It is, however, strange that the Baron von Wrede also speaks of a town called Kubr-el-Húd, which we are obliged, by all the circumstances, to look for in *Western* Hadhramaút. I think there is no difficulty in admitting that there may be two towns of that name, one in the east, the other in the west\*, just as we have a Wadi Kasr in Eastern Hadhramaút, and another Wadi Kasr in the western part of that country. This appears the more probable when we remember that Kubr-el-Húd is a famous place for pilgrimages, being the town where the great prophet Húd was buried; and since pious people have always been anxious to have the tomb of a great saint within their own walls, some Arabs might have erected the tomb where Húd actually died, whilst others, in their pious zeal, built him a tomb or monument where they believed he had been interred. Húd was renowned as one of the chief converters of the infidels in Hadhramaút. He is mentioned in the 7th chapter of the Korán (entitled "El-Ahráf," that is, the "Partition between Paradise and Hell") where it is said, p. 122 (ed. Sale), "Unto the tribe of Ad we sent their brother Húd. He said, 'O my

\* Perhaps in the Wadi Nebbi, the correct name of which seems to be وادي نبی "Wadi Nebii," or "The Valley of the Prophet" (Húd?).

‘people, worship God! Ye have no other God than him; will ye not fear him?’ The Chiefs of those among the people who believed not, answered, ‘Verily we perceive that thou art guided by folly, and we certainly esteem thee to be one of the liars.’ He replied, ‘O, my people, I am not guided by folly, but I am a messenger unto you from the Lord of all creatures.’” Húd is likewise mentioned in the 46th chapter of the Korân, entitled “El-Ahkaf” or “the Wilderness,” meaning the great wilderness north of Hadhramaút, which still bears that name by preference:—“Remember the brother of Ad\*, when he preached unto his people in ‘El-Ahkaf’ (and there were preachers before him and after him), saying, ‘Worship none but God. Verily, I fear for you the punishment of a great day.’ They answered, ‘Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from the worship of our gods? Bring on us now the punishment with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity.’ He said, ‘Verily the knowledge of the time when your punishment will be inflicted is with God, and I only declare unto you that which I am sent to preach; but I see ye are an ignorant people.’ And when they saw the preparation made for their punishment, namely, a cloud traversing the sky and tending towards their valleys, they said, ‘This is a traversing cloud which bringeth us rain.’ Húd answered, ‘Nay; it is what ye demanded to be hastened; a wind wherein is a severe vengeance: it will destroy every thing at the command of its Lord.’ And in the morning *nothing was seen besides their empty dwellings.*”

The Wadi Dóán was known to Ptolemy, who calls it the river Prion; and the same geographer mentions the town called Vodona, near the upper part of that river. This name is evidently the Greek form of either وادي دوان or ال دوان, namely, the town of Dóán, the name of the principal town in the *Wadi Dóán*.†

The north-western part of Hadhramaút presents extraordi-

\* That is the Prophet Húd.

† “*Ptolemy’s Knowledge of Arabia, especially of Hadhramaút and the Wilderness El-Ahkaf.*” By William Plate, LL. D., &c. London: Taylor and Walton. 8vo. 1845.

wary features. It is an elevated table-land bordered by the wilderness El-Ahkaf. The seam of this wilderness along the northern boundaries of Hadhramaút is described as an awful desert, but it is not entirely impassable, as the traveller says. For, although he says so in one passage; in another, he describes the Wadi Rakhie as *crossing that seam* from south to north: and we know, besides, that the people of Hadhramaút used to go to the fair of Dowásir, which lies north of their country, and whither they could not go *without crossing that desert*.\* On this subject I need only add, that the *seam of El Ahkaf* is called Bahr-el-Saffi, the "Sea of Saffi," or perhaps Barr-el-Saffi, the "Desert of Saffi." Our traveller has given an interesting description of it in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. The portion of the Bahr-el-Saffi which stretches along the north-western corner of Hadhramaút deserves, however, some remarks. It was there that the traveller found those fearful sand gulfs in which King Saffi is said to have perished with his army, and which still seem to be filled with quicksand to an unfathomable depth. The situation of these sand gulfs is about one thousand feet lower than the adjacent table-land, east of it; and the whole tract is probably made up of an immense mass of rocks cleft and broken in every possible direction by one of those extraordinary revolutions or convulsions of nature which are said to have changed the aspect of this part of Arabia. The fact of this rocky tract being considerably lower than the table-land east of it, induces me to believe that the crevices and narrow valleys between the rocks were gradually filled up with sand carried thither by the wind from the higher table-land, till, at last, the rocks completely disappeared under the sand, except some of the higher peaks, which are now seen rising above the surface. Thus, we have submarine mountains, the lower portions of which are under water, whilst the summits and peaks, rising above the sea, form as many islands or cliffs, between which a ship may safely sail, if steered by a skilful hand. I am inclined to believe

\* See the author's description of "Arabia" in the Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.



that there is water at the bottom of the sand gulfs, which winds its way through the subterranean valleys, carrying with it large portions of the sand, and appearing on the surface of the lower regions, as the sources of rivers. There is, however, no probability of the sand gulfs ever being emptied through that sort of drainage, since the decomposition of the rocky soil of the high table-land creates an abundant supply of sand, or rather of stone powder, which the wind of course carries continually down to the lower regions. The rapid decomposition of rocks in very elevated tracts, in southern latitudes, is a well-known fact: the high table-lands of Thibet, for instance, are covered with a brown dust, which consists of atoms of rocks, and is carried by the wind, in great quantities, into all the lower parts of the country.

An accurate account of the tract which I have here attempted to describe, is of great importance as regards the hydrography of Arabia. South of this district, the water flows towards the Indian Sea; and it seems that the "Wadi Maifaah," which was visited by Lieutenant Wellsted, is the principal outlet. The river near Máreb, which is fed by the streams which take their rise at the eastern foot of the Yemen chain, flows south of the Saffi quicksands to the east: it apparently directs its course towards the Wadis Hagger and Giswel, which are the northern parts of the Wadi Maifaah. The river of Máreb seems, consequently, to empty itself into the Indian Sea, which also collects the waters of the Wadis Webbene and Reid-ed-dín, the origin of which may be traced some distance south-west of the beginning of the Wadi Dóán. The principal part of Hadhramaút is engirded, then, by two valleys of considerable magnitude, viz. by the Wadi Dóán in the north and east, and by another valley (to which no general name has yet been assigned) in the west: the latter is formed by two branches, one (the principal) coming from the mountains of Yemen, and the other branch from the high table-land of Hadhramaút Proper.

Hadhramaút is consequently an isolated mountainous region, having all the features of an alpine country, surrounded on three sides by sandy tracts of low land, the altitude

which, however, is considerable: so that, if the whole province of Hadhramaút could be seen *à vol d'oiseau*, it would appear to the eye of the beholder as an elevated rocky island standing in the middle of a sea of sand,—the whole being girded by a belt or plain, which is washed in the south by the waves of the Indian Ocean. The orographical features of Hadhramaút resemble much those of Abyssinia; and it would seem as if the two countries were united previous to the great convulsion which tore Arabia and Africa asunder, leaving, as an everlasting monument of its extent and power, the deep longitudinal gap which is now filled with the water of the Red Sea.

The similarity between the nations which inhabited the two continents is an additional proof of this opinion; but the question of the Himyaritic nation and inscriptions has so often been mooted in this Society, and by gentlemen much abler than myself, that if even I should have deemed it expedient to resume it, feelings of respect and diffidence would, I confess, have made me shrink back from such a hazardous and difficult undertaking.

Christianity was introduced into Hadhramaút at a very early period. In the works of the Fathers, and other early ecclesiastical writers, we find many facts referring to the Church of Hadhramaút, or ἡ Ἐκκλῆσια τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν “the Church of the Homeritæ” who were one of the principal nations in that part of Arabia, although they occupied only a small portion of the country which is now called Hadhramaút. But, as the Homeritæ were celebrated in history, their name was given to the inhabitants of the entire region in which the Himyaritic tongue was spoken; just as, in our days, the inhabitants of Great Britain are always called, in foreign countries, Englishmen, whether they be Irish, Scotch, or English. The same writers call the inhabitants of Hadhramaút sometimes Sabaei, from the famous town of Saba, and the people of Hindostan or India, “Indi” without regard to any particular district or province. St. Bartholomew is said to have preached the Gospel in these parts of Arabia, as early as the second century; and shortly after him, or perhaps with him,

one Pantænus, a priest of Alexandria, displayed great zeal in propagating the Christian Religion there. When, in the beginning of the fourth century, Arius denied the divine nature of Christ, and caused a schism in the Church, the Hadhramaútiens espoused his doctrines; and although the Emperor Constantine the Great, at the instigation of Georgius, Patriarch of Alexandria, sent thither one Theophilus, a native of Hadhramaút, who was charged with bringing them back to the orthodox creed, they still adhered to the errors of Arius. Theophilus went on a similar mission to Abyssinia; but there, also, he was unsuccessful. The Bishops of Hadhramaút resided at first at Nagra, or Negrane, in the northern part of the country; and afterwards at Taphar, now Dháfar, on the Indian Sea. A Bishop called Paulus died in the beginning of the sixth century, during the reign of the Christian King Aretha, the same who, after having been killed by the Jewish King Dunaan, was made a Saint, and is mentioned by the Fathers as St. Aretha the Martyr. King Dunaan, who took possession of the royal town of Negrane, tried to convert the inhabitants to the Jewish Religion: and many of them died the death of martyrs. To avenge the murder of King Aretha and the massacre of his Christian brethren in Hadhramaút, Eleesbam, King of Abyssinia, fitted out a powerful fleet, and landed an army in Arabia, where he killed the Jewish usurper of Negrane, and defeated his adherents. He appointed one of his own followers to reign as King in his stead; but his choice not being approved of by the inhabitants, they rose in arms, drove out their Abyssinian master, and put one Abraham on the throne. After some negotiations, King Eleesbam of Abyssinia recognised the new King; and so far was he from shewing any resentment, that he assisted the Hadhramaútiens in their endeavours to obtain a new Bishop and new Priests through the Emperor Justinian I. From this we must conclude that the majority of the inhabitants had then renounced Arianism. Justinian was favourable to their wishes, and requested the Patriarch of Alexandria to nominate suitable persons to these important functions. In the beginning, Hadhramaút was always subject to the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchs of Alexandria;

but this state of things ceased with the Hadhramaútians adopting the errors of Arius, and the Patriarch gladly seized the opportunity to re-establish his former authority. He proposed Joannes, Priest, at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria; and accordingly, the Reverend Father, notwithstanding his advanced age of 62, conformed himself to the wishes of his Superior, went to Hadhramaút, and took up his seat at Dháfar on the Indian Sea. With regard to these events, there are great discrepancies among the writers. Theophanes, for instance, says that "St. Aretha was slain in the fifth year of the reign of the Emperor Justin I (A. D. 523); and that in the sixteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian I. (A. D. 543) Adad, King of the Exumitæ in Abyssinia, who was a Jew, made war upon Damian, King of the Homeritæ, because the latter had forbidden Roman merchants who traded between Abyssinia and Hadhramaút to pass through his dominions. Adad made a vow that he would adopt the Christian Religion, if God would grant him victory over the Homeritæ. He obtained the victory, killed and deposed Damian, was baptized, and now sent a deputation to the Emperor Justinian to obtain a Bishop and Priests for his conquest." The story is quite in the taste of Theophanes, who is known for his love of the marvellous. I have followed the views of Le Quien on the subject.

The successor of Bishop Joannes was Gregentius, who is said to have been a native of Milan in Lombardy. Gregentius was a very learned man. An old MS. containing an account of his famous disputation with the Jew Herbanus is extant in the former Coislin Library (which is now united with the Royal Library at Paris): it contains, also, sixty-five laws and regulations concerning the Church of Hadhramaút, which were issued by Gregentius. King Abraham died after a reign of thirty years, and Gregentius died soon after him, during the reign of King Serbidus, the son and successor of Abraham.

In the beginning of the seventh century, the inhabitants of Hadhramaút adopted Nestorianism, and made themselves subject to the Nestorian Catholicus at Seleucia. At this time, both their political and religious existence was threatened

by the rising power of Mohammed; and in A. H. 9 (A. D. 630-31) they sent an embassy to him, which was headed by their Bishop Abú-l-Hareth, or Harethus, who met with a favourable reception. Mohammed dismissed the Bishop with rich presents, but warned him not to preach against the doctrines of the Korán. When the Khalif 'Omar, who reigned from A. H. 13—24, (A. D. 634—644,) set out for the conquest of Persia, which was then governed by Yezdegerd, Jesuiab II., the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia, and Suidas, the Christian Prince of Hadhramaút, offered him great presents, and concluded a treaty with him, by which the Khalif bound himself to respect the neutrality of the Christians of Seleucia and Hadhramaút.

Shortly afterwards, however, the Mohammedan Arabs turned their arms against Hadhramaút, and the Christian Religion was outrooted for ever in one of its earliest homes. If we believe a story told in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, the Christian Religion was not subdued till after the reign of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-Málek, who sat on the throne from A. H. 66—86. (A. D. 685—705); for, at that time, a deputation from India arrived at Alexandria, and requested the then Patriarch, Simon, to give them a Bishop. The Patriarch having refused to comply with their wishes, because he could not act without the permission of the Emperor (Justinian II., Leontius, or Tiberius III., Absimarus), who perhaps was unwilling to offend the Arabs, the deputies succeeded in persuading Theodore, Bishop of the Gayanitzæ, to accept the See of Dháfar. Their way to India led through Arabia; and on the twentieth day after they had left Egypt, they were surprised by some Mohammedan Arabs. One of the Indian priests escaped; but the Bishop, and the other Indian priests, were sent to the Khalif by whose orders they had their hands and feet cut off; and in this state, the Bishop Theodore was crucified, and died on the cross. There is great probability that these Indians were natives of Hadhramaút, which was known by the name of India; for, in those fanatical times, no Christian inhabitant of Hindustán, or even of Abyssinia, would have travelled through Arabia on his

return to his country. Some writers, however, are of a different opinion, because, it is said, in some old Coptic book, that those Indian priests had black faces; whence one of those writers (Le Quien) concludes that they were probably from Abyssinia, or from Ceylon, or the Coast of Malabar. I have not seen the old Coptic book, and can consequently not tell whether the Coptic author in question means *black*, in the actual sense of the word, or only blackish, or of a very dark complexion. And even if they were Abyssinians, they might have been in office in some place in Hadhramaút, where, in those times, the natives would have understood them quite as well as their own countrymen in Africa. They might, however, have been taken prisoners by sea; and certainly the Red Sea presented quite as many advantages to those going to India or Abyssinia, as to those that went to the southwestern corner of Arabia. My own opinion is, that those priests were from Hadhramaút, although this country was subdued by the Mohammedans, previous to the accession of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-Málek.

Shortly before this subjugation was effected, an event took place which is of the highest importance in the history of the Christian Religion, and of the history of eastern civilization in general. A priest of Nagrane, the Capital of Christian Hadhramaút, was sent by the Nestorian Catholicus to China, to visit the Christians in that country. There was a commercial intercourse between Hadhramaút and India, as well as China, in very early times; and we cannot therefore be astonished at seeing the Christian Religion introduced into China by those who went there for the sake of trading. The fact, however, is so interesting, so important, and yet so little known, that I have made it the subject of some closer investigations, the result of which I hope to have the honour of communicating to you the next time we meet: and I will only observe now, that, among other circumstances connected with the promulgation of the Gospel in the East, there is a Syrian inscription, which was taken from a monument discovered in China; from which we see that the merit of the Syrian clergy for introducing Christianity into that immense terri-

tory, is no less bright, than the pious enthusiasm of those who first brought the Gospel to the banks of the Rhine, the Seine, and the Thames. That monument was erected A.D. 782; it was discovered in 1625; it excited the curiosity of the learned in China; wonder and sanguine expectation at Rome; and a description and explanation of it will no doubt be received by the Society as a fact connected with the history of the East, which is equally calculated to rejoice the pious and to delight the learned.\*

WILLIAM PLATE.

\* For Dr. Plate's account of the monument here referred to, see the next page.

PART II.—THE MONUMENT OF SI-GAN-FÚ.—EARLY  
RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABIA AND CHINA.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

JUNE 24, 1845,

WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c., IN THE CHAIR.

WHEN St. François Xavier, expiring in sight of Macao, turned his dying eye upon the mountains of China, and exclaimed, with feelings mixed with hope and despair, "O rock, when wilt thou open?" he was not aware that the seeds which he came to sow on that rock had been growing there for centuries past; and great indeed would have been his surprise, fair his hope of success, and bright the hour of his death, had he seen, beyond the mysterious clouds that veiled the Celestial Empire, the Cross erected on the rock of Xensi. His fear to be deceived by an illusion would have been removed by another sight no less expected and no less extraordinary; for had he penetrated into the interior of China, he would have beheld Jewish Synagogues, erected by Children of Israel born under the shadow of the Great Wall, and singing Hebrew Hymns in praise of Jehovah! Such, however, was the fact! Soon after, perhaps previous to, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Jewish exiles settled in China; and their descendants remained faithful to the religion of Moses, and kept up the use of the Hebrew tongue down to our days, during nearly two thousand years. It is not thirty years ago since Dr. Morrison heard from a Mohammedan Chinese that a colony of those Jews still existed in the town of Kae-fung-fú, known by the old name of "the followers of the religion of cutting out the sinew," although they call themselves Israelites. The Jesuit Ricci met with a Jew at Peking, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who called upon him, having heard that Ricci worshipped a *single God*, without being a Mohammedan, and who knew that his own forefathers had come from Pales-



tine. This Jew, whose name was Ngai, knew the Hebrew characters, although he could not read them; but several of his countrymen in the town of Kae-fung-fû, in the province of Honan, did not only understand Hebrew, as was afterwards ascertained, but also produced parts of a Hebrew Old Testament. The synagogue of the Jews at Kae-fung-fû was visited, about 1613, by Father Julius Aleni, a Hebrew scholar; and after him, by several other Missionaries, especially Father Gozani, who lived there during the long period of sixty years, and wrote an account of the Chinese Jews, dated "Kae-fung-fû, November 1704," which was published in 1707, in the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses." In 1815, some Jews of London despatched a Hebrew Letter to the Rabbi of the synagogue at Kae-fung-fû, which was given at Canton to a travelling bookseller, who delivered it at Kae-fung-fû to a person who understood the letter well; but the bookseller, being obliged to leave that town unexpectedly, was prevented from taking an answer with him to Canton.\*

The fact that Jews brought the Old Testament to China at so early a period, is well calculated to remove the doubts of those who would hesitate to presume that the New Testament was likewise introduced into China at a comparatively very remote time—more than ten centuries previous to the arrival of the Jesuits: indeed, we would be induced to believe the fact, even if we had no positive evidence bearing upon the point. The sons of Syria and Palestine who overthrew Paganism, and propagated the Christian Religion in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Arabia—were they less zealous, less active, and less enterprising than the Jesuits of the seventeenth, and the Protestant Missionaries of the nineteenth century?

Thibet, separated from the rest of Asia by awful deserts and the highest and most inaccessible mountains of the world,

\* Cibot: "*Digression sur le tems où les Juifs ont passé en Chine*," in "*Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les moeurs, &c., des Chinois*": Paris, 1791. Vol. xv. "*Jewish Expositor*": London, 1816. p. 101 *et passim*. Kæglerius: "*Notitiæ S. S. Bibliorum Judæorum in Imperio Sinensi*": Halle, 1805. Sionnet: "*Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine*": Paris, 1837. James Finn: "*The Jews in China*": London, 1843.

became one of the strongholds of Nestorianism; and down to the present day, there are doubts prevailing, whether the similarity between so many rites of the Buddha Religion and those of the Roman-Catholic Church, and the strange analogy between the functions of the Dalai Lama and those of the Pope, are produced through an early influence of Buddhism upon Christianity, or of Nestorianism upon the Religion of Buddha. In the sixth century, Christianity was flourishing in all Persia, Afghanistán, Turkistán, India, and in those remote regions of Central Asia where, in later times, Jenghis Khán pitched his royal tent, when he was preparing the conquest of Asia and Europe. We cannot be astonished at seeing China, also, at an early time, under the influence of the Christian Religion. The consent of Chinese, Arabic, Syriac, Greek, and Latin sources,\* proves that the Gospel was successfully preached in the Celestial Empire. As early as the seventh century, Syrian Priests penetrated from Thibet to the northern parts of China: others, coming from more western countries, and preferring the sea to the land, went thither by the port of Canton.

Among so many sources that throw light upon those subjects, I beg to direct the attention of the Society to the Travels of Cosmas, commonly called Indicopleustes, or the "Indian Navigator," an Egyptian monk, who lived in the time of Justinian, about A. D. 535, and who has left us a most interesting description of his travels by sea and by land, as well as of the state of the Christian (Nestorian) Church in India, and other countries of Asia.

I am now proceeding to give you a description of that important monument to which I have already alluded, and which, as you will recollect, I stated (towards the conclusion of my Paper on Hadhramaút) to have been discovered in China, upwards of two hundred years ago. I cannot flatter myself that I shall thereby be able to add much to your store of knowledge: but as many old things acquire new importance

\* Assemanni: "*Bibl. Orientalis*," Vol. iv. "*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*," Vol. xxx.

when brought in connection either with new facts or new ideas ; and as, at the present time, the learned are assiduously engaged in prosecuting their inquiries concerning the East ; I venture to hope that the following observations will be listened to with interest.

In the year 1625, some workmen who were employed in digging out a spot for a new house, in a village near the town of Si-gan-fú, the Capital of the province of Xensi, found a marble stone, resembling a tombstone, since it was nine palms and a half long, by two wide, and being about one palm thick.\* On the stone, there was the figure of a cross, and its surface was nearly covered with inscriptions, part of which were written in Chinese, and part in characters which the Chinamen could not decipher. The stone excited great curiosity among the natives ; and learned Chinese, from all provinces, flocked to Si-gan-fú in order to see it, and to try to read the foreign inscription. Leo Mandarinus, a converted Chinese, having spoken of this monument in a little book on the state of the Christian Religion in China, Alvares Samedo, a Jesuit, who was then in China, went to Si-gan-fú in 1628, copied the strange inscription, and, with the aid of some of his friends, soon discovered that the characters were *Syriac*. Unacquainted with the Syrian language, they sent a copy of it to Rome, where it was translated.

The Syriac inscription is long: it contains a succinct account of the principal doctrines of the Christian faith, and a short historical sketch of the introduction of Christianity, or the Religion of "Tacyñ," (that is *Judæa*,) into the Celestial Empire. One Lo-puen, or Olopuen, it is said there, "*arrived in China in the year called 'Chen-quon-kien-sú'* (that, is in A. D. 636), *bringing with him the book of the true faith. He was conducted thither by the 'clouds of the skies'* (namely by the wind); *and while he travelled, he carefully observed the wind, in order to avoid the dangers and obstacles which were on his way.*" We have here our Nestorian Priest from Hadhramaút, arriving

\* See Dr Holt Yates' Paper "On the Obelisks of Ancient Egypt" (pp. 17 and 18, Part I. of this Volume).

in China *by sea*, after having "well observed the wind," that is, *the monsoons*, by aid of which he performed his voyage. According to this inscription, moreover, "*Christian Churches were seen in a hundred towns*," and the "*Chinese were always ready to obey the Gospel when it was preached to them*." The Chinese inscription is still longer, and treats on the same subjects; but it contains more historical facts; and from it we learn, that, "*during several centuries, the Christian Religion prospered in China*," but that "*its votaries were persecuted by some Emperors*:" and that, "*in A. D. 745, several Christians arrived in China from Tacyn, (or Judæa), among whom there was one Kieho, a Priest, who distinguished himself very much for the propagation of the Gospel*."

Towards the end of the inscription, it is said that "*the stone was erected during the reign of the Emperor Tam, in the second year, called Kien-ciïm*" (that is, in A. D. 782); and that "*at that time Christianity still flourished in the Celestial Empire*."

At the bottom of the stone, there are several lines in Syriac, which deserve particular attention: the words run thus—

"*Adam, Priest, Archpriest, and Papalis of Zinostán. In the time of the predecessors and ancestors of the father of the Lord Hanan Jesua, Catholic Patriarch (that is, either of Alexandria, of Antioch, or of Babylon), in the year 1092, of the Greeks, the Lord Jidbuzad, Priest and Deputy of the Bishop of Cundara, the Capital of the Kingdom, who was the son of Milis, and Priest of Beleh, in Turkistán, erected this monument, &c.*"

Under these lines there are the names—

"*Adam, Diaconus, son of Jidbuzad, Vicar of the Bishop.*"

"*Mar Sargis, Priest and Vicar of the Bishop.*"

"*Sarnishu, Priest.*"

"*Gabriel, Priest, Arch-dean, and Principal of the Churches of Cundara and Dazrag.*"

There are, further, the names of about *seventy of the principal Priests*, mostly Syrian names, *who had distinguished themselves in the administration of the Church in China*.

There is one circumstance in these Syrian lines which considerably puzzled the learned in Europe.

You will recollect, that, in the Chinese, as well as in the principal part of the Syriac inscription, it was said that the stone was erected "during the reign of the Emperor Tam," in the second year called "Kien-ciüm" (which corresponds to the year 782 of our era); while in the Syriac inscription, at the *bottom* of the stone, it is said that it was erected "in the year 1092, of the Greeks." Careful observers, however, soon found out that the expression "year of the Greeks" refers to the era which begins twelve years after the death of Alexander the Great, who died in May 323 B.C. That era ought consequently to begin 311 B.C.; but it is generally considered to begin 310 B.C.: and you will see that the year 1092, of the Greeks, corresponds exactly to the year 782, of the Christian era; since, if you subtract 310, the number of years before Christ, from 1092, the number of years of the Greek era mentioned on the monument, there remains 782. There is consequently *no discrepancy* in the dates.

There was a time when *doubting*, from its very necessity, became at once a great virtue and a great vice;—I allude to the eighteenth century: and you will, of course, not be astonished that, at that time, the genuineness of the monument of Si-gan-fú was contested, and that the Jesuits were charged with having *forged it*. The mere fact of a member of that order having first made known to Europe, a Syro-Chinese inscription, discovered in the most mysterious country of the world, was sufficient to rouse several of those eminent men whom Europe admired for the talent they displayed in nursing learning and wit; and the author of "La Pucelle" fearlessly pronounced an anathema against facts, which more modest poets and less witty philosophers generally leave to the decision of historians and scholars. Voltaire declared the monument of Si-gan-fú to be "a pious fraud of the Jesuits"; La Croze, to whom we are indebted for the well-known "History of the Christian Religion in India," professed a similar opinion; and the Marquis D'Argens likewise condemned the monument. This is the same Marquis D'Argens whom Frederic the Great appointed his Chamberlain; and who shewed his gratitude by presenting his royal master with

a French translation of the extant fragments extracted by Cyrillus from the Emperor Julian the Apostate's "Defence of Paganism." It also happened, in our days, that a pious and respectable Missionary pronounced himself against the genuineness of the monument of Si-gan-fú, of which he seems to have read the short description in Le Comte's "Letters on China." \*

Names of far greater weight are conspicuous among those who *defended* the genuineness of the monument; and the catalogue of authors who wrote on the subject affords the amusing exhibition of sneering Voltaire and pious Milne displaying their Chinese and Syriac scholarship against the vast learning of Anastasius Kircher, the penetrating genius of De Guignes, the sound criticism of Mosheim, and the profound erudition of Abel Rémusat. Defended as the character of the monument is by such men, I shall not argue the case any further; but merely add, that whatever opinion may be entertained of the Jesuits, I must, *in this case*, speak in their favour; my profound conviction being that the monument in question is genuine. On thus leaving the subject for your consideration, I can, however, not refrain from quoting the words of an historian, who was not the last in rank among the great sceptics of his age, and who had well investigated the history of the monument of Si-gan-fú:—"La Croze and Voltaire," says Gibbon, "were afraid of a Jesuitical fraud, and became the dupes of their own cunning."

Had I intended to make the introduction of the Christian Religion into China the principal subject of this memoir, I would have dwelt longer upon various events connected with that subject, which I am now under the necessity of passing over in silence. Let me, then, bring back your attention to the early connection which existed between the extreme east and the extreme west of Asia.

The ancients knew little more of China than its name; and the voyage of the Nestorian Priest, Lo-fuen, from Hadhramaut to that country, in A.D. 636, is the first instance known

\* William Milne: "*Retrospect of the First Protestant Mission to China, &c.*" Malacca. 1820. 8vo.

of a direct communication *by sea*, between Arabia and China. The words of the inscription, "*he was conducted thither by the clouds of the sky, and while he travelled, he carefully observed the wind, in order to avoid the dangers and obstacles which were on his way,*" allude too plainly to a voyage *by sea*, to admit of any doubts on that point. The circumstances, however, under which the priest went to China, imply a nearer connexion between the two countries having been established previous to his voyage; for, as he was sent there by the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia, to inspect the state of the Christian (Nestorian) Church, we are obliged to admit, *first*, that there were already Nestorian Christians in China; *secondly*; that the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia was informed of the presence of Christians in China; *thirdly*, that those Christians recognised the Catholicus of Seleucia as their spiritual leader; and *lastly*, that the condition of the Christians in China was of such a description, as not only to oblige them to inform their spiritual leaders of it, but also to induce the Catholicus to send one of his priests out on such a long and hazardous expedition. All this required considerable time: and we may fairly presume, that, in A. D. 636, the establishment of the Christian Religion in China was an accomplished fact, and well known at Seleucia, and to the clergy generally in Mesopotamia, in Syria, in Egypt, and in Arabia. The religious connection which existed between China and Arabia was, without doubt, intimately associated with the interests of commerce; and probably owed its origin, in the first instance, to transactions of a secular nature, carried on by the merchants of remote nations: and this we may presume, from the importance of Hadhramaút as a trading station, midway between India and Egypt, and thence further on to Syria and Europe; and from the extensive commercial intercourse which the Bible and other authentic documents assure us *did exist* between the people of some of these countries, in the early ages.

The earliest emporia, in those days, were certain Arabian towns, situated on the coast of Yemen, Hadhramaút, and 'Omán; and among these provinces, Hadhramaút was renowned for its

commercial importance, in the time of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and continued so for many a century. The Egyptians did not trade *directly* to India, till the reign of Ptolemæus Philometor (A.D. 181—145 (141), as we learn from a fragment of the geographer Agatharchides, who also informs us, that, “previous to that time the Egypto-Indian trade was carried on by Arabian merchants, especially those of Saba in Hadhramaút.” His account is confirmed by that of Arrian, the author of the “Periplus of the Red Sea,” in whose time Maskát was an emporium for all Arabian, Persian, and Indian commodities. This Egyptian-Greek gives us a good idea of the trade with India under the early Roman Emperors. He was a navigator, and sailed at least as far as the Bay of Cambay; and he describes the whole Indian coast as far as the island of Ceylon. This island seems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of the early southern navigators; for even Cosmas Indicopleustes did not sail further in the sixth century of our era. Their reasons for not crossing Cape Comorin are not known to us. The smallness, or imperfect construction of their trading vessels was no obstacle; for a ship able to sail from Arabia, along the coast of India, as far as Ceylon, might as well go round that island, and thence sail up again to the mouth of the Ganges, or down again to the Straits of Malacca. And besides, the expeditions of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians beyond the columns of Hercules, and, still more, to the famous circumnavigation of Africa, contrived by King Necho of Egypt, are sufficient to shew that voyages performed by ships built six hundred years *before* Christ, were not too long or too dangerous for ships built six hundred years *after* Christ.\* It would seem, however, as if the ancients refrained from doubling Cape Comorin, because they dreaded to be unprotected in countries quite new and strange to them; where neither the power of the Kings of Egypt, nor that of

\* The western coast of America (Fu-sang) was visited by Chinese navigators as early as A.D. 495. De Guignes, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, Vol. xxviii. p. 503, &c.



the Emperors of Rome, and, still less, that of the petty Arab kings of Yemen and Hadhramaút, would have saved them from "avanies,"\* and ill treatment.

Scarcely one hundred years after the peaceful voyage of our Arab Priest to China, the sea became at once the high road from Arabia to that country. The inhabitants of the southern coast of Arabia, enticed by the prospect of gain, and excited to enthusiasm by the dogmas of Mohammed, despised the precaution of their ancestors; and, with fleets of armed and unarmed vessels, crossed the high seas, introduced their religion on the Indian islands, and founded lasting colonies on the coast of distant and fabulous China.

Hadhramaút, that unknown, mysterious part of Arabia, is thus brought into connection with the early history of the world. Famous in the time of Solomon, important when the Greeks ruled in Egypt, an object of cupidity to the Roman Emperors, and memorable in ecclesiastical history, but forgotten during a thousand years, it is now resuming its place among the objects of men's thoughts. The historian, the scholar, the geographer, the navigator, and the merchant, will all once more look upon it with equal interest; and the time is fast approaching when, moved by higher and more serious motives than those of curiosity or gain, the statesmen of Europe will cast their eyes upon a country which was not only an emporium of the trade between India and Europe, but one of the most flourishing, powerful, and intellectual countries of the earth.

WILLIAM PLATE.

\* Mr. C. F. Barker in his *Memoir on Syria* gives some interesting instances of the present system of avanies in the East. See pp. 5 and 6, Part II. of this Volume.



REMARKS  
ON  
THE WEDGE INSCRIPTION

RECENTLY DISCOVERED

ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

BY THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ENGINEER,  
CAPTAIN VON MÜHLBACH.

BEING A COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN  
THE ART OF DECIPHERING THE "CUNEATIC" CHARACTERS  
OF THE ANCIENT ASSYRIAN WRITINGS.

BY

G. F. GROTEFEND, PHIL. DOCT.

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT CLASSICS AT HANOVER ;  
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON ;  
&c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN,  
BY THE REV. HENRY PHILPOTT, M.A.  
FELLOW OF CATHERINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE, &c.

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WITH A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION.

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,  
ON TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1845,  
SAMUEL SHARPE, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.



## INTRODUCTION.

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DEAR SIR—

*Hanover, Jan. 2, 1845.*

I NOW hasten to accomplish what I promised to send a month ago. Since, however, it would be too tedious for the readers if I were to communicate my particular judgment respecting all the Inscriptions which Professor Schütz copied near the Lake Van, in Great Armenia, and which were published in 1840, at Paris, in Vol. IX. of the Third Series of the "Asiatic Journal," I have only thrown what was most important into "Remarks upon the Wedge Inscription discovered on the Upper Euphrates by the Royal Prussian Engineer, Captain von Mühlbach."


If these Remarks should be printed, and the accompanying Table lithographed, I have only to request that all the lines between the rows may be drawn at equal distances from each other, and the characters of the eighth row placed closer to each other, while other rows, as the thirtieth in particular, are written more widely apart; so that no row may extend beyond the closing line, and that there may not be too great a gap at the end of a row; because it is usual, in Wedge Inscriptions, to leave a gap rather in the middle of the rows than at the end, and accordingly, the same characters are written sometimes closer together, sometimes wider apart.

Moreover, as several characters bear much greater resemblance to the Inscriptions from Nineveh than from Babylon, I take this opportunity to communicate what Mr. Rich's Secretary in Bagdad wrote to me from Nineveh, in the years 1818 and 1819, respecting the Inscriptions.

I.—*From a Letter of November 8, 1818.*

"A few weeks ago, a man brought Mr. Rich, from Mussul, several fragments of bricks with Wedge Inscriptions, which he had dug up at Mussul, over against the ruins of Nineveh (Nunija, in the language of the country).

“One of the fragments was of fine well-baked clay, varnished yellow, and precisely similar to another fragment which another man brought Mr. Rich last winter.

“Besides these varnished ones, the other fragments are not at all so well baked, and of worse clay than the common Babylonian bricks. The Inscription is not, as upon them, in a hollowed space and upon the broad side, but upon the narrow side: it consists only of two lines, and is evidently written in the third style of writing, for the beginning is . The perpendicular wedges are commonly an inch and more long. The two varnished fragments have inscriptions of several lines on both sides; but the characters are so small, and in part so much damaged, that I cannot at present say any thing definite upon the subject. The Inscriptions, however, seem to be also of the third style of writing.

“The person who brought the fragments returned lately to Mussul, for the purpose of sending Mr. Rich a marble, one side of which is said to be quite covered with an Inscription, and which he left behind in Mussul when he came here, because of its weight, as he was uncertain whether Mr. Rich would consider it worth the cost of carriage. As soon as it arrives, I shall copy the Inscription upon it, and those of the other fragments; and Mr. Rich will publish them without delay.

“*Nov. 28.* Instead of one marble from Mussul, two have arrived, both fragments; one of a bas-relief, of which only the heads of two male figures remain; the other of a Wedge Inscription in the third style of writing.”

## II.—*From a Letter of April 19, 1819.*







“I have just finished copying an Inscription from Nineveh: it is written upon an earthen vessel, but without divisions and lines, and consists of sixty-three rows of very small and close writing, which has been received perfect, with the exception of three very short places. Besides this vessel, Mr. Rich also received several whole bricks, and various fragments, from Mussul, most of which have a two-line Inscription on one side. These Inscriptions are, as to subject-


matter, of two quite different kinds. Several of the fragments have Inscriptions, which are written upon the broad surface, and consist of more than two lines: and amongst these also prevails a great difference of subject-matter. But how many kinds there are, I have not yet been able to discover in copying the Inscriptions, which are often very much damaged. The Wedge Writing of Nineveh does not, however, agree so closely with the third Persepolitan and the single Babylonian style as I at first thought; for, although it has a number of characters in common with these two, it contains, also, a great many others which seem to be peculiar to itself;

as, for instance, , and

others which occur frequently. The last is not, as I at first supposed, equivalent to the Persepolitan and Babylonian

; for this is, as I soon found, constantly written 

in the Wedge Writing of Nineveh. It writes several characters with one wedge more or less than the Babylonian; as, for instance,  for ,  for , and  for .

On the other hand, characters which occur frequently in the Persepolitan and Babylonian, are wanting in it; among others, the character for "King," unless, perhaps, the  above is to stand for it. I am led to suppose this by the peculiarity in the Wedge Writing of Nineveh, of changing sometimes oblique wedges of the Babylonian and Persepolitan into transverse wedges."

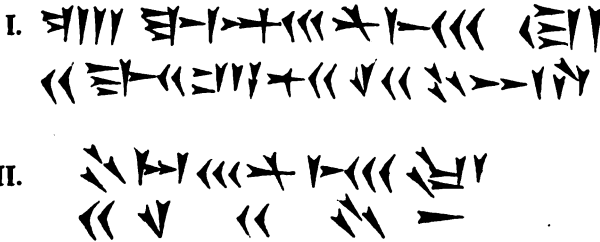
### III.—From a Letter of Sept. 30, 1819.

"If unexpected circumstances do not detain Mr. Rich, he is determined to take a journey this autumn to the ruins of Babylon or Nineveh. In the latter, according to information sent him from Mussul, are said to have been found some stones with Inscriptions, and several clay vessels (whether these also have Inscriptions is not said), which Mr. Rich wishes to examine. At present, Mr. Rich has only sent the great Inscription from Nineveh to Mr. von Hammer, for insertion in *The Fundgruben*. I now send you the copy of

the two-line Inscriptions which are found upon the sides of the Nineveh bricks. The one is drawn from six whole bricks and two fragments: the wedges upon them are hardly an inch long. Four of the originals had, in the middle of the second line, one character more than the other four, which, in my copy, I represented not filled up. The other is drawn from four whole bricks and two fragments: the wedges upon them are sometimes one inch and a half, and almost twice as great as in the originals of the first. The bricks are commonly thirteen and a half inches in length and breadth, and from three and a half, to four and a half thick.

“CARL BELLINO.”

COPY OF THE TWO-LINE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NINEVEH.



Every one will readily observe that the second Inscription is entirely contained in the first, excepting the first and last characters. The place of the first character is occupied in it by two others, and so also with the long transverse wedge at the end. Moreover, the first Inscription has the first half of the second line in addition.

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, Esq., M.D.  
&c. &c. &c.

G. F. GROTEFEND.

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\* The learned Professor, it will be recollected, was the first to discover a key to the deciphering of the ancient Persepolitan Inscriptions; which, according to the opinion of Mr. Cullimore, in their terminal characters of words, commence a chain of evidence which is continued in the Himyaritic, and concluded in the Abyssinian Inscriptions.

For a further elucidation of this difficult subject, see the Society's "Transactions and Reports" for April 15, 1845, Part I. Vol. I. See also the "Oriental Cylinders" published by the Society.



## REMARKS ON THE WEDGE INSCRIPTION

DISCOVERED ON THE UPPER EUHRATES BY THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN  
ENGINEER, CAPTAIN VON MÜHLBACH.

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As I succeeded in correcting the erroneous views respecting the long-known Wedge Inscriptions at Persepolis, so as to make it possible to interpret them, I may be permitted also to lay the first foundation for the future interpretation of the Wedge Inscription discovered on the Upper Euphrates. This Inscription became known to me by the communication of the celebrated geographer, C. Ritter, in the Monthly Report of the Transactions of the Geographical Society in Berlin (1839. Nos. III. and IV.). In the subjoined copy of Mr. von Mühlbach, the beginning of the forty-line Inscription is represented according to the actual form and size of the characters; from which it appears that the writing is larger, indeed, than that of Artaxerxes, but much less than that of Darius and Xerxes, in Persepolis. However faithfully Mr. von Mühlbach seems to have drawn the Inscription, still the form of representation chosen is not so plain to the eye as that in which Professor Schütz drew the Inscriptions discovered by him. I have, therefore, in the accompanying Table, copied Mühlbach's drawing just as Professor Schütz would have drawn it, in order that it may be seen more easily how much alike the writing and the subject-matter of all these Inscriptions is.

No sooner is this similarity recognised, than all the inferences disappear, which Mr. Ritter drew from the supposed want of all *angular hooks*, as they are called; and the opinion of Professor Lassen — who, in the Journal for

Eastern Intelligence (Vol. VI. p. 141), explains these Inscriptions to be more ancient Wedge Inscriptions of the Assyrian kings—is also seen to have little foundation.

On account of these mistakes, the similarity of the Inscriptions mentioned shall be shewn first of all.

This appears at once from the three first characters, which are drawn in their actual form and size in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy; for the word represented by them recurs so often, if not at the beginning, yet at the middle of the Inscriptions, that the similarity of the Inscriptions would be recognised by it, even if Mr. von Mühlbach's copy did not have so much in common with Schütz, No. 42, besides the same beginning and ending, that the careful comparison of it gives the most instructive explanations of the nature of the writing. In the very first character is expressed a peculiarity of the writing, which consists in the avoiding of all intersections of the wedges. For, from the comparison of Schütz, No. 29, with Nos. 33 and 34, the beginning of which I have written in the margin of the accompanying Table, immediately under the beginning of No. 42, it appears clearly that the first character originally corresponded to that with which the third style of writing of the Xerxes Inscription in No. 11, begins; and which, as I have shewn in my New Contributions to the Interpretation of the Babylonian Wedge Writing, corresponds to the eight-rayed character at the beginning of the Babylonian Brick Inscriptions.

Just as, in this character, the transverse wedge cutting the vertical wedge was broken up into two smaller wedges, before and after the vertical wedge; so the same took place with the two transverse wedges at the end of the third character, and the lower transverse wedge of the fourth, fifth, and sixth characters, which two small wedges cut vertically.

In this way, not only all intersections of the wedges disappeared from the later Babylonian Wedge Writing, to which the third Persepolitan also belongs, but all contacts of the several wedges with each other, were avoided so carefully, that even the *angular hooks*, as they are called, were drawn

only like transverse wedges turned to the left, and so sometimes changed by Schütz, as at the beginning of No. 42, for a small transverse wedge. For, that even Mr. Schütz sometimes committed an oversight, and left out, at one time, a small transverse wedge, as in the last character of the beginning extracted from No. 30, and, at another time, even one of the larger vertical wedges, as in the first character of the extract from No. 28, in the margin of the accompanying Table, is shewn by a comparison of the two places. If, now, it be asked why not only every intersection, but even every contact of the wedges with one another was carefully avoided, the answer is readily found in the anxiety of the stone-cutter lest the strokes of the writing should be spoiled by the cracking of the stone; for Mr. von Mühlbach observed several unsound veins which the stone-cutter was obliged to pass over, on account of the cracking, in chiselling the several strokes: and it not only appears, from the comparison of similar Inscriptions, that many of the wedges which Mr. von Mühlbach wrote down in the case of such unsound veins—as, in the first line, the small wedge behind the unsound vein—do not belong at all to the Inscription, but Mr. von Mühlbach even observed several wide gaps in which there seems to have been no writing at all. Now, as, from the way in which the stone-cutter avoided all contacts of wedges, and so put into our hands an excellent method of describing the third Persepolitan Wedge Writing, as well as the first and second, by means of single wedges and *angular hooks*, the higher antiquity of all the Babylonian Wedge Inscriptions in which the wedges intersect frequently, is seen in a way not to be mistaken; so the writing of the Inscriptions discovered by Mr. von Mühlbach and Schütz, differs much less from the third Persepolitan wedge-writing, than the later Babylonian Wedge Writing of documents from the older of bricks: and we may, therefore, assume that it was formed during the Persian dominion, under the last kings.

But, though the single strokes are easily found again in

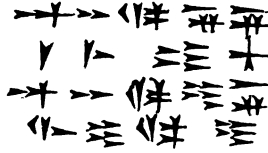
the Persepolitan Inscriptions of the third species, and still more in the Inscriptions from Nineveh, yet I have not succeeded in discovering similar words consisting of several characters: so that we must infer either a difference of language, or a total difference of subject-matter, or even both at once, though in different degrees.

The character of the Inscriptions themselves leads us to infer a difference of subject-matter; for, although vertical wedges, by which, in the Babylonian Wedge Writing, proper names are usually denoted, occur not unfrequently, as at the beginning and in the middle of our Inscription, yet we do not observe any character for King or the character of a Son behind it. Even the places which I have extracted below, in the margin of the first page, from Schütz, No. 1, betray, by small deviations, rather kindred forms of prayer than kings' names; for which reason, also, the first half of the same occurs in the two equivalent lines on a round altar-stone in No. 36. As most of the Inscriptions which Schütz found engraven upon stones in a church stood upon the surface of altars, so also Nos. 20 and 21, which are in inverted order in the margin of the accompanying Table, near lines 22 to 40, have been completed from No. 29 and other Inscriptions—for the original four-cornered stones were afterwards formed into a cylinder by cutting away the corners, in order to make a pedestal. It is seen, by comparing 21. 2, 3 with 29. 3, and 21. 7, 8 with 19. 4, that the Inscriptions were not wider than the middle undamaged lines. If we compare the Inscriptions Nos. 33, 34, 35 with No. 28, it is easily seen that they formed a whole, as Inscriptions of two altar-sides, with the upper surface in the middle, and No. 32, was arranged with them as the front of the altar. The way in which the three twelve-line Inscriptions ran round the two sides and the top of the altar, and the seven-line Inscription was joined with them in the front, may be shown by the following figure:—

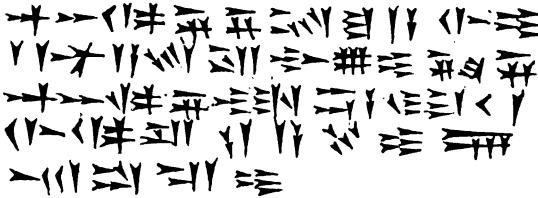
33	1	34	Top of the Altar.		35
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		19	xxxii Front.		

As by comparing the four first lines with the five first lines of No. 28, we see that the smaller lines of Nos. 33 and 35 do not always contain a particular word, but rather that the wedge of distinction of the word of the first line of No. 35 is placed, also, at the end of the first line of No. 34; so the comparison of the similar Inscriptions, Nos. 13, 14, and 15, shews that the Inscription No. 32 was attached as a conclusion to the three others: for, although the nineteen lines of this Inscription agree just as little with the just-mentioned nineteen lines, as with the fourteen lines of the nineteenth Inscription, still it is easily seen that the subject-matter of No. 32 corresponds to the second half of No. 19, or the nine last lines of Nos. 13, 14, and 15. The frequent occurrence of the same Inscription upon altars and rocks, as well as its immediate repetition with all kinds of little alterations, leads us to infer a form of prayer similar to that upon the Babylonian bricks. In No. 30 is a five-line Inscription (as also in No. 18 one of three lines) repeated immediately in succession, from which the smallest of all the Inscriptions in Nos. 24 and 31 may be easily completed as follows:—

## No. xxiv.



## No. xxxi.



The comparison of these two nearly equivalent Inscriptions, gives us the best explanation respecting their character and contents. If we compare the beginning of them with the beginning of the copy of Mr. von Mühlbach, we observe, not only at once, that the latter avoided the intersection of wedges by dividing one great transverse wedge into two little ones, but also, that it inserted after the first word, a character composed of two and three transverse wedges, as is done also in the third line of No. 24. Hence are distinguished many of the parallel places brought forward in the margin of the accompanying Table; and in the second line of No. 24, we find that character inserted just at the beginning of a word, separated by the wedge of distinction, just as, in the fourth line, twice in succession. If we may infer from this that the character, sometimes written, sometimes left out, is a vowel, a continued comparison (in particular of the very similar Nos. 13 and 14) teaches us still more vowels. If we compare together Nos. 31 and 30, the first lines are distinguished only by the arbitrary insertion or omission of that character; but, at the end of the second line, which corresponds to the beginning of the second line of No. 31, there is wanting, in No. 30, the character consisting of four oblique wedges, whilst in the middle of the third line, it stands after the

same word which concludes the second line of No. 31. If, again, we compare No. 29 with No. 31, we find the second line written perfectly the same; but in the first line, there is wanting the character composed of three vertical wedges, while at the end, is added the same character, which, at the end of the second line in the completed No. 21, I thought must have been exchanged for that which stands at the end of the third line in No. 29. Both characters are found added very often at the end of the lines; compare only the end of the fifth line of Nos. 13 or 14, with the beginning of the ninth line; and in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy, the end of the thirty-fourth line with the beginning of the sixth, and the middle of the twenty-first line. Where two or more characters are inserted, we must suppose a particular word in them. Often, however, longer subjects are introduced in one or more lines, in which we perceive partly only variations of the forms of prayer.

Thus No. 30 inserts almost a whole line before the beginning of the second line of No. 31, and in which there is only something added to the repetition of the beginning of the Inscription; as is done, also, at the beginning of the second line of the Inscription before which No. 30 again inserts half a line. In the same way, before the end of the Inscription, No. 30 repeats that which stands in the fourth line of No. 31, with a little alteration at the end, so that the whole Inscription is almost always repeating the same thing with little variation.

If we compare Mr. von Mühlbach's copy with Schütz, No. 12, we find again all the first line, except that after the first unsound vein, the character composed of five transverse wedges is inserted; and soon after the second unsound vein, the character which concludes the second line, as well as the whole Inscription, is not repeated; but instead of the four last characters of the first line, in No. 12, a whole line is inserted in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy. If, now, we compare its third line with Schütz, No. 12. 2, we find here the two characters, with which line 6 in von Mühlbach begins, repeated immediately in succession, which, however, appears to be only an error in drawing; just as, soon afterwards, von Mühlbach





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NOTES UPON AN EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTION IN THE  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE OF PARIS.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

[From the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. iv. new Series.]

It has been so often asked with an air of apparent triumph by some,—What is there historical in the monuments of Egypt?—that I was induced some years ago to take up the so-called statistical tablet of Karnak, and to offer some account of it, which the progress of my hieroglyphical studies could correct, and add to in some less essential particulars. I now offer to the consideration of the Society some account of another inscription,—a stone leaf out of the primeval history of man.

Although the names may appear strange, and the turn of expression stereotyped and monotonously antithetical, the matter is, to say the least, curious, and the information precise. It was chiselled when the Hebrew monarchy was in its glory,—about the age of the building of the Temple,—when the older empire of Egypt exhibited unequivocal signs of decrepitude.

There is a little temple<sup>1</sup> lying to the east of the

<sup>1</sup> For the account of this temple of Chons, cf. Champollion-Figeac, *L'Égypte*, 8vo, 1839, p. 255. Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* tom. ii. p. 48, and iv. p. 135,—Champollion, *Gram. Eg.* p. 398–402, call

palace in the south-west of the Karnak quarter at Thebes, dedicated to the god Chons,—a personification of the Moon, and the son of Amen and Mut,—more familiarly known to Greek scholars as Ammon and Buto. This god was the third of the Theban divinities, and to his temple were attached living apes or cynocephali<sup>2</sup> which represented the god himself. The piety of the monarchs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties founded and endowed this shrine, which is attested by the legendary dedications found on the remaining ruins.<sup>3</sup> In the temple lay for some time an Egyptian stele or tablet (*hutu*) of the usual shape, with a rounded top, which was removed, in the year 1846, by M. Prisse, to Paris,<sup>4</sup> and by him presented to the National Library.

In order to condense my observations as much as possible, I shall at once proceed to a description of the tablet, and a translation of the inscription, clause by clause, discussing, as I go along, such points as require separate illustration. Of course it is not to be

the locality 'ruins south-east of the palace of Karnak.' Since reading this Paper, through the kindness of M. Ch. Lenormant, I have received a paper impression of this tablet. All observations, however, I shall add in the Notes.

<sup>2</sup> On a bronze bucket, obtained by Belzoni from the Arabs who had rifled the tombs of the Gournah quarter of Thebes, occurs the title *cher neter aani anchu*, 'priest of the living cynocephali' of the temple of Chons, *i. e.* of this very temple. This bucket is about the time of Amyrtæus, but the apes were no doubt earlier. (Egyptian Room, B. M., No. 5303.)

<sup>3</sup> Several representations connected with the worship of the god Chons are engraved in Champollion, *Monumens*, tom. iii. Pl. cclxxxvi. tom. iv. Pl. ccvii. ccviii.

<sup>4</sup> Engraved in his *Mon. Eg.* Pl. xxiv. : cf. the text, p. 5.

expected that *every thing* can be spoken of with the same certainty as if Egypt had left behind her the lexica and grammars of her language; the hieroglyphical student pursues a more difficult and obscure route, but he is no more entirely at fault than the experienced seaman on what to the untutored eye of an ignorant landsman appears the unintelligible and trackless ocean. Nor can any one despise the attempt to unveil the faith or history of a nation written down contemporaneously with the laws of Moses or the deeds of David. Theological studies gain much light from the unexpected resuscitation of the lost monarchies of Egypt and Assyria; and the days are coming when a knowledge of the monuments of these countries will be as essential to the due study of the books of the Old, as Hellenic literature and remains are to those of the New Testament.

The tablet itself is of brown sandstone, about seven feet high, and is divided into two portions,—a picture and explanatory text. In the upper part of the tablet is the solar orb, ornamented with an uræus serpent, and having a pair of wings: it is here styled ‘the Hut, the lord of the heaven, the good god.’ A great deal of unnecessary learning has been employed to propose profound explanations for this symbol, but the hieroglyphical inscriptions which accompany it explain its meaning in Egyptian mythology,—it is ‘the Morning Sun:’ it is often called ‘the beam of light which rises,’ or ‘comes out, of the horizon,’<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sharpe, *Eg. Ins.* Pl. 120. The sense of ‘coming out,’ or ‘rising,’ given by Chæremon in his *Hieroglyphics*, Tzetzes, *Exeges. Homeri Iliad. ad finem*. The reading *Hut* or *Hat* (Champollion, *Dict.* p. 334, *Gr. Eg.* p. 344), if correct, I would compare to the

—an expression only applicable to the Morning Sun.<sup>6</sup> What it meant when introduced in the Assyrian and Persian sculptures is another question.<sup>7</sup> In Egypt, and as early as the twelfth dynasty, it had this signification. It seems to have been a familiar idea of all the Semitic people, for the later prophets speak of it in terms which show that they had seen and comprehended it.<sup>8</sup> The uræi wear the upper and the lower crown, or the red and the white cap, indicative of the sun's course by day and night. To the orb is attached an apron, which connects the symbol in appearance still more distinctly with the Assyrian representations. Below are two scenes: in the first the monarch wearing a helmet, and draped in a short apron, holding a censer in his left hand, stands addressing the ark<sup>9</sup> of the god


Coptic *htouue*, 'the morning.' (Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.* p. 369.) On some tablets the word 'table' (*uthu*) is thus written. The usual determination of *land* or *space* which follows it may either refer to its allusion to *Edfoo* (Champollion, *Gr. l. c.*), or to its being the place of the Sun. Cf. also the verb *Huta*, Lepsius, *Todt. taf. xli.* p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> And 'he who dwells in the S. Abode (*atar*),' the Meridian. (Champollion, *Mon. tom. i. Pl. lvi.*) This word *atar* is the Chaldee

אֲתָר. I have great doubts about the expression 'feathered creature;' it may mean instead 'the beam of light,' *i. e.* the 'first morning beam.' Champollion, *Not. Descr.* p. 111, reads 'ray of truth.'

<sup>7</sup> For a very learned exposition of its adoption by the Aramæan people, and subsequently by the Persians, see M. Lajard, 'Culte de Mithras.'

<sup>8</sup> Malachi iv. 2; for example, Zechariah v. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> The name of the ark was  *sekatt*, often mentioned in the Ritual, *Todtenbuch*, iv. 15, 2; v. 15, 20; in Amos v. 26, סִפְתָּיִם, the arks of the Moabite deities; and there are also the *Succoth Benoth* or Tabernacles of girls, supposed to be the name of a goddess, and mentioned in Assyrian. (Rawlinson, *Memoir*, 478,

Chons, under the form of a naos or shrine placed in a boat covered with curtains which are partially drawn. Each end of the boat terminates in a figure-head of the bust of Chons, represented hawk-headed, wearing a collar and lunar disk. In the boat are two small figures of priests and of a standard of a sphinx wearing plumes; before and behind it are a flabellum and a standard. The ark is borne on the shoulders of twelve priests, their number being that of the months through which Chons, as the Moon, revolved.<sup>10</sup> Before this is written 'Chons in Upper Egypt Neferhetp.' This alludes to some fact connected with the history of this god which has not yet been explained. In certain inscriptions he is called 'the god having two names.'<sup>11</sup> His first name means 'the hunter;'<sup>12</sup> his second, perhaps, 'the peace of the good.'<sup>13</sup> The whole inscrip-

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α. 1.) It is the root of σῆκ-ος, *sac-er*, &c. Several of these Aramæan words occur throughout the language, which is, I am convinced, the *key* to the proper etymology of Semitic dialects.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the titles of Chons at Ombos. Champollion, *Mon. tom. i. Pl. c.* 'Bowling the New Moon, leading the Months.'

<sup>11</sup> For example, on the coffin, B. M. 32, supposed by M. Champollion-Figeac (*Moniteur*, 25 Juillet, 1833,) to be that of the Queen of Amasis II., 26th dynasty.—Band round the chest. Cf. Sir G. Wilkinson, *M. C. Pl. XLVI. pt. 2, No. 3.* M. Lepsius, *Ueber den Gotterkreis*, s. 15, n. for the God *Mau* (Light), having also two names.

<sup>12</sup> The word *Chons*, ending with a bolt instead of the reed, appears in this sense. Sarcophagus of the supposed Amyrtæus, B. M. 10, *Descr. de l'Eg. A. vol. v. Pl. 40, No. 3.* Cf. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, vol. ii. Pl. LXXV.; also a fragment in the Museum of the S<sup>ta</sup> Caterina at Florence. See also name of the god, *Champ. M. tom. ii. Pl. CXXVI.*

<sup>13</sup> The word *hept* or *hetp*, usually translated 'to offer,' seems in the sense of 'peace,' which will be found to answer many of the conditions in which it occurs; it also means 'sun-set—solid food.'

tion shows that this ark was that in which this Chons was supposed to be enshrined. The king's titles, consisting of his prænomen and name, read 'the King of the two Egypts, the lord of the Earth, the Sun, the supporter of Truth, whom the Sun has approved,—the son of the Sun Ramessu, beloved of Amen-ra, gifted with a life immortal,<sup>14</sup>—like the Sun, beloved of Subn,'<sup>15</sup> and 'he gives incense to Chons in Upper Egypt Neferhetp.'

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*Nefer* means 'good,' or rather 'perfect:' when placed in opposition to *shaa*, 'to commence,' it seems to mean 'to continue.' Cf., for example, the scarabæi of Amenophis III., Young's Hieroglyphics, Pl. 13; Dubois, Pierres Graves, Pl. 5; Descr. de l'Eg. A. vol. II. v. Pl. 81, n. 6.—The account of the number of lions taken by his majesty's own arrows, commencing (*shaa*) in his 1st year, continuing (*neferi*) to his 10th year, was 102 fierce lions. The same phrase relative to the number of towings occurs on a sandstone tablet belonging to the Duke of Northumberland. This correction of the meaning of *neferi* enables me to give the right sense of the tablet in the Louvre (Transactions of Royal Society of Literature, vol. II. p. 325), on which Pensuben states that he began (*sha*) under Amasis I., continued (*neferi*) till Thothmes II. and Thothmes III., and explains hieroglyphs on the base of the great obelisk at Karnak referring to its erection. "His majesty commenced (*shaa*) to make it on the 1st day of the month of Mechir of the 15th year of his reign, and terminated (*nefri*) on the 30th of Mesore of 16th (correct to 15th) year, making 7 months" or "*smat* from when it was in the quarry." (Prisse, Mon. Eg., Pl. xviii. sec. 3, last line.)

<sup>14</sup> Or 'May he live for ever:' the use of the pyramid for *mai*, i. e. 'may,' occurs in the Treaty with the Khita. Rosellini, M. R. No. 1.

The Pyramid is replaced by the syllable *ma* in the pres. indic. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 75, 'says Ammon, &c.: I give thee (*ma nek*) glory:' it is like the expression in Daniel ii. 4, 'O King, live for ever!' *amma ari f ha en hebui*, 'may he make a million of festivals,' occurs. Pap. An. v. Sel. Pap. Pl. cvi. l. 2.

<sup>15</sup> For the new reading Tubn or Nubn cf. Lepsius, Ueber den Ersten Gotterkreis. s. 42, n. 2.



The other scene, reversed to this, represents another ark borne by four priests, and not decorated with standards. Before it stands the priest of Chons, holding a censer, and meeting it. 'His name,' says an inscription, 'is *Chons-ha-en-neteru-neb* (Chons, the first of all gods); the priest of the god Chons, who does battle for Upper Egypt.'<sup>16</sup> Another hieroglyphical inscription describes the king as beloved of Chons, the smiter for Upper Egypt, the terrifier of the perverse(?),<sup>17</sup> to whom has been given a life like that of the Sun. Between the two scenes are the common epithets 'endowed with health,' or 'a perfect life.'<sup>18</sup>

The first question is, Who was the monarch in whose reign the tablet was erected? The prænominial

<sup>16</sup> The phrase here is *ar s-khar*: the verb *ar*, 'to make,' 'to do;,' and the word *s-cher* or *s-khar*, which I believe means 'a blow.' Still I do not feel certain what this phrase means. In the Tablet (Prisse, Mon. XXI. L.) the phrase is, 'done are all thy plans (?) (*scher*), listened to are all thy words:' with a fallen man or arm holding a club it undoubtedly means 'to overthrow.' Champ. Dict. p. 389. Gr. 526, 370, 446, 194, 196. With the papyrus rolled up as here it seems to mean 'section' or 'picture.' Champoll. Gr. 258. Perhaps *ar scher* means 'planner—contriver,' as *ar chet* 'producer.'

<sup>17</sup> Another difficult phrase, *s-her shemau*. Each word has the determinative figure of a demon: the first is undoubtedly the Coptic *heli*, 'to scare;,' the other appears from the context to be a phantasm, the root existing in the Coptive *ref-sji-shem*, 'enchanter,' 'magician.'—Peyr. Lex. Ling. Copt. Dan. I. 21, à Bardelli.

<sup>18</sup> It is very difficult to explain *sa* or *shes anch*. Some illustration occurs in the Tablet of Aboosimbul, line 1. Champollion, Mon. tom. i. Pl. XXXVIII. l. 18. *num a haak em anch gam, sa-a ha k em n uga snab*, 'I accompany thy limbs with a sure life,' 'I go behind thy head with sound health.' Also, *un Ra em sau ha k*, 'is the Sun in the midst of thy limbs.' Champ. M. tom. ii. cxi.

cartouche or shield reading 'the Sun, the defender of Truth, approved of the Sun,' closely resembles that of Rameses II., the great monarch of the XIX. dynasty, whose conquests over Syria decorate the walls of the palace of Karnak; but the prænomen itself differs in some minor particulars, and in the temple of the god it occurs with the subsequent monarchs of the XX. dynasty.<sup>19</sup> As this name is only found<sup>20</sup> upon this tablet, it is almost impossible to fix the exact chronological position of the king, but there appears to be a strong probability that he was, as has been conjectured, one of the later monarchs of the XX. dynasty, such as Rameses XIV.; for all the successors of Rameses III. bore the name of Rameses, and are only distinguishable by their prænomens, or the royal epithets they assumed on their ascension to the throne. From the fact of the tablet being in the sanctuary of this naos, it cannot be earlier than

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Champollion, *Mon. Eg.* tom. iii. Pl. CCLXXXVI. tom. iv. Pl. CCCVII. CCCVIII. They end with Nechtharhebi or Nectabes.

<sup>20</sup> The monarch in whose reign these events happened is conjectured by Rosellini (*Mon. Stor.* tom. ii. p. 48, and iv. tav. v. 128,) to be Rameses XIV., XX. dynasty: he also mentions a mutilated tablet broken in pieces, and not rejoined, lying in a small building between the S. and N. of Karnak, and cites the date of the thirty-third year, which evidently identifies it with this tablet (cf. tom. iv. p. 135). Rosellini also considers that he found the same name, but in rather a different form, inscribed on the inner basement of the temple of the Ethiopian king Shabatok (*Sevechus* or *Sebichus*) lying to the S. E. of the palace of Karnak; but this name is identical with his Rameses VI. Chevalier Bunsen, who makes, after M. Lepsius (*Genealogical Table, Aegyptens Stelle*, Bd. III. s. 117-119), only twelve kings of the twentieth dynasty, would render it necessary to consider this king Rameses III. or IV. or VI.; but then the name wants the usual *hek Peten* or *hek ma*.

the monarchs of the xx. dynasty. The sanctuary was commenced by them.

As the object of these scenes is explained in the inscription below, to which they serve as the vignettes, it is unnecessary to comment upon them here. The text consists of twenty-eight lines of hieroglyphics, reading from right to left, and all, with the exception of the eleventh, in a good state. I believe it is well copied. There are undoubtedly some errors, but on the whole it may be considered in a fair condition. I shall now proceed to its translation, commenting as I proceed on such parts as are difficult or novel. I shall mark those points which appear uncertain or ambiguous in the translation with a note of interrogation. The tablet commences—

Line 1. “The Horus, the powerful male, the image of rulers, whose dominions are established like those of Tum (*Heron*), the golden hawk, whose strength prevails,<sup>21</sup>—the afflicter of foreigners, the king of the upper and lower country, the lord of the earth,—the Sun, the sustainer of Truth, whom the Sun has approved,—the son of the Sun, the issue of his loins, Ramessu, beloved of Amen(-ra),—beloved of Amen-ra,—(line 2) lord of the foundations of the earth, and of the other gods, lords of Upper Egypt, the good god, the son of Amen-ra, born of Har, the issue of Ra, lord of the two horizons, the illustrious son of the universal lord, the issue of him who is male and female, the king of Kami, the ruler of Teshher(u),—(line 3) the chief who has conquered the foreigners, who has

<sup>21</sup> On the tablet of Aboosimbul, (Champollion, Mon. tom. i. Pl. ix. 1.) R. II. is said to prevail like the son of Nupe.

come forth in person (?),<sup>22</sup> who has appointed his powers (?),<sup>23</sup> who has ordered his intent<sup>24</sup> in coming forth from the egg,<sup>25</sup>—the determined male, the heroic being who has harrowed before him, being a male,—the divine king, the manifest Sun, like Mentu in his power,—(line 4) like the son of Nupe, very glorious.”

These lines contain the preamble of the document, and would be merely translated—‘in the reign of Rameses.’ It is already known, from the translations of Hermapion,<sup>26</sup> and the commencement of the Rosetta stone, that the titles of the monarch were of this lengthy nature. The present inscription contains, in the first place, the five names of the king, consisting

<sup>22</sup> Literally *her em chat*, ‘who has emanated from the belly,’ elliptically of some god. Amenophis II. at Philæ takes the same title.

<sup>23</sup> *Ser-r naf nechtu*. The word *serr* or *ser* at Silsilis is applied to the ‘arrangement’ of the festivals. Champollion, Mon. t. ii. cxv.

<sup>24</sup> *Ut-naf her-a em suh*, ‘he has ordered what he wishes—he is one from the egg.’

<sup>25</sup> At Medinat Haboo, Rameses III. is described as *her em cha'en suh*, ‘coming out of the belly of the egg.’ (Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 346.) This was probably the solar egg, of which it is said, (Burton, Exc. Hier. Pl. LVII.; Todtenbuch, ix. 17, 50,) ‘O Sun in his egg, gleaming from his disk.’ The earth was also considered to be the egg of the goose god *Seb* or Saturn. Cf. Lepsius, Todtenbuch, xxii. 54, l. 2, ‘I have watched the great egg laid by Seb on the Earth.’ Perhaps this refers to the human body. Phtha at Philæ (Rosellini, M. d. c. xxxi.) makes the egg of the sun and moon.

<sup>26</sup> For example, almost the whole of Hermapion’s translation (Ammian. Marcellin. xvii. 4, p. 121) are titles. So overladen were these obelisks with titles, that Julius Valens reduces the meaning of a whole obelisk to ‘King Rameses this to Serapis.’ Cf. Mai, *Classici Veteres*, tom. vii. p. 190.

of—1, his Horus title, or standard, as it has been called, but rather his palatial title, the monarch being considered in this case as he who is 'seated crowned on the throne of Horus, dwelling among living beings for ever;' 2, his title as lord of the diadems of the upper and lower world; 3, as the golden hawk or eagle; 4, as lord of the creation, which contains his solar or celestial title in another form to the preceding one, which also alludes to his solar nature; 5, his terrestrial title of Son of the Sun, or the fact of his being considered mythically an emanation of that luminary upon earth. The remainder of the titles are supplementary to these, but they contain some points of interest. Throughout, the inscriptions allude either to some personal quality of the royal personage or else to the especial protection which he enjoys from the favour of the gods. Thus he is the beloved of Amnra, 'the lord of the foundations of the terrestrial world,' not of the *thrones*, as has been hitherto interpreted, and he is the favoured child or emanation of the universal lord,<sup>27</sup> or Osiris, and the issue of him who is male and female, which alludes to the mystical and ithyphallic Ammon, uniting in himself Ammon the male and Neith or the female principle, and being

<sup>27</sup> *Neb er ger*, 'lord over all.' The latter part is the common Coptic word *ter*, 'all,' 'entire:' this is the Coptic phrase *e-p-ter-f*, 'omnino.' Peyron. *Lex. Ling. Copt.* p. 250. Cf. the titles of the Prince Usarkan. *Leps. Taf. xv.*; Rosellini, *M. R. cxxlix.*—*ha en ta terf*, 'chief of the entire earth,' a phrase quite Coptic, as *ter* is always accompanied by affixes. Cf. also *enti hau en masha naa en Kum en ter-f*, 'being leader of the entire guards of Egypt.' *Lepsius, Ausw. xv. a.* Champollion, *Mon. Pl. clvii. 3.*—the plural form *er teru*, 'chief of the soldiers of the south'—all—*en tau erteru*. *Ibid. ccxxiii. bis, l. 6.* *Neb* is 'omnis,' *ter* 'totus.'

Ammon the father and Horus the son, he is made visible in his power like Mentu or Mars, and he is glorious like Osiris. The egg alludes to that out of which the Sun and Moon were supposed to spring. On carefully reading over this portion of the inscription, its dualistic nature will be evident: each idea is bisected by the composer of the formula, and it follows the genius of Semitic poetry. In the more directly personal titles, the most remarkable are those of 'ruler of *Kami*, the black or fertile land of Egypt, and lord of *Tesher*, the red or arid land,' perhaps the Desert, although the expression found in some hieroglyphical inscription—'*Merter* (Mitzraim) is red under thy sandals'<sup>28</sup>—applied to the course of a monarch, seems to show that it might be used in a good sense. At the same time, the *Tesher* is occasionally recorded among the conquests of the kings,<sup>29</sup> and it may therefore be conjectured to be that part of the country the appearance of which was dissimilar to the cultivable land. Indeed, after all, *Kami* may be the Delta or Lower Egypt, and *Tesher* the upper country. The *Desert* seems most likely. The only historical expression is 'bruiser of the nine bows.' This word has been read *Peti*, and supposed to be the scriptural

<sup>28</sup> At Beit-ounally. Rosellini, M. R. LXXI. '*Kami* turns red under thy sandals.' Champ. M. t. i. LXXII.

<sup>29</sup> For example, *Tahraka* conquered *Tupai* and *Tesher*. As for *Tahraka* being the greatest conqueror that lived, I leave it to those who believe the careless Diodorus in preference to the monuments of Egypt. These two places—one of which is a part of Egypt—are all that is known of these visionary conquests. Cf. Rosellini, M. R. cl. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 340. 'I (Thebes) give thee *Kami* (Egypt) and *Tesher* (Desert).' Champollion, Mon. tom. iv. Pl. CCCLVIII. and Pl. CCCLXII.

*Phut*, the Libyans or Moors; but it must be observed that the hieroglyphical word *Peti* is always applied to a large unstrung bow, in ethnic names, while the strung one which this represents is called *Kans*,<sup>30</sup> and is used in speaking of Nubia, or, in an extended sense, of foreigners in general. It also, however, appears in the name of one of the northern enemies, and the ambassador in this tablet addresses the monarch as 'Sun of the nine bows.' A king of the iv. dynasty, at the Wady Magara, conquers the *Peti*, probably the people of the locality;<sup>31</sup> and the northern *Peti*, the allies of Lud and Magog, can neither be looked for in Libya nor in Nubia.

Line 4. "When his majesty was in Nehar, collecting the yearly revenue, the chiefs of every land came respectfully and peacefully to the king's spirits. The places offered up their tribute, each in order,<sup>32</sup>—gold,

<sup>30</sup> For *Peti*, cf. Salvolini, *Analyse Grammaticale*, Pl. D. 131, p. 55.—*Kans* occurs as the name of a place apparently in Nubia, at Philæ. Champollion, *Not. Descr.* p. 209, 193.

<sup>31</sup> Leon de Laborde, *Voy. Arab. Petr.* Pl. 5, No. 1. Lepsius, *Denkmaler. Abth. II. Bl. 2.*

<sup>32</sup> *Cherp sha neb [-snau] f*, 'preceding each first his second.' M. De Rougé reads the Harpoon; Bunsen, *Eg. Pl.* 588, No. 33, *wa* or 'one.' *Mémoire*, p. 128. *Champ. M.* tom. iv. Pl. ccix. lvi. My reason for preferring 'first' to 'one' is, that it occurs always at the commencements of series, as in that cited by M. De Rougé, *l. c.*, and the Gates of the Winds, (Lepsius, *Todt. taf.* lxxvi. 161.) and that of Thoth, (Tablet, B. M., No. 551, *Syro-Egyptian Ser. Pl. 1.*) who is called *Neter-shaa*—'first' or 'primeval God.' Cf. also the title *sabu shaa*, or *sabu shaa en merut-f*, 'chief counsellor of his will.' See obelisk of Luxor *utt en Tum ha em shaa hna f*. *Champ. M.* tom. iv. Pl. cccxviii. 'Issue of Tum (Tomos), from the First with him.' The expression *en kes*, 'bending down,' occurs. Champollion, *Not. Descr.* p. 74. *Sarcoph. B. M.* 32. *Kes* is also 'to dance.'

silver, tin (?), copper, and all the good wood of Taneter on their backs.”

The style of this paragraph is nearly identical with that of the Karnak tablet. Both commence with the same word,  $\text{𓂏}$  *as*, the Hebrew  $\text{אז}$  *az*, ‘then,’ *i.e.* then being present. The following words, *cha nta f tennu ter*, occur also in the 24th line of the Karnak tablet:<sup>33</sup> the exact sense (for it is difficult to make it out precisely) is, perhaps, ‘as he was registering the yearly revenue,’ (for of the latter part of the sentence there is no doubt,) and receives illustration from part of the 13th line of Karnak, where it is stated—“they are placed on the rolls of the king’s palace; their number is not given on this tablet, in order to avoid a multiplication of words.”<sup>34</sup> It is evident from this, that accurate details were kept of the revenues of the state. The expression ‘spirits of the king’ is an idiom peculiar to Egypt. These spirits are frequently mentioned in the texts<sup>35</sup> as distinct protective or angelic beings,

<sup>33</sup> The word *tennu* means ‘growth’ or ‘production.’ De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 48. The difficulty is about the *cha en ta*, which looks like a grammatical form, but may be a verb *chanta*, determined by the roll or tie.

<sup>34</sup> M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 103, has made the same correction; that which is given in the text was made quite independently.

<sup>35</sup> For ‘the king’s spirits,’ or ‘good angels,’ ‘the king’s mind,’ ‘came to the spirits (mind) of his majesty the chief of the Ruten in that year,’ see Karnak Tablet, line 8; Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. xii. l. 8, ‘brought to his majesty’s spirits from the chiefs of the Ruten in that year. The tribute of their children and brethren who are to be hostages (*em nechtu nu*) of Egypt. One would have died of the aforesaid chiefs, but his majesty allows his son to be in his place. The number of the chiefs brought from the . . . . .’ Cf. Champollion, *Mon. tom. i. Pl. xxxviii. i. 25–26. iv. ccxiii. l. 2*, ‘the chiefs of the Ruten adore his spirits daily.’



who have the king under their care. In modern parlance, it is—‘the lands came in obedience to his majesty’s wishes, or intentions,’ and nothing more. The material *chesbet*, the supposed ‘tin,’ is mentioned again here; and besides its resemblance to *κασσίτερος* may be cited the Chaldean word *ܢܫܝܢ*, *abtsa*. At the same time, it is apparently a product of the land which is offered, and it is impossible that tin could have come from Palestine: iron, as an antithetical metal, would rather be expected from this quarter. The name of the land, which actually reads *Ta-neter* or *Neter-ta*, following the exact order of the words, of which the first is the right grammatical form, means ‘the land of the god,’ or ‘holy land.’<sup>36</sup> In the treasury of Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo<sup>37</sup> and at Philæ,<sup>38</sup> the hieroglyphics state that this country contributes a metal called *kasha*, the name of which resembles

<sup>36</sup> According to the Chev. Lepsius (Denk. 4to, Berl. 1849, s. 10), Gebel Barkal was called ‘the holy hill.’

<sup>37</sup> Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 364.

<sup>38</sup> From a communication made to me by Mr. Harris, the regions and offerings are as follows:

1. Ua-ua	brings	silver.
2. Tevru (Tyre)		tin ( <i>chesbet</i> ?)
3. Ment	„	gold.
4. Taneter	„	tin ( <i>chesbet</i> ?)
5. Haha	„	gold.
6. Resht	„	copper.
7. Pars (Persia)		felspar ( <i>lapis</i> ).
8. She	„	bronze.
9. Shasht	„	stone.
10. Ar	„	— (ka)
11. Bakta (Bactria)		—
12. Kish (Æthiopia)		( <i>hertes</i> ).

(Roman Sculptures at Philæ, Pl. iv., in possession of the Royal Society of Literature.)

*kashabel*, the Coptic word for electrum, and also that of *κασσίτερος* or 'tin.' It is of course impossible to speak dogmatically about a term so general as the 'holy land,' applicable to many countries; but its appearance as a distinct separate country leads to the supposition that some region of Syria was intended. At the time of the later prophets, Palestine was called אֲדָמַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ, *admata hakodesh*;<sup>39</sup> and this holy land in Egyptian history is mentioned at intervals from the nineteenth dynasty, or B. C. 1200, till the Ptolemies: it would be the earliest ascertained mention of the land of Israel. The land of Nahar, in which the king was, means 'the land of the river.' It differs by the absence of the final *na* from *Naharaina*<sup>40</sup> or Mesopotamia, but it may possibly be the same.

Line 5. "Then the chief of Bukhitana caused his tribute to be brought; he gave his eldest daughter . . . in adoring his majesty, and in promising her to him: she being a very beautiful person, his majesty prized her above all things."

The name of the country, reduced to its radical elements, is capable of being read Bashten, Bakhten. It has been conjectured to be Media, or a form of the name of Ag-batana, or else Aderbitschan,<sup>41</sup> the Lesser Media. It however resembles as much in sound Bagistane or Behistun, the Bagistanon horos.<sup>42</sup> There is also Batnæ in Mesopotamia, a few days' journey

<sup>39</sup> Zechar. ii. 12.


<sup>40</sup> Naharaina are of course the Naharaim, or 'plains.' I do not know any instance of the land of Nahar. For the different manner in which Naharaina is written see Lepsius, *Auswahl. Taf. xii. 1. 18, 27, 39, 61.*

<sup>41</sup> Prisse, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Bagistanon horos. *Mt. Bagistan. Diod. xvii. 10.*

from Edessa,<sup>43</sup> and a place of the same name in Syria,<sup>44</sup> besides Baten or Bathnan<sup>45</sup> between the Haleb and the Mundbedje, and, last of all, the celebrated Bashan,<sup>46</sup> which extended from Hermon to the Jabbok, and appears to have had its separate king, and known by the names of Basan, Batanea or Bataneia, and the Basanitit.<sup>47</sup> This last, I am inclined to think, is intended. The words after the expression 'king's daughter,' if correctly copied, are to me of doubtful meaning: they are not in the usual form of a proper name, and the sense rather requires a preposition, such as, 'in order to make his adoration to his majesty,' but it would be then necessary to correct the text, substituting this for the words *aru ha*, 'was commencing.' In the second line at Karnak<sup>48</sup> will be found an expression precisely similar to the closing one of this sentence.

Line 6. "Then was given her the title (?) of Ra-neferu, the king's chief wife, and when his majesty arrived in Egypt, she was made king's wife in all respects."

This is *one* of the difficult parts of the inscription. There can be no doubt that in this, as in the preceding clause, the word  *ha-en*, is an adverb expressive of 'the time of,' *i. e.* *tunc*.<sup>49</sup> The

<sup>43</sup> The Batnæ near Edessa. Dio. 628.

<sup>44</sup> The Syrian Batnæ. It. Ant. 191.

<sup>45</sup> For Batanæa or Bathnan, Steph. Byz. 156.

<sup>46</sup> For Bashan, Deut. iii. 1, &c.

<sup>47</sup> Septuag. 1 Chron. v. 23. Euseb. On. Epiph. Hær. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Karnak Tablet, l. 2, *unn an sen nefer her en cher fer cha-t neb*, 'they being perfect, his majesty preferred (them) to every thing.'

<sup>49</sup> So I had thought, and M. De Rougé, in his *Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau D'Ahmes*, in the *Académie des Inscriptions—Mémoires présentés*, 1<sup>e</sup> Ser. tom. iii. 4to, 1851, p. 76, p. 126, and following, reads 'then,' which is undoubtedly the primitive sense.

word *ut* means 'to put forth,' 'to present;' the *chebs* seems to be to 'reckon' or 'clothe,' as if she had been dressed,<sup>50</sup> or *cheb-s*, 'her nuptial.'<sup>51</sup> The latter part is probably *er-ru neb*, 'in all parts.' It is probably not correctly copied, but only a slight restoration is necessary. My copy, however, gives distinctly *ar-nes-ar-et-neb*.

Line 6. "On the 22nd day of the month Epiphi, in the 15th year (of the king's reign), when his majesty was in the Thebaid commanding the cities,"<sup>52</sup> about

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But I think it has the full grammatical form of the imperfect *ha-en*, 'was,' literally 'standing of . . . .' The prefix forms of the verb are—1, *aw*, the verb 'to be' performant of the perfect definite—rarely used in a future sense—as *aw shes na suten*, 'I served the king.' (Lepsius, *Auswahl. Taf. xiv. a. & b.*) which a man could only say in the perfect, the king being dead; and this is found with all the affixes, and in this respect resembles the 2nd form, *unn* or *hunn*. Bunsen, *Eg. Place*, p. 293. De Rougé, p. 182, *unn cher-a*, 'for being I,' *i. e.* 'for when I was.' With the preposition *her* after them they are either the gerund form, (De Rougé, *Mémoire*, l. c. 131; Champollion, *Gr.* 418,) or else the paulo-post-future, 'I was about to do' any action, *viz. aw . . . her*, 'are about,' *ha en . . . her*, 'were about,' *un a her*, 'being about.' The demonstration of this would take several pages.

<sup>50</sup> The form *ut* or *tu*, like the Coptic *ti*, seems to be to 'put on' or 'put forth,' as *ut hah er cheftu et*, 'emanating fire against thy accusers.' Bon. B. M. 8538, *ut . . . er cheft a*, 'putting forth fire against my enemies.' Sh. Eg. Ins. 85, 7,—Lepsius, *Todt.* li. 147, l. 3, 4, *ut-a shat er asep*, 'I put forth blows against the Apophis.' This form *ut en chebs* resembles the Coptic *ti hinhbos*, 'to put on the clothes.' Lepsius, *Todt.* vi. 15, 38, *ut hu em neku*, 'putting forth evil to thy enemies;' *ut-amaa-k ra neb*, 'I issue to see thee daily;' *ibid.* 16, 45. The paper impression shows me that it is perhaps in the tablet *ut ser en cheb*.

<sup>51</sup> It is *ar nes ari t neb*, if indeed there are not two eyes.

<sup>52</sup> The word is *hess*, Copt. *hós*. Cf. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 45, 50, sometimes meaning 'to sing,' but more often 'order' or 'command;' hence, when applied to a person, 'subject,' or one who performs the

to execute the commands of his father Amen-ra, in his good festival of Southern Thebes, from the very depth of his heart, for the first time it was announced to his majesty that an envoy of Bukhitana (Bakhten) had come, bringing numerous presents to the queen."

This proves the meaning of the word  *tap* or *ap* to be 'guide,' 'herald,' or 'envoy;' it is one sent from a distance on a mission; and such titles occur in the Egyptian court as 'king's herald at his majesty's footsteps' in the lands of the North and South.<sup>53</sup> The jackals of Anubis are also called guides or heralds of the Sun's path. This sentence commences with the word *cheper*, a phrase elsewhere applied to the dates of reigns,—meaning, apparently, 'it being.'<sup>54</sup> The text continues—

Line 7. "When he was ushered into his majesty's presence, and his presents with him, he said, adoring the king, 'Hail! thou Sun of the Bow-lands! our life depends on thee.'<sup>55</sup> After he had paid his compliments to his majesty, (line 8) he again said to his majesty, 'I have come to thee, my lord, on behalf of

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command. Hence, the statue of Anieta, (Lepsius, *Auswahl. Taf. xii.*) *ma em hesu*, 'given by commands' of the queen, &c. : *repa hessu*, 'leader of subjects' in the title of queens. 'In Western. . . . .', apparently Gournah. Champollion, *Mon. t. i. Pl. cxcix.*

<sup>53</sup> For this title of 'king's herald,' see sepulchral cone, B. M. No. 9723, *suten Tap er ret f*, 'king's herald at his footsteps.' In the treaty with the Khita (Burton's *Excerpta*, *Pl. xvii. l. 3*), one of these functionaries comes to announce to the king the arrival of the prince of the Khita at 'Fort Ramesses.'

<sup>54</sup> For this use of *cheper*, cf. Ptolemaic tablets. Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr. Pl. iv. l. 5*. Lepsius, *Auswahl. Taf. xvi. Prisse, Pl. xxvi. bis.*

<sup>55</sup> 'Hail, ruler (*heka*) of Kami (Egypt), Sun of the nine bows.' Champollion, *Mon. tom. i. Pl. ix. 2, l. 15*. The captive negroes at Gebel Selseleh make the same address. *Ibid. ii. Pl. cxiiii.*

Bent-eresh, the little sister of Ra-neferu, thy royal wife, who cannot move herself (?). Would your majesty proceed to know the circumstance and see it,' or 'her' (?)”

This is one of the most important parts of the whole tablet, and the most difficult ; so much so, that it had a long time baffled all my research to discover its meaning. The object of the embassy was to entreat the good offices of the king on behalf of the queen's sister, who had encountered some misfortune. The latter part reads, *men habech haa*, literally, 'not able to agitate her limbs.' The verb *habech* or *habechu* is not preserved in the Coptic, and it is a misconception to suppose that our Coptic lexica afford efficient assistance in difficulties ; for it is generally necessary to determine the sense of the words, and then to seek the word in the Coptic or cognate language. But that the verb *habech*  has this meaning will appear from the passages, such as, “Thy limbs have moved because thou hast received a breast of gold, bounding with life, filled with health, leaping with joy (*habechu em haa*), delighting with gladness.”<sup>66</sup> And, again, “That every good land may see the monuments I have made thee, that Egyptians (*Rut*) and foreigners (*Phut*) may leap (*habachu*) at thy name!”<sup>67</sup> It is also connected with dancing and leaping. It is said of the two great obelisks at Karnak, that they “have caps of gold leaping on high” (*habechu em heri*).<sup>68</sup> I have translated the remainder of the phrase conjecturally from







<sup>66</sup> On the tablet of Rameses III. (Rosellini, M. R. cxiii. l. 8) this phrase is exactly like that on the tablet.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. l. 35.

<sup>68</sup> Prisse, Mon. Eg. Pl. xviii. Ouest. l. 8.

the next paragraph : it actually reads *rech chet er maas*, 'know the affair, seeing it' or 'her.' The name of the princess *Bent-eresh* is decidedly Semitic; the first part, *Bent*, being the Hebrew בַּת, בְּנַת, the latter may read *al-ish*, and the whole be *Bent-al-ish*. Unfortunately, there are no means of identifying it with any known personage.


Line 9. "Then said his majesty, 'Deliver to me the letter of the prince to the interpreters (?) of the cabinet.' He passed it out of his hand. Said his majesty, 'When ye have read and listened said the word which is brought me, thought in his heart, written by his fingers, tell me, to the best of your knowledge.' (?)"

The group  should be the roll, which renders it possible that it is mentioned in the former passage (l. 6); it is followed by  *ent ha-anch*, 'of the living house,' probably a contracted form of expressing 'prince,' similar to *ha naa*  'the great house,'<sup>59</sup> or  *ha naa anch ja s*, 'the two great living houses,' which means, the Pharaoh. I have also had to suppose that  *ti-amen t*, 'speakers of what is hidden,' means 'interpreters.'<sup>60</sup> The others are the *ariu chen*, 'the guardians of the inner chamber.' The word  *chennu* is of frequent occurrence in the hieroglyphics, meaning 'the box' or 'chest,'<sup>61</sup> and,

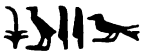

<sup>59</sup> Lenormant. *Mus. Eg.* p. 37. Horapollo, L. 6.


<sup>60</sup> On comparing this with the impression it appears to be that given in the text; perhaps *s-chef amen*, 'secret papers.'

<sup>61</sup> For example, over the scene of polishing a box is *sen nu chen nu*, 'polishing a box.' (Champollion, *Mon. Eg.* c.lxxx.) In the texts of

as a compound preposition,  *em chennu*, signifying 'in the midst of,' as, 'in the midst or between the arms of his mother,' which shows that it meant 'the interior' penetralia of the palace. The meaning of this part is obscure.

Line 10. "Then came the king's secretary, Tetem-hebi, before his majesty, who ordered him to set out together with that envoy to the land of the Bakhten. The object of the journey was to know the state of affairs in Bakhten. He thought Benteresh was under the influence of spirits (?), he thought they were spirits of Kel," or "contending with her," or "him."

This most important part of the tablet presents to me great difficulties. In the latter part of the tablet I have restored  to *gui*, which, I believe, means 'the cursed,'  'the devils,'<sup>62</sup> in Coptic. It appears to me that the idea is that Benteresh was possessed of a devil, and that the object was to recover the princess. More light is, however, thrown upon this subject by the subsequent part of the inscription. If my idea is right, it is one of the most singular notions which have occurred in the historical monuments of Egypt. The phrase is, *snem naf*


tablets often occur the *mer chennu*, 'superintendents of the cabinet' or 'chamber.' It is the Hebrew . With the owl before *em chen* or *em hen* it means 'between,' 'in;' and is the Coptic *è-bol-chen* or *ebolhen*. Tablet, Brit. Mus. No. 551.

<sup>62</sup> This word *gui* is also applied to mortal enemies, as 'he smites his enemies' (*gu-u*), *gegi*, Champollion, tom. i. Pl. LXXXI.; also (*gui*) the enemy of *Gakuri*, or of the Shasui. Ibid. cciii. 1-2, *gaiðou*. The region of *Kal* or *Kar*, that 'of the battle' between Osiris and Typhon, is constantly mentioned in the Ritual.



*benteresh em secher kar achta snem naf su gui en kal hna es.* Perhaps the scribe wrote or depicted the fact.

Line 12. "The chief of the Bakhten came a second time and stood before his majesty, and said, 'My lord, would his majesty order that the god . . . . . to [the Bakhten (?)] . . . . . (line 13) . . . . . to his majesty. In the month of Pachons, the 26th year of his reign, when his majesty was celebrating<sup>63</sup> the feast of Amen-ra, his majesty was in the Thebaid.'"

The word  *gam* means 'second,' and, I believe, has been so interpreted by Dr. Hincks. The proof of its meaning will be found in the tablets at Silsilis,<sup>64</sup> where the second festivals are called the *heb gam*, 'the second feast.' Although a considerable part, about a fourth of the line, is wanting, the text can be conjecturally restored from the subsequent lines. The princess again required aid, and the prince

<sup>63</sup> The word *set* does not mean a triakonteris (Letronne, Ros. Inscr. ; M. Lepsius, Einleit. s. 161), but appears to be the verb 'to celebrate a festival.' See, for example, the tablets at El Hamamat. Prisse, Mon. Eg. Pl. vi. No. 1, *sep shaa set hebi*, 'the first time of celebrating the festival.' See also (Lepsius, s. 162) the little statue of the Villa Albani (Annali, 1848, Pl. A. 3), *em set heb nech hur*, 'in celebrating very many festivals.' *Set* is the verb before the objective case : had it been a festival of thirty years, it must have read *heb set*. M. de Rougé, Rev. Arch. 1849, p. 667,—'The lady celebrating cycles, multiplying years,' title of Neith. Champollion, Mon. tom. ii. Pl. cxxx. 1. At Gebel Selseleh, *serr set hebiu*, 'arranging the celebration of the festivals.' Champollion, tom. ii. Pl. cxv. cxvi. cxviii.

<sup>64</sup> For the Silsilis tablets, cf. Champollion, tom. ii. cxvi—cxviii. It is difficult, perhaps, to feel quite certain that this hieroglyph was not pronounced *chenem*.

of Bakhten was asking permission that the ark of the god Chons should be sent up.

Line 13. "Upon which his majesty stood a second time before Chons in the Thebaid named Neferhetp, and said, 'My gracious master, I appear before you on account of the daughter of the chief of the Bakhten.' Then passed Chons the Neferhetp of the Thebaid to Chons the terrifier of afflictors; then his majesty said in the presence of Chons, in the Thebaid Neferhetp, 'My good lord, would you lift up thy face (line 15) to Chons who makes contention, the great god, the chaser away of afflictors, that he should go to the Bakhten?' He assented (twice?).<sup>65</sup> Then said his majesty, 'Minister with him.'<sup>66</sup> I grant that his majesty may send to the land of the Bakhten to rescue the daughter of the chief of the Bakhten' (?).<sup>67</sup> (Line 16.) Assented (twice) Chons in the Thebaid (named) Neferhetp, making a reverence to Chons, the contender for the Thebaid, four times."

This part of the inscription is very remarkable; for not only does the king stand and address the god Chons, but one of these gods addresses the other on the subject. The construction here is difficult, owing to the way in which, in the inscription, his 'majesty' is employed, sometimes referring to the king, sometimes


<sup>65</sup> The phrase here is *han ur*. In the next line the head is placed between *han* and *ur*; the first is perhaps *hne*, 'to wish'; *ur*, when second, is generally 'very.' In the next line the two are followed by the prefix of the past tense. The two final characters are, I believe, 'twice.' A similar form occurs Champ. N. D. p. 396.

<sup>66</sup> *Ma sa-k hna f*. *Ma sak* generally means 'beside thee:' as *uan a em sa k*, 'I am beside thee.' Archæologia, xix. 119. It appears from Lepsius, Einleit. s. 69, No. 16, it was pronounced *shes*, 'to serve.'

<sup>67</sup> Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 398.

to the god. As there is no trace of the king himself going in person to the Bakhten, the meaning is apparently this: the king asks Chons-Neferhetp to entreat or to allow Chons-ar-secher-en-Nasr to go to the land of the Bakhten to rescue or save the princess; and Chons agrees to it.

Line 16. "His majesty commanded that Chons who contends for the Thebaid should go forth to his great Baris (of) his five boats,<sup>68</sup> (line 18) (in) a chariot (having) horses on its right and left hand. The god approached the land of Bakhten from Egypt, after a journey of one year and five months. Then came the chief of Bakhten, with his soldiers. Its chief came before Chons the contender, and fell down (line 17) before him on his belly, saying, 'Thou comest to us, thou bringest us peace by orders of the King, the Sun, defender of Truth, approved of the Sun!'" (*Rameses.*)



The text here is clear, and no important part ambiguous. It is necessary to make a slight restoration of  for the chariot, instead of the erroneous character. The word 'horse,' too, is written *sem-sem*,<sup>69</sup> a form of *ses-mu*, 'mares.' As only one chariot is mentioned, it would appear as if the ark of the god was placed in a chariot drawn by mares or horses on the right and left. The picture, however, represents the ark borne on the shoulders of priests, and as there is an absence in this passage of explanatory prepositions, it might refer to the armed escort.

Line 19. "Then the god proceeded to the place in

<sup>68</sup> The phrase is *ua naa Kek* . . . , 'the great Bari,' 'the five boats.' The word *kek* here is the same as in *mench-kek*, 'boat-builders.' Champollion, Gr. p. 68. Dict. p. 234, determined, however, by 'a boat.'

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Champollion, Dict. p. 117.

which Benteresh was, and gave his aid to<sup>70</sup> the daughter of the chief of the good Bakhten, terrifying. (?)<sup>71</sup> Then said the spirit who was with her, before Chons the contender for the Thebaid, 'Come in peace, the great god, dispeller of afflictors; Bakhten is thy province,—its inhabitants are thy slaves,—I am thy slave!' ”<sup>72</sup>

I reserve the sense of the word *ach* or *bach*,  which occurs in this passage with the determinative of a man seated on a chair holding up his hands in adoration,—which I suspect is wrong, and should be the man seated on a chair holding a whip. 

It will, however, be more convenient to discuss this in the subsequent lines, in which the phrase occurs four times. The spirit continues in the next line, but there are some difficulties about its meaning.

Line 20. “ ‘ I am ready to go to the place whence I came; giving you peace that thou comest here for



<sup>70</sup> This is *ar-sa*, or *ar-naf shas*, note 66.


<sup>71</sup> *S'her*, 'to frighten,'—a phrase of uncertain meaning. Cf. Champollion, Not. Descr. 105, 106.


<sup>72</sup> The word read 'sanctity of the king' (Champollion) in reality means 'slavery:' it was pronounced *sher*, *kher*, or *khel*, first conjectured by M. Lepsius (Lettre à M. Rosellini, Pl. A. c. 11): the proof of it will be found in Champollion (Not. Descr. p. 385–390) and on a vase in the British Museum, No. 4498 *a*, where the phrase is *tau em hesui ent cher*, 'given by orders of the king's majesty.' The same group on the Karnak tablet (Lepsius, Auswahl, xii. l. 20) signifies 'slaves,' in Coptic *heli*. The reading *hent* (Champollion, Dict. 427. Gr. 494) as well as the idea that it expresses the preposition 'of, under, to,' (Dr. Hincks, Tr. R. Irish Acad. xix. Part II. p. 15,) must be remembered. It is found, indeed, with *hent* (Lepsius, Denkmaler, Ab. II. Bl. 19), or *akar* (Ibid. Bl. 37, b. l. 5): *cher neter*, 'the slave of the god,' is a priest, and the *cher suten* is 'the slavery' or 'rule of the king.'

her (?); let thy majesty order a good day to be made with me and the chief of the Bakhten.' Then assented that god to his priest, saying, (line 21) 'Let the chief of the Bakhten make a great sacrifice before the spirit.' It was done as afore said<sup>73</sup> between Chons the contender for the Thebaid, and the spirit. The chief of the Bakhten stood with his troops very well ordered.<sup>74</sup> (Line 22.) When he had made a great offering before Chons the contender for the Thebaid, with the spirit . . . (of the daughter?) of the chief of the Bakhten, 'on the day appointed, then departed the spirit in peace to his appointed place, according to the commands of Chons the contender for the Thebaid.'

The first part of line 20 is not very intelligible, and demands certain corrections. It is necessary to read

 instead of  —the former being *bu*, 'place or sepulchre,' while the phrase

 *er bu mer f*,<sup>75</sup> 'at the place he wishes,' is of constant occurrence in the Ritual, similar to that in line 22. Comparing, however, this part of the text with the subsequent, it appears that the *bach* or spirit at once yields to the influence of the god Chons. The pronoun is wanting after the substantive verb *au*, 'to be;' perhaps it was














 *a*, 'I,' *i. e. au-a her shim er bu*, 'I will go to the place.'

The latter part of this sentence, *ui am*, I regard as

<sup>73</sup> *Ar hunn nen*, 'there was an order.'

<sup>74</sup> Very uncertain. *Sent* seems to be either 'discourse' (Lepsius, *Todt.* xxix. c. 78, 13), or 'respect' (Champollion, *Mon.* xxxviii. p. 21).

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, xx. 52, l. 5, end: *hems-u em bu neb mer-a*, 'I have sat wherever I liked;' xxv. 68, 3, *er bu neb mer f*, 'wherever he is ordered,' or 'wishes.'

'whence I came,' almost certainly. The group  *am* often ends sentences in this sense, such as    *anch neter am*, 'divine life whence' in certain sepulchral formulæ, being an elliptical form of *am sen*, 'from them.'<sup>76</sup> The group , sometimes written with the phonetic group  *ab* preceding it, means a purificatory offering.<sup>77</sup> Now the object of the whole tablet turns on this part. The royal scribe or secretary Tetemhebi had found the princess under the influence of a  *bach*, and had reported the circumstance to the king of Egypt, who had sent up the ark of the god Chons, bearing the god in it, to save the princess. The subject depends on what is the meaning of a *bach*. The first point is the pronunciation of this group. It occurs throughout the Ritual, or Book of the Dead, constantly in the completer form    or  . Of this form I have once found the variant  <sup>78</sup> *ach*, *uch* or *huch*; so that it would appear that the initial heron was a vowel, rather than a *b* or *v*, as supposed from its having this value in the name of *Sebastos* or *Augustus*.<sup>79</sup> Champollion does not appear to have had a definite notion of the value of this group; for while in his Grammar<sup>80</sup> he reads it

<sup>76</sup> Sharpe, Eg. Ins. 86, l. 15, *anch neter am*. Lepsius, Todtenbuch, xxvii. c. 72, 2, 8, *anch neter am sen*, where the full form occurs.

<sup>77</sup> Rosellini, M. St. iii. Pl. i. p. 93, n. 5. Lepsius, Todt. xxii. 53, 4.

<sup>78</sup> Papyrus, Brit. Mus. Anastasi. 17.

<sup>79</sup> Rosellini, M. S. xxvii. Bunsen, Eg. Pl. 574. Cf. Lepsius, Einleit. s. 69, Nos. 7, 8, where it seems to be *bash* or *bek*.

<sup>80</sup> Gramm. p. 39, n. 57, p. 502.

*bash* (𓂏), in the sense of 'ceremony,' in his Dictionary<sup>81</sup> he has the word *ht* (Coptic *het* or *heth*) 'heart, combined with the Ibis, its symbol.' Others have assigned to it the sense of 'to adore' or 'adorer.'<sup>82</sup> As it is repeated several hundred times in Egyptian texts, it is most important that it should be properly understood. The fact is, that the syllable *bach* has several senses, the first and most general of which is undoubtedly 'light.' Thus at Ombos,<sup>83</sup> the god Horus is said to illuminate the world by the light (*bach*) of his eyes: a similar expression occurs in the 'Todtenbuch,' where Horus is said to illuminate the firmament by his light (*bachu*).<sup>84</sup>

In the sepulchral inscriptions the deceased is said to have the 'light of the heaven' (*ach t'en pe-t*) or 'from the sun.'<sup>85</sup> It occurs also with the determinative of fire; as, 'ye are of light' (*ach-t*), 'ye are of fire,'<sup>86</sup> or 'illuminated (*sacht*) by the light of the horizon.' In another instance it is connected with other ideas; as, to give life to men, to please the gods, to give light (*sach*) to reptiles,<sup>87</sup>—or 'breath to the mouth,' 'light (*acht*) to the body,' or 'light to the soul.'<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Dict. p. 144, No. 137.

<sup>82</sup> Dr. Hincks, Tr. R. Ir. Acad. xix. p. 19, reads 'adorer' (*tach*).

<sup>83</sup> Champollion, Mon. Eg. c. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ix. c. 17, l. 50; v. 15, 34; ix. 17, 51.

<sup>85</sup> Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 93, l. 2. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 398.

<sup>86</sup> Sharpe, E. I. Pl. 116, 3. Lepsius, Todt. LXXVII. c. 163, l. 4, 'O, he who is seated in the midst of his body, making his fire in flames glowing in the sea.'—Coffin of Queen of Amasis, Brit. Mus. 32, cover.

<sup>87</sup> Leemans, Mon. Eg. xii. 1053 b. 1056.

<sup>88</sup> That the *chu t* were distinct from the souls or men will appear from several passages in the Ritual,—'and as I have crossed the earth

It is applied to beings distinct from the gods, although of a spiritual nature and placed in rank after them.<sup>89</sup> In the Ritual, certain inferior demons or spirits are called *ach-t*—as “the seven chief (*achtu*) demons are Amset, Hapi, Tuautmutf, Kabhsenuf, Maa-attfef, Kar-buk, Har-sent-schem, who are placed by Anup (Anubis) at the side of the coffin of Osiris.”<sup>90</sup> Nor were the *acht* always of a beneficent nature: on the coffin of the supposed queen of Amasis is inscribed, “Save thou her (the queen) from male and female afflictors, —from all male and female accusers (*cheft*),—from all male and female demons.”<sup>91</sup> A deceased says

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at the feet of the (*ach*) spirits.’ Lepsius, Todt. III. 10, 2. Again, the rubrical direction of c. 91 says, ‘if he know this, he is transformed as the wise (*ach*) spirits in Hades.’ Ibid. XXXIII. 91, 2. Their distinct nature is also laid down. Ibid. c. 90, l. 3, 4. It appears, in ibid. XXIV. c. 92, l. 3, as one of the triple forms of being, and in l. 6 as the same. That it implies ‘an intelligence—a mind’ will appear from ibid. LII. c. 128, l. 3, where, speaking of Osiris, it says, ‘Horus announces him, Isis and her sister Nephthys dispose of him, Thoth discourses to him with the great intelligences (*bachw*) he has in his body, and which issue from his mouth.’ In the same, ibid. LXI. c. 144, l. 26, it speaks of giving life to that spirit (*chu-t*), and in ibid. LXXI. c. 149, l. 4, the serpent Sat, 710 cubits long, is said to live off the destruction of the condemned spirits. The proof of this word having the phonetic force of *chet* will be found by comparing Lepsius, Todt. Taf. LXXI. c. 149, l. 10, *em chet ent nebta*, ‘in fire of Naphtha’ (?), and the same expression, ibid. n. 54, 55.

The only expression that looks like mortal is the one (Lepsius, Todt. Taf. III. c. 10, l. 2), ‘I have crossed the earth at the footsteps of the *achu*—or spirits—a living servant’ (*sems anch*).

<sup>89</sup> Lepsius, Todtenbuch, v. 15, 31, *tu en ru chet en sah*. Sharpe, E. I. Pl. 6, l. 7. Ibid. 64.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Lepsius, Todt. XIX. 42, 11. Ibid. VIII. c. 17, 38, 39. Ibid. XI. 18, 6, 7.

<sup>91</sup> Coffin of Queen of Amasis, cover. Brit. Mus. 32.



in another prayer, "May I be among thy spirits (*acht*) who traverse the place of gates, living in truth."<sup>92</sup> In the Ritual the deceased transforms himself into a spirit (*ach-t*),<sup>93</sup>—and the object of the book is 'to instruct the spirit' (*sakar ach-t*).<sup>94</sup> Throughout the deceased is called "the wise spirit or intelligence (*ach-t akar*) of the Hades,"<sup>95</sup>—and in one place he states "I have left the mummies—a wise spirit!"<sup>96</sup> As this term is only applied to mankind in the future state, but never to my knowledge as a function or office, I am inclined to believe that the *acht* mentioned in the masculine gender as 'with her,' *i. e.* the princess, can be no other than a demon or spirit whom it was the object of the journey of Chons to drive away.

Line 23. "The chief of the Bakhten and all who were in the land of Bakhten were highly (delighted) on account of the cure. Then he was comforted and rejoiced, saying, 'Since the god has made this change, let him be given to the land of the Bakhten,—let him not return to Kami (Egypt).' (Line 24.) Then the god remained three years four months and five days in the land of the Bakhten. When the chief of the Bakhten was laid on his couch, then the chief of the Bakhten sees that god come out of his shrine. The god was in the shape of a hawk of gold, mounting up to the heavens towards Kami (Egypt). (Line 25.) When he had risen, he was like a black owl: the priest of Chons, who does battle for the Thebaid, said, 'This god goes with us, returning to Kami (Egypt); let his

<sup>92</sup> Tomb, B. M. 550.

<sup>93</sup> Lepsius, Todt. xxxviii. c. 100, 'the chapter of giving peace to the soul of the *Ach-t*.'

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. lxi. 148, l. 1.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. lv. 135, 3.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. xxvii. 72, 11.

chariot go to Kami (Egypt). (Line 26.) Then the chief of the Bakhten caused that god to be led forth to Kami (Egypt); he gave him abundant tribute of all good and perfect things, and very many horses: they approached in peace to the Thebaid. Then went Chons the contender for the Thebaid (line 27) into the temple of Chons, in the Thebaid Neferhetp: he gave to him the numerous offerings which the chief of the Bakhten had given him of all the perfect things before Chons in the Thebaid Neferhetp: he kept nothing from him in his house. That god, Chons the contender for the Thebaid, (line 28) came to him in peace on the 33rd year, on the 19th day of Mechir of the King, the Sun, defender of Truth, approved of the Sun, to whom may there be given an immortal life like the Sun!"

There are some although not invincible difficulties in these closing lines, part of which, however, will be found translated in the Grammar of Champollion.<sup>97</sup> The first correction to be made is in line 23, in which the bolt must be restored for the arm in the expression *sa*, 'person,' in the phrase *su neb*, 'every one:' the phrase actually stands 'were made very great,' *ar naa hur*, but it is evidently 'they were greatly rejoiced,' the word *ha*, 'joy,' being omitted probably in the copy. The *ua ua* I read 'comforted,' as analogous to the Coptic, *εὐθυμείν*: the expression *her nahem* must mean 'on account of the taking' or 'saving.' The couch with

<sup>97</sup> A translation of a part of this final portion will be found in Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 398, 402. The text differs considerably from M. Prisse's: he reads, 'the chief of the Bakhten sees that god, who is in the shape of a hawk of gold, flying on high to Egypt. He says to the priest of Chons, that god is on his road with us, he goes to Egypt; let us go, he has sent (in his chariot) to Egypt.'

a hawk on it, which has the phonetic value of *at*<sup>98</sup> or *mena*,<sup>99</sup> seems to imply 'laid,'—perhaps it may be when the chief of the Bakhten was reclining on his couch (?) or asleep.—He saw it in a dream.

The group before the word 'shrine' is not so satisfactory as might be wished, probably not so well copied,—it reads *ar-ua . . .* 'to make to go along the shrine,' apparently from the hieroglyph represented, and the sense which must be given to it. The part describing the god as a black hawk is indistinctly copied, but it is evident that it must be read *nahas pu em bak nahusi*, 'when risen he was in the form of a black hawk,' or 'an owl.'<sup>100</sup> The object mentioned after the good and perfect things I have been obliged to leave blank,—as printed; the group is *sem . . er*. This is quite a new form: there is often at the ending of certain formulæ, after the expression 'good and pure,' an additional expression *sem (?) bener*,<sup>101</sup> 'delicious and enviable,' and the probability is that

<sup>98</sup> The values of *at* will be found on the coffin of the so-called Queen of Amasis. Brit. Mus. E. R. 32.

<sup>99</sup> Lepsius, Todt. ix. 17. 59.

<sup>100</sup> The impression shows M. Prisse to be correct; it is an owl with the *bar*—perhaps *mu* and then the group *henhu* with the man destroying himself. Literally it may be, 'when he had risen, he made a *mu henhu*, 'a . . . . . owl.' The meaning is to me obscure.

<sup>101</sup> At one time I thought *bener* always meant 'a palm-tree,' (*benne*, Coptic,) but I must correct this to 'delight,' or some similar sense, in the end of these formulæ. Cf. the tablet of Ra-men-cheper II. of the 21st Tanite dynasty, (Prisse, Monumens, Pl. iv. 1,) in which the princess *Mut-ar-tas* is called *ben ben, mer*, 'the delight and love of Athor, and of the king,' line 1; also *ben ben char ga neb mert char himi*, 'the delight to men, the beloved by women,' and 'she is the princess, the best of young women; never was there seen one like her!' The determinative is not distinct, and the word *sems* may be 'horses.'

some such word is to be found here, such as 'costly, valuable,' &c., which the sense naturally requires. There are also some trifling defects in the middle of the 27th and beginning of the 28th lines, but I have restored the sense in the text, and the student will readily see what is wanting, and the general inquirer will accept the restoration.

This tablet is of the greatest importance for the history of the religious notions of the Egyptians,—the fact of the gods being considered to be present in their arks, the *sekat* or *mat*, was already known; but that of sending the gods in them out of the country to distant lands is quite new: the dualistic nature of the lunar god Chons is novel, as also the fact of the god being in the form of a hawk of gold, or eagle (?). The recovery of the princess is also remarkable: this latter explains that many other similar scenes, in which the shrines of the gods are brought forth, allude to particular events, and not mere religious acts of homage.<sup>102</sup> In many cases, as in that of the Karnak

<sup>102</sup> There is a scene with the ark of the god Ammon, ram-headed—and another at Derri, where Rameses II. adores the ark of the Sun borne by 12 priests, entitled 'the carrying of the principal ark into the temple of the Sun.' (Champollion, *Mon. tom. i. Pl. XLII. 2. tom. iv. Pl. CCCXLIII.*) In the Hypostyle Hall of Rameses II. at Karnak is represented the bringing forth (*ata*) of the procession of the ark of the King, the Sun, the defender of Truth, approved of the Sun, in peace to his noble house, before his father the lord of the Gods Amen-ra, the lord of the Thebaid. Over the ark is written 'The Most excellent God—the King, the Sun, sustainer of Truth, approved of the Sun' (Rameses II.). The 'speech' is, 'The King, the lord of the Earth, the lord who makes things, is crowned upon the throne of Tum in the place of millions of years.' (Champ. *Mon. ii. CLI. ter.*) The ark is borne by 18 priests and a high-priest; towards it advances the ark of the Queen 'Ari-nefer,' borne by the same

tablet, the scenes on the wall were explained by an inscription placed elsewhere, and the objective religious act of homage was to us the least interesting portion of the subject.

S. BIRCH.

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number of priests. One speech is, 'says Chons in Upper Egypt, Neferhetp, We have come to be among thy servants, O Amen Ra, King of the Gods—give health to thy son the lord of the Earth.' The other speech, 'says Aahmes Ari-nefer, the divine glory, the eldest King's wife, the lady of the Earth, I come in peace, my noble father, Amen, King of the Gods—let my heart do all it wishes—I rejoice myself, seeing thy goodness; thou art crowned in the palace of the Sun, the lord of the Earth, the Sun, defender of Truth, approved of the Sun, give thou health to him, let his years be a million.' (Champollion, *Mon.* tom. ii. Pl. cc. bis.) A procession of the ark of Isis is represented at Philæ. (Champ. *M.* tom. i. Pl. LXXXII.) Other shrines occur, Champ. *Mon.* tom. iv. Pl. CCCXLV. 'It (the shrine) has come in peace by orders of Amen-hetp.' For the removal of the ark of Ammon, see Diodor. i. 97. Letronne's *Inscr. de l'Égypte*, 4to, Par. 1842, p. 307. See also the ark of Chnumis at Elephantina, Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 57.



AN ACCOUNT OF A GREEK PAPYRUS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

MR. JOSEPH ARDEN.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., M.R.S.L., &C.

[From the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. iv. new Series.]

17, Chalcot's Villas, 18th May, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,

As it is just possible that I may be prevented attending the Meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, I am induced to offer some information respecting the Greek Papyrus belonging to Mr. Joseph Arden, which he has kindly consented shall be exhibited to the Society at one of their future meetings. It is now framed and glazed, and the hasty examination which I have made of its contents, in company with the Rev. Mr. Forshall, the editor of the Greek Papyri of the Museum, and one of our Members, has realized my utmost expectations, and shows it to be of peculiar interest to the Society.

The papyrus is of considerable length, probably about 12 feet, and in a most excellent state of preservation. It consists of 48 pages of Greek, beautifully written, each page being about 6 or 9 inches long by 2 inches wide, and containing 28 lines, in

which are from 2 to 3 words. The commencement is imperfect,—some pages having, at this part, been torn away. The first 16 pages terminate with the title *ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΠΕΡ ΛΥΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ*,—"The defence of Lycophron:" the contents of this were not examined, as it was considered the second and more perfect portion would give the clue to its contents also. This is entitled at the beginning, in a very cursive hand, apparently where the roll has been ticketed, and also at the foot, *ΤΠΕΡ ΕΥΞΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΝ*, "The defence of the indictment of Euxenippus in reply to Polyuctus." We read the commencing paragraph of this, *Αλλ' εγω[γε], ανδρες δικασται, οπερ και προς τους παρακαθημενους αρτιως ελεγον, θαυμαζω ει αντιπροσιστανται ηδη υμιν αι τοιανται εισαγγελιαι: το μεν γαρ προτερον εισηγγελοντο παρ' υμιν Τιμομαχος, και Δεωσθενης, και Καλλιστρατος, και Φιλανο . . ναιων, και Θεοτιμος, ο Σηστον απολεσας, και ετεροι τοιουτοι, και οι μεν αυτων νους αιτιαν εχοντες προδουναι, οι δε πολεις Αθηναιων, ο δε ρητωρ ων λεγειν μη παριστατο, κ. τ. λ.*

I shall not comment more on this passage than to point out that while it refers to some well-known facts of Athenian history of the time of the final struggle with Macedon, that it also acquaints us with some new ones; and that the whole papyrus, when published, will throw considerable light upon the politics of that renowned city at the period: nor will I at this stage do more than to conjecture that we have here two more orations of the orator Hyperides,—one an impeachment of Euxenippus, of the anti-Macedonian party, who was defended by Polyuctus, the commissioner sent with Demosthenes



to Philip, and who we know was involved in the charge of receiving the bribes of Harpalus.

I have by no means had the requisite time either for examination of the papyrus itself, or for inquiring into the whole history of the period; but one obvious citation from Harpocraton's Lexicon, *voce Ηγεμονια δικαστηρια*, p. 136, ed. Gronov. 4to, *Lugd.* 1796. *ὡς ὑποφαίνεται Ἐπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου*, probably refers to this oration, if the grammarian has not carefully distinguished between *κατὰ* = the opening of a charge, and *πρὸς* = the reply. Of Euxenippus nothing is historically known, except that he may be the same person who was eponymous archon B. C. 305. Of Lycophrons there are several in the Athenian history of the period who were connected with the political factions of the day; and the one against whom the charge may have been brought is possibly the father of the orator and statesman Lycurgus.

I have mentioned that this papyrus is of peculiar interest to this Society, because, if it should eventually be identified as part of the orations of Hyperides, it is connected with that of Mr. Harris already published under the auspices of the Society—first by that gentleman in facsimile, and then by Mr. Churchill Babington.

Mr. Arden, the fortunate possessor of this treasure of ancient learning, obtained it from an Arab at Gournah, Western Thebes, at the end of January, in the year 1847.<sup>1</sup> It was stated to have been discovered in a wooden box in a tomb.

<sup>1</sup> A correction was here made when this communication was read.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the publication of this papyrus may be undertaken by the Society, as it is of European importance, and would redound to the reputation of the Royal Society of Literature.

Mr. Arden, whose collections are literally *pro se et amicis*, will probably kindly consent to the proposal, and while conferring so great a favour on the body, will receive at the same time the thanks of the learned world, not only for having rescued from the fangs of destruction so interesting a vestige of the past intellectual and historical glories of a small state—but a great people—but also for imparting the enjoyment of his treasures to all capable of appreciating them.

Believe me yours, very truly,

S. BIRCH.

Rev. Richard Cattermole.

THE  
HISTORICAL RESULTS  
OF THE  
EXCAVATIONS  
AT  
BUBASTIS.

BY  
EDOUARD NAVILLE.

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A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

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AUTHOR'S COPY.

1884-



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*THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS  
AT BUBASTIS.* By EDOUARD NAVILLE.

**T**HE King of Babylon had led into captivity part of the population of the kingdom of Judah; the inhabitants of Jerusalem had turned a deaf ear to the warnings of the prophet Ezekiel, and the threatened judgment had fallen on them. Standing near the river Chebar, in a strange land, the prophet turns for a while from his unfortunate countrymen, and, looking towards the neighbouring nations, predicts that some day the storm will burst upon them. The curse of Egypt is one of the most striking and the most terrible. Thus saith the Lord God : " I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause the images to cease from Noph ; and there shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt ; and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt. And I will make Pathros desolate, and will set a fire in Zoan, and will execute judgments in No. And I will pour my fury upon Sin, the stronghold of Egypt ; and I will set a fire in Egypt ; Sin shall be in great anguish, and No shall be broken up : and Noph shall have adversaries in the day-time. The young men of Aven and of Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword : and these cities shall go into captivity " (Ezek. xxx. 13-18).

It is interesting to notice the cities which are mentioned by

the prophet. They are clearly the most important, and those which were best known to his countrymen. I shall not insist here on several of these names, which differ according to the translations, but I should like to direct your attention to this sentence: "The young men of Aven and Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword." Aven (Heliopolis) is well known; but what is Pi-beseth (Bubastis)? It is one of the localities which are most frequented by travellers, or at least near which hundreds and thousands constantly pass. Whoever goes from Cairo to Suez is obliged to stop at Zagazig, a junction of several lines. Before reaching the station and after leaving it, the railway skirts large mounds covered with ruins of brick walls, which mark the site of Bubastis. The mounds, even now, cover a considerable surface, though they are much reduced from what they were. Of the 4,000 acres which they occupied at the beginning of this century, the greater part has been levelled, and is now cultivated; there are now only 800 acres left, and they are diminishing every day.

Several Egyptologists have visited the place. The opinion generally prevailing being that the temple had entirely disappeared, leaving no other traces than a few blocks scattered here and there in a great depression, which was the site of the building. Mariette had attempted excavations, which had proved fruitless; and one might reasonably think that the temple of Bubastis, which, according to the description of Herodotus must have been of considerable size, had suffered the same misfortune as many others; that it had been quarried out entirely, and the stones all carried away for building or for agricultural purposes. I shall not recall here the reasons which induced me to settle at Bubastis with Mr. Griffith in the spring of 1887, and to begin excavations. Our first attempts soon showed that the temple had not disappeared; on the contrary, the earth concealed heaps of granite blocks and gigantic columns, which reminded one of what is seen in the ruins of Sān. Our task, therefore, was to lay bare all this field of ruins, the extent of which we could judge to be considerable, and we applied ourselves to this work during the winters of 1888 and 1889. Not only did we remove all the earth which covered the stones, but in order to be quite certain that nothing was left hidden we pulled down the heaps of stones which had been piled up by the fall of the walls of the two first halls. We rolled and turned every block, and this long and costly, but sometimes most exciting, proceeding has given us inscriptions and monuments of the greatest value.

Standing at the entrance on the eastern side, one overlooks



now a field of ruins, which is still most impressive, although not so much so as last year, since a great many interesting monuments have been carried away. A space of the length of 600 feet is covered with enormous granite blocks, capitals of columns, fragments of Hathor heads and broken statues of colossal size. The general form of the temple is still discernible. It consisted of four halls, the dates of which differ. The first, from the east, which is perhaps the most ancient, had at the entrance two enormous columns with palm capitals; outside the door were the two great Hyksos statues, one of which is now in the British Museum. Beyond was a second hall, also very old. After the time of Osorkon II. it was called the "festive hall," in memory of a great religious ceremony which took place in the twenty-second year of his reign. Further west still was the most luxurious part of the temple: a hall supported by columns with lotus or palm-leaf capitals, and by pillars ending in a beautifully-sculptured Hathor head, the best specimen of which is now in the Boston Museum. The termination of the temple was a room of a very extensive area, probably the largest of the four; it was never finished, and at the end was the shrine of the goddess Bast, an exquisite piece of sculpture, fragments of which are to be seen in the British Museum.

Except Tanis, a city which in many respects has a great resemblance to Bubastis, there is no city in the Delta which has yielded so many monuments, of such very different epochs, varying from the Fourth dynasty to the Ptolemies. I must say I do not believe one could easily find excavations more interesting, and at times more exciting, than these. A circumstance which added to the surprises and to the unforeseen, is, that there is no temple which has gone through such frequent and complete transformations, and where the usurpation is so easily discernible and has been practised on such a large scale. You have heard of the mania of Rameses II. for writing his name everywhere, no matter who was the author of the monument on which he desired to record his memory. The occasions in which the name of Rameses II. is met with in the temple of Bubastis are nearly innumerable. I have examined with the greatest care the colossal architraves on which his name is written in hieroglyphics more than two feet high, and I have not found one of them which was not a usurpation; everywhere an old inscription had been erased; what Rameses II. really added to the temple is probably not considerable, though at first sight one would think that hardly anything had existed before his reign.

One of the results of the excavations is to show that

Bubastis was already a large city at a very remote date, and that it went through the vicissitudes which have marked the history of Egypt. It must rank between Tanis in the north, and Heliopolis further south; and in the narratives of the events which took place in Lower Egypt, we must take account of the presence of a great city at the entrance of the valley called the Wadi Tumulât, the highroad from Egypt to Syria.

Let us go back to the dawn of the history of Egypt. Manetho says, that under the first king of the Second dynasty, a chasm opened itself near Bubastis, in which a great many people lost their life. We do not go quite so far back in our discoveries, but the Old Empire has left important traces in the two first halls. Before having moved one single block, we could see on the top of the ruins of the entrance hall a stone where was sculptured a false door, such as is constantly met with in the tombs of the Old Empire, namely, two door posts, between which is a large roll generally bearing the name of the deceased. How that kind of ornament occurs in a building without funerary character, I cannot explain; however it is to be traced to the Old Empire, but I could not make out which king had it made, for his cartouches have been so carefully erased, that there remain only the top of the oval and a disk. The subsequent researches in that part of the building have not been fruitless; we have unearthed the standard of Cheops, and the standard and name of Chefren, the constructors of the two great pyramids, who have both written their name in the temple of Bubastis in large and beautiful hieroglyphs; the great antiquity of the temple is thus well established. In the second hall we found, in 1887, the cartouche of a king of the Sixth dynasty, Pepi, and not only his name, but his titles which he engraved on what must have been the entrance of a room. At the beginning of this century, Burton had discovered the name of Pepi further north, at Tanis; a doubt had been expressed whether it was the king himself who had extended his constructions so far north, or whether perhaps in later years a stone bearing his name had been brought to Tanis with building material, by Rameses II. or some other king; but now the doubt is no longer possible. It is not in Tanis only, but also in Bubastis, that stones bearing the name of Pepi are found, and here there are several, fitting together, and the remains of a construction may be traced; besides, Pepi is in company with two other kings, a great deal more ancient. Thus the foundation of Bubastis carries us back to the beginning of the historical times of Egypt, and is contemporary with the pyramids, its oldest monuments.

It is to be noticed that the three early kings whose names we met with were conquerors, or, at least, warriors, who fought against the inhabitants of Sinai. What may have been the motive of these struggles? Perhaps the possession of mines of copper, which have been worked from a high antiquity in the peninsula, or perhaps also the quarries; for it is an interesting question, and one which has not yet been solved in a satisfactory way, where the stones came from with which some of the Egyptian monuments are made, especially black granite. It has always been admitted that it came from the quarries of Upper Egypt, situated in the Arabian desert, at a place now called Hamamât, between the present cities of Keneh and Kosseir. This explanation, which holds good in the case of kings who had the command over the whole land of Egypt, is not to be accepted for kings like the Hyksos, who ruled only over Lower Egypt, and were at war with the native princes of Thebes. Where was the stone quarried for the great statue which is now in the British Museum? The solution of this question is rendered more interesting by the fact that in the last discoveries of very early Chaldæan monuments, at a place called Telloh, in Lower Babylonia, it has been noticed that for several of them the stone is the same as that used for some Egyptian statues. The eminent Assyriologist, Dr. Oppert, maintains that this material was found in the country, called in the cuneiform inscriptions *Maggan*, namely, the Sinaitic peninsula and the part of Egypt near the Red Sea, while other Assyrian scholars think that it came from the coast of the Persian Gulf. The question is an open one, to be settled only by geologists, who will allow me to direct their attention to the search for the quarries of the Sinaitic peninsula.

Two of the kings whose names have been recovered at Bubastis, Cheops and Pepi, are mentioned in a text of a much later epoch relating the construction of the temple of Denderah. We read there in two Ptolemaic inscriptions the following words: "The great foundation of Denderah. The repair of the monument was made by King Thothmes III., as it was found in ancient writings of the days of King Cheops." And further: "The great foundation of Denderah was found on decayed rolls of skins of kids in the time of the followers of Horus. It was found in a brick wall on the south side, in the reign of the King Pepi." We must not attribute too great an importance to inscriptions which have a legendary character, but they indicate that the authority of Cheops and Pepi extended over Upper Egypt: and we know now through the excavations at Bubastis that Cheops and Chefnu reigned

also over the Delta, certainly over the eastern part. Before our excavations their names had never been found north of Memphis; it appears now that at this remote epoch their kingdom had already reached what I should call the natural limits of Egypt.

The Fourth dynasty,—the dynasty of Cheops and Chefren,—was one of the most powerful of the Old Empire, and it seems that under the succeeding one the kingdom was rather weakened; but there is a marked revival under one of the first kings of the Sixth dynasty,—Pepi Merira. As I said before, his cartouche has been found twice at Bubastis, in a different form from what it is at Tanis. There he gives himself only as the son of Hathor, the goddess of Ant (Denderah). At Bubastis, on the contrary, he is anxious to affirm that he is son of Tum, the god of On (Heliopolis), and of Hathor, the goddess of Ant. The geographical names must not be taken in a literal sense, as meaning only two cities; they must be interpreted in their mythological sense, as meaning the two parts of Egypt. Pepi indicates in this way that he is lord of the whole country.

Under the Old Empire there was a temple at Bubastis, but although we found traces of it in the two first halls, it is not possible even to conjecture what were its forms and dimensions. It lasted very late down to the Twelfth dynasty; one of its kings,—Useratesen I.,—wrote on one of the stones a small inscription, not very deeply cut, such as the kings often did to record that they had gone through a city and presented offerings to the gods, but not that they had made any great building. The venerable sanctuary of Cheops and Pepi was still standing at his time.

Here arises a question which I am obliged to answer in a different way from what I have recently seen printed in several papers. Among the numerous statues discovered at Bubastis—Is there one which may be considered as a work of the Old Empire? The opinion that this is the case has been expressed at a meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund. It has been said that we have a portrait of Cheops in one of the statues now in the British Museum. Among the monuments brought from Bubastis you will notice the colossal torso, in red granite, of a standing king who holds in his left hand a standard. The statue has no head-dress; it has very thick and crisp hair, not unlike what we see on sculptures or statues of the Old Empire. The figure was destined to support something, for the top of the head is quite flat, showing that some piece of architecture rested upon it. It is not the only one of its kind. We found four absolutely

alike in type, workmanship, and size; two of them have been carried away, one to Boston, the other to the British Museum; two others are still *in situ*. They all bear the name of Rameses II., but we know well enough that this does not prove anything as regards their origin. However, I do not believe that they belong to the Old Empire. What strikes one in looking at those monuments is the total absence of all that constitutes the portrait: there is nothing individual, nothing characteristic of one person. The face is broad, very short, rather flat with projecting eyes: there is no finish in the workmanship. It is true that the statue being of colossal size, the features were to be seen at a distance, and the effect would probably be better if we saw them replaced at the height at which they originally stood. It is very likely that they were placed on each side of two doors in the festive hall. Statues of the same kind have been found at Sān, at Ramleh, at Tel el Yahoodieh; one which is in the museum of Turin is supposed to come from Sān; thus, they were all discovered in the Delta. In my opinion they are statues which had only an architectural purpose, and which are no more portraits than the caryatids which adorn some of our buildings; they are mere ornaments on which Rameses II. wrote his name, although the features are as different as possible from the fine type of the Ramessides. I am ready to admit any amount of usurpation from Rameses II.; but I do not believe in the high antiquity of those statues; theirs is a style which dates from the Nineteenth dynasty, from Rameses II., and which was continued by his son Menephtah, and even later; and this peculiar style was executed by artists of the Delta, whose skill at that time was still sufficient for the requirements of architecture. I am led to this conclusion by the fact that these statues are too much alike; they are all cast in the same mould, it is a common type of face, which is copied from the one to the other without individual character. It is in accordance with the custom of Rameses II., whose main desire was to have a great number of monuments; he did not look too closely at the artistic side, provided they were numerous. In this case, when he wrote his name on these statues, he did not speak an untruth; they are his work. As for the workmanship, it must not be forgotten that such statues are seen only in the Delta. Local taste and local fashion are very important factors in Egyptian art, which have been too often overlooked; they existed in former times as they are still to be found at the present day. Evidently the taste of the sculptors of Bubastis or Tanis was not exactly the same as among the artists of Thebes or Abydos.

The Twelfth dynasty is certainly one of the most powerful in Egyptian history. Let us consider its political action—its conquests carried far on the Upper Nile—and we shall form a high opinion of the character of its kings; but our admiration will be increased if we look at the immense constructions raised by them all over the country. Manetho calls them Diospolites, giving them Thebes as birth-place. They were the founders of the great temple of Amon, and they worked most actively in the province called the Fayoom. I need only mention the Labyrinth and Lake Moeris. The recent excavations made by Mr. Flinders Petrie and myself have shown that they gave a great importance to the Delta, especially to its eastern part. Tanis was already known as a locality where their monuments were abundant; but we have added three more: Amem, a dependency of the nome of Tanis excavated by Mr. Flinders Petrie, and some monuments of which are at the British Museum; Khataanah, of which we do not know the old name; and lastly, Bubastis. It is probable that further explorations will reveal more monuments of the Twelfth dynasty in the Delta, either by actual discoveries or by showing that usurpation has been practised on their work by later sovereigns, who attributed to themselves the work of their glorious predecessors.

Amenemha I. is the first king of the Twelfth dynasty whose name occurs at Bubastis. It is engraved on a stone removed from its original place, and employed by Nectanebo I. in the construction of the western part of the temple. The name is not complete; we have only the standard and the beginning of an inscription saying that "he erected a statue to his mother Bast; he made the hall. . . ." Evidently he enlarged in some way the sanctuary of the Old Empire. After him Usertesen I., well known by the obelisk of Heliopolis, did not go on building; his name occurs on what was very likely part of the temple of Cheops and Pepi.

The most important transformation of the temple seems to have been made by Usertesen III., whose cartouche occurs several times and in very large proportions. Not only did he enlarge the two halls, of which this temple consisted, but he added to it what must have given to the whole building that character of beauty which struck Herodotus so vividly, for the Greek traveller says that "though other temples may be grander, and may have cost more in the building, there is none so pleasant to the eye as this of Bubastis" (Rawlinson, *Herod.*, ii. ch. 137). In my opinion, Usertesen III. added to the temple the hypostyle hall, the magnificent building of which remains are now in the British Museum and at Boston.

Unfortunately it is now so much ruined, having been so long used as a quarry, that it is difficult to obtain an exact idea of its form. It is nearly certain that the roof was supported by alternate rows of columns and square pillars, ending in a Hathor head. In the centre were four large columns of red granite, with capitals in the form of lotus buds, and with shafts representing a bundle of those plants. The inhabitants of Liverpool had the opportunity, a short time ago, of seeing on the quay two fragments of one of those columns, a perfect capital, and the piece of the shaft fitting immediately underneath, the whole having a length of about 20 feet; and I dare say they will have been struck, not only by the size of the monuments, but also by the vigour of the work and the beautiful polish, which has lasted to the present day. Outside of those columns were square pillars surmounted by the head of the goddess Hathor, a woman's face surrounded by great locks and having ears of a heifer. The head was sculptured on two opposite sides of the pillars; on the two others was seen the plant of Upper and Lower Egypt standing between two crowned asps. One specimen only of these fine pieces of art has been preserved complete; it is now in the Museum at Boston. Next to these pillars came again columns of polished red granite, with graceful capitals representing palm-leaves. One of them is in the British Museum; it is nearly complete. We read on it the names of Rameses II. and Osorkon II., but the column is much older, for an inscription of Rameses is cut through an ornament of the shaft. These columns bear witness to the changes which took place in the gods to whom the temple was dedicated. Rameses II. had the name of Set sculptured on the top; Osorkon changed the figure of the god, made him a lion's head, and gave him the appearance of Mahes, the son of the cat goddess Bast. To the palm columns belonged a second set of pillars with Hathor's head, but neither so large nor so beautiful as the others. One of them has gone to the Museum at Sydney.

At the end of the Twelfth dynasty the temple consisted of the first two halls and the hall of columns (some of them were gigantic monoliths). I shall only mention that the Thirteenth dynasty, a series of princes very little known, appears also at Bubastis. The first king, Sebekhotep I., has engraved his cartouche on some large architraves. It is the first time that his name is met with in a temple. It is inscribed also on rocks in Nubia, showing that under his rule the power of Egypt was not diminished. In excavating buildings like the temple of Bubastis, it is impossible not to be struck by the facility with which the old Egyptians carried enormous

blocks of granite from the quarries of Assoan to localities in the Delta, which, no doubt, were then more accessible than now, but which could only be reached at the cost of much labour. We know what the difficulties are in our time of steam-engines and railways; my friend, Count d'Hulst, might write a book on all the troubles he experienced in the ungrateful task of transferring monuments of a total weight of about a hundred tons from Tel Basta to an English steamer in Alexandria. But in the time of the ancient Egyptians, thousands, tens of thousands of enormous blocks, colossal statues weighing near nine hundred tons, obelisks, etc., were taken out of the quarries of Assoan, floated down the Nile, and dragged through the marshes of the Delta, where they adorned the temple of Sān, Bubastis, or Behbeit. I can assure you that when I unearthed the magnificent columns of Bubastis I did not know which was most to be admired, the perfection of the work or the power of the men, who, with scanty and imperfect mechanical means, had achieved such stupendous results.

Let us now give the dates of the principal facts which we have ascertained. In opposition to the generally-prevailing opinion, we saw that Bubastis went back as far at least as King Cheops; that is, to the year 3700 B.C., according to Brugsch's chronology. After him, Pepi, about 3200 B.C., has left important traces in the temple. We described the transformation which took place eight hundred years afterwards under the kings of the Twelfth dynasty. With the end of the Fourteenth dynasty, we have reached the 24th or 23rd century B.C., one of the most obscure periods of the history of Egypt, but also one of the most interesting, and on which the excavations of Bubastis have given us most unexpected information—I mean the invasion of the Shepherds, or Hyksos.

We read in Manetho, quoted by Josephus, the following words: "The so-called Timaos became king. Egypt during his reign lay, I know not why, under the Divine displeasure, and, on a sudden, men from the East country of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land. They easily got possession of it, and established themselves without a struggle, making the rulers thereof tributary to them, burning their cities and demolishing the temples of their gods. All the natives they treated in the most brutal manner; some they put to death, others they reduced to slavery with their wives and children.

Subsequently also they chose a king out of their own body, Salatis by name. He established himself at Memphis, took tribute from the Upper and the Lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places . . . The general name



of their people was Hyksos, which means shepherd kings; for *Hjk* signifies in the sacred language a king, and *Sōs* in the demotic is shepherd and shepherds. Some say they were Arabs . . .”

Arabs or Phœnicians are the names most frequently applied to them by the ancient authors. Recent researches seem to point as their native place to Mesopotamia, where at that time important events took place. We know that about that epoch, the King of Elam, Khudur Nankhundi, invaded Babylonia, plundered the country and carried away from the city of Uruk to his capital Shushan a considerable number of statues of divinities. We cannot affirm that the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos is connected with this particular war; but it is probable that the struggles between the Elamites and the Mesopotamians brought about the invasion of Egypt. I do not suppose that the Elamites went as far as the Nile, but they drove out of their country a mixed multitude belonging to different races, and it overran Egypt, too weak to resist. If, as I believe, the Hyksos were Mesopotamians, they were not barbarians: they belonged to nations which had already reached a high degree of civilization, and which in particular were well skilled in the art of sculpture. There is no doubt that the conquest of Egypt must have been signalized by devastation and ruin; it never was otherwise in the wars of Eastern nations; but as the invaders were not barbarians, as they came from a civilized country, it explains why they soon submitted to the influence of the more refined Egyptians, and why they easily adopted the principal features of Egyptian civilization, which was not unlike their own.

The chronographers have preserved the name of several of their kings; they are called Silites, or Salatis, Beon, Apachnas, Jannas, or Janras, Asseth and Apophis, in Egyptian Apepi. The interesting point to ascertain was whether the Egyptian documents agreed with the statements of the Greek writers as to the barbarity of the Hyksos. Were they the cruel and brutal conquerors described by Manetho? Very likely they were at first when they attacked the country, but certainly not at the end of their domination. The name of Apepi was known long ago from a papyrus relating his struggle with a Theban prince. To Mariette belongs the honour of having first discovered his name on stone monuments. In his very successful excavations at Tanis he found the name of Apepi written on the arm of a statue, evidently older than the Hyksos king. At the same time he noticed the name on monuments of a special kind, which have since been called Hyksos monuments. They are

sphinxes with bodies of lions and human faces. The head is surrounded by a very thick mane, and the type of the features is quite different from the Egyptian. The cheek-bones are high and strongly marked, the nose wide and flat and aquiline, the mouth projecting forward with stout lips. At first sight, it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that we have there the image of a foreign race and not of native Egyptians. Thus there has been an art of the Hyksos, or rather the conquered have made the education of their masters; for, except the characteristic foreign type, the workmanship, the style, and the attitude are absolutely Egyptian, and these monuments must have been made by Egyptian sculptors.

Besides the art, the Hyksos adopted also the writing, the language of the Egyptians; the names of their kings are written like those of the native Pharaohs with two cartouches, the first of which was taken by them on the day of their coronation, and always contained the name of Ra. Nevertheless, they remained faithful to the worship of Set, an Asiatic divinity often called also Baal, and worshipped as well by Semites as by nations of another race like the Khetas or Hittites. Thus, under the reign of the last Hyksos rulers, except that the sovereign belonged to a foreign race, Egypt must have presented an appearance very much like what it was before: a well ordered and governed state.

It has been questioned whether the Hyksos had really attained a high degree of civilization, and whether the monuments attributed to them by Mariette were really their own work. Some Egyptologists have suggested that the strange monuments of Tanis were, perhaps, the produce of local art, or that they belonged to a much older period; in this last case Apepi would only have usurped what had been done before him, and there would be no Hyksos style. I must say that when I went for the first time to Tanis, I very nearly adopted this view; but the discoveries made in the excavations of 1888 have convinced me that Mariette's opinion was the truth. There has been a Hyksos art, and kings of later time have not hesitated in taking possession for themselves of what the so-called barbarians had made. I had the good fortune in 1888 of finding three of the most interesting Hyksos monuments which have been preserved.

We were working in the eastern part of the temple of Bubastis near the entrance, when the workmen unearthed first the head-dress of a statue, in black granite, wearing the royal asp; underneath were only the forehead and the eyes, for the head had been broken horizontally at the height of the origin

of the nose. The head-dress was absolutely that of an Egyptian king, and the height of the whole head could be estimated as more than three feet. The next day, to our great joy, the lower part of the head was discovered; it was complete, except a fragment of one of the cheeks and one of the ears, and we recognised at once the Hyksos type; there was the projecting mouth, the thick and curved nose, the strongly-marked cheek-bones, the cheeks themselves being rather hollow. It was the first time that the head of a Hyksos king was discovered wearing a thoroughly Egyptian head-dress, which rendered more conspicuous the strange type of the foreign race. At the distance of a few feet a broken fragment of black granite was emerging out of the ground, and on digging a few inches it was easy to recognise that it was the lower part of the legs of a colossal statue, which clearly belonged to the same monument as the head. I could not excavate immediately. It was the beginning of March, and the soil was still so full of infiltration-water that beyond a certain depth we were in ponds of water, which hampered the work considerably. I waited a few weeks; the water sank, and my impatience grew in proportion. At last, although there was still much water, I ordered that the base of the statue should be cleared and dragged out. The first thing to be done was of course to make room around it. Our surprise was immense when this revealed to us the lower part of a colossal torso close to the base we were endeavouring to drag out; and a few feet to the south, very near the place where we had found the broken head, the base of another statue of the same size, lying on the side and showing the whole of one leg. Thus it was not one but two statues which had stood there; we had two bases, we could reasonably hope that we should discover another head. The one we had, the Hyksos, was broken, perhaps the other might be intact. From that moment the researches grew intensely interesting. I promised a good baksheesh to the workmen if the head was discovered; and a few hours afterwards, while I was in another part of the temple, I suddenly heard them shouting: *rās, rās*,—the head, the head! I shall never forget this sight, nor this hour, perhaps the most impressive I went through during my five winters of excavation. It was late in the afternoon; out of a pond of water, between the base and the torso, emerged the top of a head and the royal asp, the upper part only had been cleared and was visible above the water. There was no place for us to stand, or rather to kneel, except on that head, which we did in turn, Count d'Hulst and I; and while the excited workmen drove out with their hands the water which was coming

out of the earth in streams, or took away the mud in which the face was buried, we felt anxiously with the hand how far the features were preserved. There is the forehead, the eyes, the origin of the nose, but here a fracture. . . I had one instant of despair, but no, it is only a slight wound ; here are the nostrils, the mouth, the beard ! The head is perfect ! It was nearly dark ; we let the water cover it again entirely, and the next morning we raised triumphantly our treasure, which now stands in the British Museum.

A few days afterwards two illustrious visitors,—Dr. Schliemann and Dr. Virchow,—came to see the excavations. Dr. Virchow had careful measurements taken of this head, which he published shortly afterwards in his paper on the royal mummies. His conclusion is that the Hyksos monuments must be considered as representing Turanians, without being able to determine with which branch of this very large stock they must be connected. It was the same as the conclusion put forward in this country by Prof. Flower, who sees in the monuments of Sān a Mongoloid type. Turanians or Mongols,—such is the racial origin attributed to the Hyksos by high authorities ; but that does not mean that the population itself was Turanian. The worship of Set Baal, the influence of the Hyksos invasion over the customs of Egypt, and especially over the language, points clearly to a Semitic element which was prevailing among the conquerors, though their kings,—at least those who left us their portraits,—were evidently not Semites. I believe, generally speaking, that too much importance has been given to the question of race ; too often sharp distinctions have been drawn between nations, or in the midst of one people,—distinctions which were perhaps true originally, but which afterwards, if they were not quite obliterated, were only to be traced in political or social life. Races have become mixed and have amalgamated much earlier than we think. I said that I believed the Hyksos to be Mesopotamians. The researches of Assyriologists all agree that from a very early epoch the population of Babylonia consisted of several strata of populations having each a different origin. It was then what it is now ; and I believe that the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos is not unlike what would happen at the present day if the population of Mesopotamia overran the valley of the Nile ; you would have masses, in great majority of Semitic race, speaking a Semitic language, having a Semitic religion, and being under the command of Turks, who are not Semites but Turanians.

I revert to the two Hyksos heads. The first, which was broken in the middle, is in the Boulak Museum ; it is of exactly

the same type and proportions as that in the British Museum, but the face is not quite the same; it is evidently an older man; it has the advantage of having preserved the curve of the nose. If the two heads represent the same man at two different ages, the Boulak head was made the last. We took also to Boulak all that remains of the statue, the base, which turned out to have been split in two in the direction of the height, so that there is only one leg left. As for the statue of the British Museum, unfortunately it is not complete. Although last winter we left not an inch of ground unturned in the vicinity of the place where we had found the other fragments; although we went to a great depth, we could not discover the only piece wanting, the upper part of the torso from the waist to the neck. Nevertheless, I have no hesitation in saying that such as it is the statue is one of the most precious Egyptian monuments which have been preserved. Allow me to recommend you to go to the British Museum to look at it. You will notice that the Hyksos artists, or at least the Egyptians who worked for the Hyksos, followed the traditions of the early sculptors who had portrait statues to make. The workmanship of the lower part of the body is much inferior to that of the upper part, and especially of the head. This fact is general in the statues of the Thirteenth dynasty, whether they have preserved their original name, like the Sebekhotep of Paris, or whether they have been usurped by Rameses II., like the statue of this king which I found at Bubastis, and which has been given to my native city. All the care of the artist has been bestowed on the head, all his skill has been devoted to making a likeness as good as possible. Consider attentively the face, look at the beautifully-modelled features, the special care which the artist has taken to reproduce all the characteristic signs of the race, the strongly-marked cheek-bones, the stout and projecting lips, the somewhat hollow cheeks, the fleshy corners of the mouth; if you bear in mind that this has been cut in an extremely hard stone, you will agree with me that this head, regardless of its historical value, is a work of art, and even a masterpiece.

But whose portrait is it? which name are we to give to this statue? There is no doubt that it represents a shepherd king, but has his cartouche been found anywhere on the monument? Unfortunately not. The two statues which were near each other at the entrance of the temple had both the cartouches of the king who raised them engraved on the throne along the legs. But they shared the common fate which befel so many interesting monuments; the names were cut out.

Rameses II. when he worked at Bubastis, finding that the two statues made a good effect, and that it was unnecessary to have new ones of such a large size, erased the name of the Hyksos king, and put his own instead. A long time afterwards, Osorkon II. treated Rameses II. in the same way as he had done his predecessor; he erased Rameses II., but not so completely that we may not discover a few signs, and he put his own on the base. What has completely disappeared is the name of the Hyksos king, which would be most interesting to us. Fortunately, in another part of the temple I discovered on a door-post a very large cartouche containing the name of Apepi, the same who had been found by Mariette at Tanis, with a fragment of inscription saying, that "he raised pillars in great number and bronze doors to this god,"—we do not know which. Quite recently, in the first hall not very far from the great statues, I discovered the first part of his name, what is called his standard. As Apepi was a powerful king, though he was one of the last Hyksos, and as we know from the inscription that he raised important buildings at Bubastis, it is probable that it was he who erected the great statues, and that the fine head which is now at the British Museum is the portrait of Apepi. This interests us particularly, because the Byzantine chronographer, Syncellus, relates that Apepi was the king in whose reign Joseph rose to the high position described in Genesis. According to the Christian tradition, Apepi was the Pharaoh of Joseph.

But we were not at the end of our surprises. Close to the block bearing the name of Apepi, there appeared one day the corner of a black granite stone, which, after being cleared, turned out to be the base of a sitting statue of natural size, but broken at the waist. The cartouches were intact; the coronation name reads Userenra, which is not unknown, but the second Raian, or Ian-Ra, was absolutely new. The style of the statue pointed to the Thirteenth or Fourteenth dynasty. When I afterwards showed the cartouche to a learned Mohammedan, Ahmed Effendi Kemal, the only Egyptian who can read hieroglyphics, he exclaimed at once: "You have found the king of Joseph"; and when I answered that in my opinion it was Apepi, he explained to me, what I totally ignored, that, according to Arab books, the king of Joseph was an Amalekite, called Raian Ibn el Walid. I must say that I have no great faith in Arab traditions, and although at the time of the discovery my eminent countryman, Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, wrote a letter in the *Times*, saying that he believed that there was some historical fact at the bottom of the Arab tradition, I am not quite convinced;

there are some details of the legend which shake one's confidence ; for instance, this fact, which is mentioned by one of the Arab authors, that Joseph converted the king to the faith of the Mohammedans. However, it is certainly a curious coincidence to have found at the same spot the two kings who are considered as the protectors of Joseph, one by the Christians and the other by the Mohammedans. This valuable base, which is all that remains of Raian, is now in the Boulak Museum.

Between the two traditions I incline to adopt that of the Christians, as reported by Syncellus, who adds that on this point the historians are unanimous. I know we have no Egyptian monumental evidence that it was so, but until the contrary is proved, I see no reason to question the statement of Syncellus. Apepi was the Pharaoh in whose reign Joseph became the powerful minister described by Scripture. I need not dwell at great length on this subject, which was laid before this society a few years ago in a learned paper by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins. Let me only mention that Joseph was a purely civil officer, entrusted with the control and collection of revenue and of rents chiefly paid in kind. Such officers frequently occur in Egyptian inscriptions, or even in pictures, and they bear this telling title : "The Eyes and the Ears of the King."

We saw that the Hyksos raised at Bubastis great constructions, probably larger than at Tanis, the city which had been called their capital because of the monuments discovered there by Mariette. Bubastis was an important Hyksos settlement, and we have every reason to believe that the kings often stayed there ; that it was one of the places of resort of Apepi and the other kings. They were thus very near the land of Goshen. I think I have proved through the excavations which I made at a short distance from Zagazig, in 1885, that the original land of Goshen was the region situate between the present city of Belbeis and Tel el Kebir, and that at the time when the Hebrews settled there it was not part of one of the provinces of Egypt. It was an uncultivated district, not divided among Egyptian inhabitants regularly settled and governed, a kind of waste land sufficiently watered to produce good pasturage, and which might be assigned to foreigners without despoiling the native inhabitants. This agrees with the information given by the two most ancient Arab translators of the Bible,—Saadiah and Aboo Saïd. I believe even that there is an allusion to it in an Egyptian inscription of the time of Menephtah, the king of the Exodus, in which it is said that "the country

near Bailos (Belbeis) was not cultivated, but left as pasture for cattle because of the strangers." Thus there was only a short distance between the royal residence and the territory allotted to the Hebrews. Joseph settled his family near himself, in the part of the country which was best fitted for the breeding of cattle, and where probably dwelt the herds of the king, with the keeping of which they were entrusted.

But the Hyksos domination was drawing towards its close, and it is likely that Apepi was the last of the foreign rulers. We have only very scanty information on the wars which broke out between the native princes who had maintained themselves in Upper Egypt and the foreign invaders. In spite of the successes of the kings of the Seventeenth dynasty, Sekenen - Ra and Amosis, the expulsion of the Hyksos and the restoration of the Egyptian rule over the Delta took place only gradually. A queen of the Eighteenth dynasty alludes in one of her inscriptions to the harm done to the country by the strangers, and which she endeavoured to repair. An alleged proof of the fact that the Egyptian dominion was not yet regularly re-established was the supposed total absence of monuments of the Eighteenth dynasty in the Delta. Until now there was only one known,—a stone serpent found at Benha,—or a few scarabs of Amenophis III. dug out by the fellahen at Tel Basta. The desire to settle, if possible, the question of the presence of the Eighteenth dynasty in the Delta, was one of the chief reasons which induced me to dig at Bubastis; and in this respect my expectation has not been disappointed; we have discovered important monuments of the Eighteenth dynasty at Tel Basta. Last summer, also, the fellahen came across a large tablet of the same dynasty at Samanood, further north. In both places the monuments are later than Thothmes III. It seems very probable that the final conquest of the Delta, and the complete expulsion of the Hyksos, dates from the great wars of Thothmes III., justly called "the great," or sometimes the Alexander of Egypt. His campaigns had lasting results, not only in Egypt, but also abroad, as we know now from the curious find of cuneiform tablets made by the Arabs at Tel el Amarna last year,—that under the successors of Thothmes III. a great many Syrian cities were still tributary to Egypt, and had Egyptian governors. The most ancient mention of a king of the Eighteenth dynasty, at Bubastis, is on a stone of Amenophis II., who is sculptured standing before Amon Ra and making him offerings. We notice here, as under the following kings, that the chief divinity of the place is not Bast, but Amon. The king of the Eighteenth dynasty, who seems to have taken the



greatest interest in Bubastis, is Amenophis III. We discovered four monuments of the reign of this king: two of them are statues of the same man; unfortunately they are both headless. They are unequal in workmanship; one of them,—the largest and the finest,—is in the Boulak Museum; the other is in London. They both represent a man sitting with crossed legs, and who unrolls on his knees a papyrus, on which is written his title and his employment. The man was "prince of the first order, a friend loving his lord, chief of the works of his king in the provinces of the marsh land of the North, the chancellor and city governor, Amenophis." The name of his king is found on the back; the braces which support his garment are tied together by a brooch, on which is engraved the name of Amenophis III.; another statue has it engraved on the shoulder, as has also a very graceful torso of a woman, which was part of a double group of a priest and priestess. Thus the Eighteenth dynasty is well represented at Bubastis,—its high officers and priests put their images in the temple. Even the heretical King Amenophis IV., or Khuenaten, who endeavoured to destroy the worship of Amon, desired his name to be at Bubastis. On a stone, usurped afterwards by Rameses II., we read the name of his god, his one cartouche having been erased.

In what state did the Eighteenth dynasty find the temple of Bubastis? Had it been ruined by the Hyksos? Not likely; on the contrary, we have seen that Apepi raised there, as he says, pillars in great numbers and bronze doors. If it did not suffer in the wars between the Hyksos and the Theban princes, the temple must have been standing and even of a remarkable beauty when the contemporaries of Amenophis III. put their statues in its halls.

Seti I., the second king of the Nineteenth dynasty, and the father of Rameses II., inscribed on the stone of Amenophis II. that "he renewed the abode of his father Amon." He seems to have made some repairs to the temple. But with his son Rameses II. we reach a period of great changes, which consisted chiefly in usurpations. There is no name which occurs so frequently in the ruins of the first three halls, which up to the Thirtieth dynasty constituted the whole building. As is the case in Tanis, the local divinity seems to have occupied only a secondary rank; all the principal offerings or acts of worship take place before the great gods of Egypt, Amon, Phthah, called Phthah of Rameses, and chiefly Set, the god of the Hyksos, who had the most prominent place. Enormous architraves in the second hall bear dedications to Set; elsewhere he is styled Set of

Rameses, and his face was engraved on all the palm-capital columns, where it was afterwards transformed to Mahes. Nevertheless, Bast appears sometimes in the inscriptions of Rameses II.,—for instance, on a great tablet, of which we found only a part, and which is a dialogue between the king and the goddess, who makes his eulogy in words like the following: "I take in my hand the timbrel, and I celebrate thy coming forth, for thou hast multiplied the sacred things millions of times." There is no question that Rameses II. worked much in Bubastis, but in the way which best illustrates his personal character and the tendency of all his acts. An extraordinary vanity and self-conceit, a violent desire to dazzle his contemporaries by his display, and posterity by the immense number of constructions bearing his name, seems to have been the ruling power of his conduct during his long reign. In the second hall of Bubastis there are many colossal architraves where his cartouche is engraved in letters several feet high, but there is not one of them where an older inscription has not been cut out—sometimes the old signs are still visible. In one instance, very likely because something concealed the end of the stone, the workman did not take the trouble to erase completely, and at the end of the cartouche of Rameses II. appear the first letters of the name of User-tesen III. of the Twelfth dynasty.

There is no doubt that Bubastis was a place for which Rameses felt a special liking; he was anxious that the whole temple should appear as built by himself, from the great statues of Apepi at the entrance to the columns of the hypostyle hall at the western side. I do not believe that there is any other temple with so many statues bearing the name of Rameses II. as Bubastis. Undoubtedly they have not all been made for him; two of the finest which we discovered, both in black granite, were certainly not his portrait. One of them, which is complete, has been given to the Museum of Geneva; the head of the other, a fine piece of art, has gone to Sydney; none of them has any likeness to the well-known type of Rameses; they are kings of the Thirteenth or Fourteenth dynasty. Besides those statues, there were a great number in red granite, of various proportions, and standing in different parts of the building, which have merely an ornamental purpose; we are not to look for portraits on any of them. I spoke before of the four statues with crisp hair, one of which is in the British Museum. Another, now at Boulak, wears a fine head-dress called the *atef*, two feathers resting on the horns of a ram. There were also groups representing the king sitting with one or two gods; groups of that kind were

often put outside the entrance on each side of the road. Generally speaking, it is near the entrances that the statues were more abundant. A great many disappeared already in old times, or were broken in the destruction of the temple, which must have taken place between the Ramessides and the Bubastites; a large number of them were employed by Osorkon I. and Osorkon II. as building material when they repaired the temple.

The more we study the remains of Bubastis, the more we are convinced that the place must have been one of the favourite resorts of Rameses II., where he stayed repeatedly. Bubastis and Tanis were the two great cities of the Delta, and no doubt the court came frequently to both. Rameses was accompanied by his sons; one of them, Khaemuas, who had a high rank in the priesthood, and who was inspector of the temples, has recorded his visit to Bubastis on a statue of his father. We found also mention of two others who had military commands. One, whose statue is in Boston, was "first cavalry officer of his father, the chief of the horse of his majesty, Mentuhershepshef;" the other, Menephtah, who became the king of the Exodus, was at that time a general of infantry, and he appears several times on sculptures making offerings to the god Amon.

Not far from Bubastis was a foreign nation, which from a small tribe had grown to be a large multitude, and which had never amalgamated with the Egyptians. I have already alluded before to the vicinity of the land of Goshen, only a few miles distant; but the restricted limits of the original land had been broken through, and the Israelites must have spread in the south towards Heliopolis, and in the East in the Wadi Tumulât, the road through which foreign invaders would enter Egypt. One may well conceive that Rameses who, in spite of his outward show, must have felt how much his kingdom was weakened, grew rather anxious at the presence of a great number of strangers occupying the very gate of Egypt, and that he desired to turn their presence to a benefit for Egypt. Therefore he employed them to build fortresses destined to protect the land against invaders. The Exodus describes in the following way the fear which took hold of the king: "And he said unto his people: Behold, the people of Israel are more and mightier than we: come let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the land. Therefore, they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh store cities,

Pithom and Raamses" (Exodus i. 9-11). It was the result of my first campaign of excavation to discover the site of Pithom, not very far from the present city of Ismailiah; Raamses is not yet known; it is very likely between Pithom and Bubastis in the Wadi Tumulât. I cannot dwell at great length here on the events of the Exodus; yet I should like to mention that the successive discoveries made in the Delta have had the result of making the sacred narrative more comprehensible in many points, and especially in showing that the distances were much shorter than was generally thought. For instance, I consider it important to have established that Bubastis was a very large city and a favourite resort of the king and his family. It is quite possible that at the time when the events preceding the exodus took place, the king was at Bubastis, not at Tanis, as we generally believed.

Menephtah, the king of the Exodus, who is represented as general of infantry, also executed statues in the temple after he became king, but they are very much broken.

The Twentieth dynasty, the dynasty of the Ramessides, whose kings all bear the name of Rameses, is also represented at Bubastis. It is natural that the most powerful of them, Rameses III., should not be absent; but what is more interesting, we met with one of the later ones, who was thought to be an idle prince reigning only nominally, and entirely in the hands of his vizier, the high priest of Amon. For the first time monuments of Rameses VI. have been discovered in the Delta, showing that the power of the king still extended over the two parts of the country. I found three statues of this king: one of red granite of heroic size, standing, has been removed to the Boulak Museum; another, in black granite, is headless and is still on the spot. The kings of the Twentieth dynasty seem to have erected a construction of their own in the western part of the temple, a kind of entrance to the hypostyle hall.

After them, in the obscure period of the Twenty-first dynasty, the temple must have gone through great vicissitudes; I believe that for some reason which we do not know, perhaps in some war or rebellion of which no record has been left, it was destroyed and partly ruined. I said before that in my opinion the beautiful Hathor capitals of the hypostyle hall must be attributed to a period much more ancient than the Twenty-second dynasty. Several of these capitals have underneath, on the part which rested on the square pillow, a dedication to Bast, written by Osorkon I., a king of the Twenty-second dynasty. This dedication was not visible, and could not be

read, but it is a lasting record of the fact that Osorkon I. had done some work in connexion with these capitals. In the same way also Rameses II. put his name under the base of the obelisks he erected, in order that his memory should not perish altogether in case one of his successors should erase all the visible inscriptions of the sides. In my opinion, the inscription of Osorkon I. records, not that the king had these capitals sculptured, but that he raised them a second time, and he could not have done it if they had been standing, while if they were overthrown, and the temple was more or less in ruin, the fact is easily to be explained.

The Twenty-second dynasty is called by Manetho the dynasty of the Bubastites. It is most likely that these kings were strangers of Libyan origin; their family had the hereditary command of the guard of Libyan mercenaries, called the Ma or the Mashooash; and it is natural to suppose that it was with the aid of his foreign troops that Shishak, the first of the Bubastite rulers, succeeded in ascending the throne of Egypt. Shishak is well known as the successful enemy of Rehoboam; he conquered Jerusalem and pillaged its temples; he made great constructions at Thebes, but he does not seem to have done anything in what is considered as his native city. His name has been found only on a small fragment of limestone. The first king of the Bubastites who adorned the temple with fine sculptures is a king who was little known until now, Osorkon I. As I said before, very likely the temple was in ruins in his time; he rebuilt it, or at least he began doing so; he raised again the beautiful Hathor capitals, and went to work in the first hall, building up the walls and covering them with finely-carved sculptures, for which he used the material already on the spot, as one may judge from blocks engraved on both sides; which under Rameses II. were part of the basement, while under Osorkon I. they were at a certain height in the wall. I believe it was in his reign that a change took place in the dedication of the temple. Instead of being a place of worship for the great gods of Egypt, and chiefly for Set, of whom Rameses II. seems to have been a fervent adorer, it became the temple of Bast, the lion or cat-headed goddess, with her accompanying gods, Mahes or Nefertum, called her son, and Horheken, a special kind of Horus. I should think also that the religious custom of keeping cats in the temple and of burying them in holy ground dates from his reign. There is a considerable space in the mound of Tel Basta, which is nothing but a cemetery of cats, rectangular pits made of raw bricks, which are full of the bones of these animals, among which some bronzes have

been thrown, representing either cats or the god Nefertum, a god with a human form wearing as headdress a lotus-flower, over which are two feathers. The cemetery of cats has been known for many years to the fellaheen, who dug it out entirely, and supplied the dealers in Cairo with the bronze cats which fill their shops. I attempted this year an excavation in the cemetery; I was obliged to go very deep, as all the upper pits have been rifled; under such circumstances the digging is very ungrateful business, as the water and the salt have nearly destroyed the bronzes. I emptied several pits entirely full of bones, which are quite calcined, as they are the residue of bodies burnt in furnaces still visible close to the pits. It is incredible what an immense number of cats must have been burnt, judging from the number and the size of the pits. After many difficulties we succeeded in rescuing a few skulls, which are now in the hands of the illustrious naturalist, Dr. Virchow, of Berlin. It is very likely that the holy cat of Bubastis was not the ordinary domestic cat, but some larger animal of the feline tribe, either the wild cat or a kind of lynx.

Under Osorkon I. Egypt was not an impoverished country; we may judge of it from inscriptions which are unfortunately in a very bad state, but which are due to Osorkon I. Herodotus says that about three furlongs from the great temple, towards the east, is the temple of Hermes. I found the remains of it, a few scattered blocks in a clover-field, at a short distance out of the tell. I dug there several days; there is very little left: a large architrave, with a cartouche of Rameses II., and a great many fragments all bearing the name of Osorkon I. There are fragments of a large size, belonging to a long inscription, in which Osorkon I. relates the weights of silver and of *asem* (silver gilt) which he gave to several temples; and the large quantities which he mentions remind one of the considerable offerings made to the religious establishments in the time of the great prosperity of Egypt. I believe that this second temple was the treasury of the other, and that being, as were all treasuries and libraries, under the protection of Hermes Thoth, it was taken by Herodotus for a temple of Hermes.

Osorkon I. did not finish the rebuilding of the temple, and it was Osorkon II. who completed it, and who worked chiefly in the second hall. This part of the building seems to have suffered most grievously in the destruction which I presume to have taken place before the accession of the Bubastites to the throne of Egypt. When we began rolling the blocks of the enormous heap which marked the site of the hall, nearly

every one of them was found to be a fragment of a statue, or of a group which had been cut up, sometimes partly erased and afterwards walled in; one of the sides being flattened in order to engrave on it the sculptures of Osorkon II. Most of these fragments bear the name of Rameses II. Sometimes the remains of the old statue are in a fair state of preservation, such as, for instance, the block which has been given to the Museum of Liverpool, where there is on one side a very good head of Rameses; on the other, a sculpture of the sacred boat in which the emblem of Amon was carried; the piece of statue was used simply as building material, for when it was walled in, the head was turned upside down. Sometimes also we come across the feet of a colossal statue; on the base, what would be under the feet, if the statue were standing, there are sculptures of Osorkon. I do not believe all this wanton destruction was done by Osorkon intentionally; although he usurped a good number of the cartouches of Rameses, I cannot fancy that it was he who broke such a great number of statues, while he respected others bearing also the name of Rameses. I presume that the Bubastites found the temple in a state of ruin, and that they made use of what they found on the spot, leaving intact the statues which had not suffered any damage, and taking what was broken for their building, instead of fetching granite blocks all the way from Assooan. Osorkon II. was also a king very little known. I had already discovered some constructions of his at Pithom. At Bubastis he recorded one of the principal events of his life, a great festival given in the temple in the 22nd year of his reign, on the 1st of the month of Choiak. It is extraordinary that the festival is not given in the honour of Bast, but of Amon. It is evidently an old tradition which Osorkon had to follow, something which "took place since the days of his father," as he says in the inscription. It was very likely for the purpose of this festival that he re-built the second hall to which he gave the name of the "festive hall." The walls are covered with sculptures representing the scenes of the festival; unfortunately, although every block on which there was an inscription or a sculpture has been stamped or photographed, it will never be possible to make a connected description of it. The king is generally represented as a god; he sits in a sanctuary, the goddess Bast is standing before him, or he has with him his queen, Karoama, as may be seen on a large sculpture now in the British Museum. Sometimes they are accompanied by three of their daughters, whose names are given. The gods of Egypt are supposed to be present at the festival, and there are long series of them

standing each in his shrine. The priests, of whom there are a great variety, carry offerings of fishes and birds, vases,—very likely of precious metals,—or sacred standards. Sometimes they seem to execute dances, sometimes they lie quite flat on the ground, sometimes also they are accompanied by ugly dwarfs. The emblem of Amon is in his sacred boat, and is carried on the shoulders of the priests, and the king himself is sometimes borne on a litter. It is not impossible that this great festival, which, as I said, was based on an old tradition, had something to do with the calendar. Though he celebrated it in honour of Amon, Osorkon II., who in his cartouche calls himself the son of Bast, completed the dedication of the temple to the goddess; it was he who erased the name of Set, where it was still visible, and replaced it by Mahes, as it is seen on several of the columns. He had also a great desire to inscribe his name as often as possible, for it is met with nearly as often as Rameses II.

I do not insist on monuments of small importance of the Twenty-fourth and the Twenty-sixth dynasties. The most western hall, and the largest, was built by the first king of the Thirtieth dynasty,—Nekhthorheb,—the last king of the last native dynasty. In spite of the long wars which they had to wage against the Persians, the princes of the Thirtieth dynasty, said to be Sebennytes, have left us very large and important constructions, especially in the Delta. They seem to have taken as the object of their imitation the kings of the Twelfth dynasty; under their reign there is a revival of Egyptian art which is quite marvellous, and they have left us monuments which can be compared only to the works of the best period. The decoration of the western hall was not finished, but, in order to show that it was to Bast that it was dedicated, Nekhthorheb changed his cartouche, and, instead of calling himself son of Isis, as everywhere else, he is styled son of Bast. The most beautiful part of the hall was the shrine of red granite, which was at the end. Three fragments of it are now in the British Museum; the religious sculptures which cover them are of the most exquisite workmanship, and were worthy of the beautiful temple in which the shrine was deposited.

If we add to this long catalogue of monuments two Greek inscriptions referring to statues being erected by two higher officials of the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, we shall have reached the lower limit of the period over which extend the annals of Bubastis, such as we recovered them in the excavations. We are able now to trace some of the principal events in the history of the city and the country during 3,500 years,



from Cheops down to the Macedonian kings, and we have found inscribed on statues or on the walls of the temple the names of twenty-six kings, one of whom, one Raian or Ian-ra, was absolutely unknown; besides, we have now in several museums monuments of great value, some of which, like the large statue of Apepi in the British Museum, are quite unique.

Such is the net result of a work of about six months on a spot which was thought to be absolutely exhausted, and where nothing was said to remain. This instance shows how many treasures lie still hidden in the soil of Egypt; there are even large historical cities where no serious exploration has ever been made. It is dangerous to play the prophet in matters of excavation; but who knows what may be concealed in many mounds of the Delta or of Upper Egypt, which it would be easy to name? There are still great gaps in the history of Egypt, which we hope to fill up some day, and the work of excavation is far from being closed. I trust that in relating what has been done at Bubastis I may have kindled in your minds a desire that more should be done in that way; and I beg to be allowed to warmly recommend to your interest and to your practical support the work of Egyptian Exploration.

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## DISCUSSION.

THE great meeting of the Victoria Institute at which M. Naville read his paper, was held July 5, 1889. The paper was illustrated by the author's photographs, shown by limelight; at its conclusion:—

THE PRESIDENT (Sir George G. Stokes, Bart., M.P., P.R.S.) said:— I have now to ask you to return your thanks to Monsieur Naville for his most interesting paper, although you may be said to have already returned them by anticipation in the applause with which the paper has been received from its opening to its conclusion.

M. NAVILLE expressed his thanks for his cordial reception and the way in which his paper had been received.

SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B., D.C.L., heartily congratulated M. Naville on the splendid results of his labours; for himself he sought to support Egyptian exploration and the Egyptian Exploration Fund with all the influence he possessed.

MR. REGINALD STUART POOLE, LL.D. (British Museum), said he was extremely gratified at being invited to listen to the most learned and cautious paper he had ever heard from a discoverer. M. Naville's great merit was that he never took one beyond the point to which he himself could safely go, and whenever he had differed from him he had felt perfectly sure that he was wrong and M. Naville right.

MR. T. H. BAYLIS, Q.C., spoke of the importance of Egyptian exploration, and Mr. W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN added some remarks.

AFTER a letter from Major CONDER, R.E., had been read, in which he drew attention to the important light M. Naville's researches threw on ~~our knowledge of~~ the history of the ancient peoples of the East.

The President, members, and their guests adjourned to the Museum, where refreshments were served.





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## HERODOTUS IN EGYPT.

IN a paper (XIV, p. 257 of this Journal) Mr Sayce maintains three theses :

1. That Herodotus arrived in Egypt by Canopus when the inundation was at such a height as to allow him to "sail through the plain" by Naucratis to Memphis, making an excursion to Sais; that "he *must always* have travelled by water, and had no need of following the windings of the river, or the angles of the canals" (p. 261); that the inundation still prevailed so as to determine his course when he visited the Pyramids from Memphis, and when he went to the Fayoum (p. 282); and moreover that though he never did visit Thebes yet had he done so it must of necessity have been at a time when "Karnac with its lofty obelisks and hall of gigantic columns, the Ramesseum with its monstrous image of Ramses, *shattered by earthquake* [how does he know this?], Medinet Aboo not yet buried under the mounds of a Coptic village, all alike would have stood at the edge of the water and forced themselves on the attention of the most incurious traveller: and the Colossi of the temple of Amenophis would have risen out of the flood in grim majesty."

2. That he never went south of the neighbourhood of the Fayoum. 3. That, arriving at Memphis, "after inspecting the great temple of Ptah there, *first* visiting its northern entrance and then *walking round it from east to west*, he went by water to Gizeh in order to see the Pyramids; an expedition which would not have occupied more than a day; and this was followed by a voyage southward, past Dashur, to Anysis or Heracleopolis, and thence to the Fayoum. He then returned to Memphis, and either now, or more probably on his first visit, made an excursion

to Heliopolis"; and eventually, visiting Bubastis and Buto, and the valley of the winged serpents on his way, reached either Naucratis or Pelusium, and thence made his trip to Tyre (p. 285).

Mr Sayce does not tell us what conclusion he would draw from these facts if established. But we shall not be wronging him, if we take this paper as an appendix to his *Herodotus, Books I—III*, to which he refers without any retractations, and as meant to enforce his opinion of the worthlessness of the author. At least, the sneer with which he prefaces the paper shews what that opinion is. He has found some Greek *graffiti* on the walls of the temple of Seti at Abydos "ranging in date from the beginning of the sixth century B.C.," and therefore covering the times of both Hecatæus and Herodotus. And, making no application to the former author, for whom he has expressed much admiration, he observes "it would seem to be a moral certainty that Herodotus followed the fashion of his countrymen and helped to deface the monuments of Egypt like the British tourist of modern times." Has then Mr Sayce followed the fashion of his own countrymen in this particular? If not, what is the distinction he would have us draw between his own character and that of Herodotus? But without further discussion of his motives, I proceed to his arguments.

The absence of Herodotus' handwriting at Abydos is, I presume (though out of place), intended as a step towards proving the second thesis—*valeat quantum*. He proceeds, "if however we can no longer expect to find [his handwriting] it is yet possible to determine *from the words of his narrative* the route he followed, and the extent of his travels."

This sentence gives a fundamentally erroneous impression of the character of Book II, and the error affects the whole argument. The only narrative in it is in the first chapter, "Cambyses invaded Egypt"; and it is resumed in the first chapter of Book III, "It was against this Amasis that Cambyses marched." What intervenes is a description of the country, and an account of what Herodotus thought most interesting in the institutions, manners, and history of the people. He incidentally, here and there, mentions that he visited this and that place—Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, an Eastern valley—and went up the Nile as

far as Elephantine: he speaks of what he saw or heard at Sais, Buto, Bubastis, and elsewhere: and he describes scenes in other places as a man would who has seen them. But there is no sequence of time and place, as belonging to *travels*, in these notices; and nothing at all of the guide-book kind. He indicates the plan of his book clearly enough, though he was not the man to stick very closely to any plan. The first four chapters concern the origin and early civilization of the race; then follow 30 chapters on the geology and geography; then 64 on manners, religion, and institutions, in which his conviction that Egypt was the teacher of Greece in these matters is strongly brought out; then follows the ancient history as delivered by the "Egyptians" and the "priests," in 48 chapters, almost every sentence beginning "They say that..." And the rest is the modern history, from the epoch of what the Greeks called the Dodecarchy, which we know to have been the time of the breaking up of the native rule by the inroads of Ethiopians and Assyrians, down to the conquest by the Persians.

Neither is there the least indication that he thought himself (as Mr Sayce alleges, p. 262) "specially concerned to describe the great monuments of Egypt." I doubt whether he mentions a single building except in connexion with some historical personage, incident or custom; though, no doubt, when he is thus brought to speak of it in its historical connexion, he sometimes enlarges upon what struck him as wonderful or curious in it. Of the temple, or rather the whole *τέμενος*, at Bubastis, "than which there are others bigger and more costly, but none more pleasant to look at," he gives a picturesque description: the Pyramids in their massive simplicity and the Labyrinth in its curious complexity unlike any other buildings he had seen, are described in detail: but of the ordinary temple architecture we have no notice,—only mention of monolith shrines, obelisks, and colossal statues; the wall sculptures are merely "remarkable<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Herodotus would have assented to Strabo's observations on some "Hall of columns" at Memphis: *ἔστι δέ τις καὶ πολύστυλος οἶκος, καθάπερ ἐν Μέμφει, βαρβαρικὴν ἔχων τὴν παρα-*

*σκευήν. Πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ μεγάλων εἶναι καὶ πολυστήλων τῶν στύλων οὐδὲν ἔχει χαρίεν οὐδὲ γραφικόν, ἀλλὰ ματαιοποιίαν ἐμφαίνει μᾶλλον.*

However, from a book thus planned Mr Sayce proceeds to pick out dispersed sentences and thence to deduce the substance of a traveller's diary, prefacing: "Before we make the attempt it is necessary to ascertain *the season at which he paid his visit.*"

Here is an assumption with no attempt at proof, that Herodotus was in Egypt during one season only; so that if he can adduce a single sentence indicating acquaintance with the appearances of the inundation, it is to be taken as a proof that he saw nothing more. And here, according to Mr Sayce, is that sentence, taken from the very close of the third portion (as I have divided it) of the Book (c. 97), which he thus renders: "He describes the appearance of the Delta at the time of the inundation, in words which none but an eye-witness could have used...the *traveller* sails not along the river, but through the plain. At this season...*he* leaves the sea and Canopus behind him, and *after* passing Anthylla and Archandria reaches Naucratis. In going from Naucratis to Memphis *he* has to pass by the Pyramids instead of the apex of the Delta."

The passage is torn from its context, and dislocated and mistranslated so as to produce the impression that "the traveller" means Herodotus: Mr Sayce uses it (p. 261, last paragraph) as "implying" this conclusion. Restoring the context and the true order and meaning, the passage stands thus. Herodotus has just described "in words which none but an eye-witness could have used," the ordinary course of inland navigation with barges of considerable tonnage, not adapted for sailing against the stream unless with a strong favourable wind, but towed from the banks; with equipments, however, fitted for taking full advantage of the current when floating down it. And then he adds "But *when the Nile overflows the country*, the towns stand out as the islands in the Aegean Sea...So, when this is the case *they carry on their traffic—πορθμείονται*—no longer along the stream of the river, but through the middle of the plain. Going from Naucratis [not from the sea] to Memphis one sails close by the Pyramids, whereas the usual course is not this, but by the apex of the Delta *and by Cercasorus* [which words are strangely omitted by Mr Sayce]: and when sailing from the sea and Canopus to Naucratis you will come by Anthylla, &c." There

is no question of a "traveller" coming from the sea to Memphis. It is a fair conjecture—nothing more—that Herodotus may have been at Naucratis when he could witness these vessels arriving and departing in these unusual courses. But Mr Sayce himself allows that Herodotus may have been there twice—coming and going (p. 286); and there is no reason why he should not have spent months there among his countrymen the "Ionians" (cf. cap. 178).

This is Mr Sayce's main argument to prove that Herodotus "*always* travelled by water"! He attempts to support it by some others. Having omitted the mention of Cercasorus in the above passage, he goes on: "It is noticeable that the city of Cercasorus at the apex of the Delta does not seem to have been visited by Herodotus himself, since in chap. 15 his reference to it is stated to have been derived from 'the Ionians.'" This is adduced as a further proof that Herodotus went from Naucratis to Memphis in the flood, and so never passed that way.

In this chap. 15 Herodotus merely states, in order to controvert, the opinion of the Ionians (whom I take to be rather the Naucradians than Hecatæus) that "the Delta alone constitutes Egypt, alleging that its coast line is from the watch-tower of Perseus to the Pelusiatic salt-works, and that it extends inland as far as Cercasorus where the Nile parts and runs to Pelusium and Canobus." He might as well argue that Herodotus only heard of the two ports from the Ionians!

Then he adduces what he calls a misstatement which Herodotus could never have made had he seen the country about Naucratis in its normal state. In chap. 179 he says that, "of old, if any trader arrived at any other mouth of the Nile than the Canobic, he had to swear it was involuntarily, and then to proceed with his ship to the Canobic mouth, or if prevented by adverse winds, he must unship his cargo into Nile boats and carry it round the Delta to Naucratis." To this Mr Sayce objects, firstly that it is inconsistent with the former statement about the course of navigation in flood-time. He does not say how: and I cannot see it. He adds "as Naucratis was more than 50 miles from the sea and not on the Canobic arm of the Nile, this would have been an impossible feat." Now the second of these alternatives

was neither impossible nor difficult on his own shewing. For he says, referring to Mr Petrie's discovery of the site, that there was a canal passing by the town which "ran from Lake Mareotis to the Kanopic arm of the Nile, which it joined south of the modern Kafr-*ez-Zaiyât*": so that the cargo, after passing upwards from the mouth at which it had arrived to the apex of the Delta, would descend the Canobic arm till it reached the junction, and then proceed by the canal. And as to the first alternative, does not Mr Sayce himself tell us that Herodotus "arrived like other Greeks of his age at the mouth of the Kanopic arm of the Nile, and...made his way to Naucratis"? Mr Petrie does not say the navigable canal debouched into Lake Mareotis; and if it did, there cannot be a doubt but what Naucratis communicated somehow with the river which was, as Mr Petrie holds, a couple of miles off. To give no other proof: Pliny (cited by Mr Petrie) says some called the Canobic mouth "the Naucratic". I am however not convinced by his argument that Strabo did not *see* the town "on his left"—the *Eastern* bank of the river<sup>1</sup>.

Having thus satisfied himself that Herodotus never saw the soil of Egypt below Memphis except in the towns, Mr Sayce "passes from the Delta to the country above it," as follows: "In c. 18 he states that the Nile overflows not only the Delta but also some parts of the western and eastern banks of the river *to the south of the Delta* for a distance of two days' journey on either side, more or less." And he argues that there is only one place in the upper valley of which this is true, to wit the Fayoum, and that therefore the words "some parts" have been inserted by Herodotus at a venture without knowledge, which both proves that he saw that district in flood-time, and also helps to prove the second thesis, that he never went further. And with this second object he repeats the statement (p. 270), adding, "though he does not express himself very clearly, he must here be referring to the banks south of the Delta, *since the desert on either side of the Delta was not*

<sup>1</sup> I have it from Mr Petrie himself that, at present and subject to further investigation on the spot, he thinks

his "canal" communicated with the river at Damanhur, or perhaps somewhat further to the south.



*inundated.*" He does express himself clearly; and does refer to the Delta.

In this particular instance there would have been some excuse for Mr Sayce's neglect of the context if he had not edited this Book II. For in the old editions (such as I have seen) this passage is placed at the beginning of c. 19, which discusses the causes of the inundation, instead of concluding, as it ought, c. 18 which closes the argument against the "Ionians" about the true boundaries of the Egyptian territory. Gaisford (and may be others) had perceived the true connexion; and so, while retaining the place of the chapter in the margin, spaces his text so as to shew the sense. And Mr Sayce (whether following some other editor or not) makes the change complete, and here cites the passage as from c. 18. And yet he misses the meaning.

He might have gathered from c. 15, on which I have already remarked, that the Ionians and Herodotus meant by the Delta the  $\Delta$  formed by the coast line and the two outermost arms of the river, and if he consults Strabo and Ptolemy he will find that this continued to be the meaning of the word down to the latest Greek times: the flat alluvial country on either side did not belong to the Delta. Herodotus therefore alleges against his opponents that the Ammonian Oracle had told the inhabitants of Marea and Apis—living west of the Delta in the neighbourhood of Lake Mareotis and claiming to be Libyans and free from the restraints of Egyptian ritual—that "Egypt is the country which the Nile waters; and those are Egyptians who live below Elephantine and drink Nile water." Now, says Herodotus, the Nile flood reaches over not the Delta only but part of what is called Libyan and Arabian soil. The inhabitants of Marea and Apis would not have been silenced by being told that the Fayoum was part of Egypt. I imagine the "two days journey" includes some of the side valleys: but I am not concerned with the accuracy of the estimate.

And so end the arguments intended to prove that both the Delta and the Fayoum were under water all the time of Herodotus' visit. That the intermediate country about Memphis was seen in the same season would naturally follow. But

Mr Sayce adduces a further argument from the fact that no mention is made of the Sphinx, "that wonder of Greek travellers of a later date." This, he conceives, implies that Herodotus never saw it; which again implies that he must have reached the Pyramid platform by a certain canal, from the ascent above which he might have seen enough of each of the Pyramids and yet have avoided facing the Sphinx; which again implies that there was water in the canal; which finally implies that it was flood-time. Such books and indexes as I have by me do not point to this wonder of the later Greeks. Strabo, at least, gives a full description of the platform without noticing the Sphinx. Why then should Herodotus do so, when he omits the mention of so much else? I suppose his guide had no good story to tell about it.

I have dwelt at such length on this first thesis, not because I think it could not be refuted more briefly from internal evidence of a longer stay in Egypt, but because my main object in this paper is to shew by what kind of reasoning and suggestion of non-existent facts it is that, not the accuracy, but the honesty of Herodotus is persistently assailed.

I now come to the second thesis, in which the real issue is—Did Herodotus lie when he said he went to Thebes and saw the course of the Nile upwards as far as Elephantine?

"South of the Delta he visited Memphis and the Fayoum. Did he penetrate further? Greek scholars who have not been in Egypt answer 'yes.' Egyptian travellers answer 'no.' Let us consider why they do so."

Egyptian travellers now count by the thousand, and no doubt many of them carry their Herodotus with them. How many of any note have given a deliberate and reasoned answer either way? Or does Mr Sayce represent the wisdom of them all?

Mr Sayce started this will-o'-the-wisp of Herodotus' lie in his book with a notion that it was a very grand exploit for a Greek to get as far as Thebes: one which Hecatæus had achieved, but of which Herodotus was incapable; wherefore he contrived dishonestly to make his readers believe he had done so. But, besides that the Edinburgh Reviewer (April, 1884) has shewn

that this rivalry is a mere imagination, Mr Sayce has now cut the ground away from his own feet by shewing that no credit attached to the performance, whether in the fifth or even in the sixth century. Crowds of Greeks, it seems, of that class who sought to have their fortunes told reached the Oracle at Abydos: and if they could get so far beyond "the Egypt into which the Greeks sail" (p. 269), why not as much further as their business or curiosity invited them?

This motive failing, was it a desire to make his account of Egypt as complete as he could and to take credit for it as a result of his own observations?

But this is just what Mr Sayce observes that he has not done: "whereas he is full of information about the Delta and the Fayoum, his references to Upper Egypt are scanty and meagre; and the only towns he mentions are Khemmis, Neapolis, Thebes, and Elephantine" (p. 267).

And yet nothing could have been easier. There were plenty of dragomen (as Mr Sayce always calls them!) at Naucratis itself, at Memphis, and elsewhere who could have given him names and some description of the wonders of that region. And Herodotus himself lets us know (why did he not conceal it?), and Mr Sayce himself observes, that there were in many places (Naucratis for one, in Mr Petrie's opinion) "priests" *οἱ Διὸς Θηβαίους ἱδρυνται ἰπόν*, from whom he did no doubt obtain some—may be most—of the information he gives about the religious customs of Thebes; and might have obtained more, and something about the buildings. That he tells us so much more of Lower than of Upper Egypt is a very good argument to prove that, contrary to Mr Sayce's contention, he spent a considerable time in the former, and only made a hasty visit to the latter country. This seems to me the only fair inference.

And when we examine the passages in which he speaks of his having been to Thebes or elsewhere up the Nile, we find that they occur quite incidentally and naturally in reference to the particular matter in hand, with no prominence given to the voyage itself, and with no apparent sense of pride about it.

In c. 3 he tells us he got much information at Memphis, and so betook himself to Thebes and Heliopolis (both places renowned for learning) to test it; and then gives us a summary of the points on which all agreed<sup>1</sup>. If he claims any special credit it is for his careful sifting of tradition; just as when he went to Tyre and Thasos—whither many other Greeks went for other purposes—to test the stories about Hercules.

The next allusion is in cc. 55, 56, where in the course of a long account of the religion and rites of Egypt and of the points of resemblance with those of Greece (which he firmly believed derived from them), he gives the legend of the foundation of the Oracle of Dodona. Mr Sayce contends that "Herodotus *carefully avoids saying* that he heard in Thebes what 'the priests of the Theban Zeus' said about it." But why should he care either to say or to avoid saying this? The point of interest with him was the assurance he conceived he had got at head-quarters of the derivation of the Greek from the Egyptian Oracle: "About Oracles in Egypt and in Greece this is the Egyptian account. The priests of the Theban Zeus *said*..... and when *I asked* how they knew, they answered..... So much I heard from the priests in Thebes: and this is what the prophetesses at Dodona say.... And this is my conclusion." Is there any indication that he was thinking of doubts that might arise in any mind about his having been at Thebes?

The third occasion is in c. 143. It is part of a long discussion running through five chapters, in which he urges the facts of Egyptian history, as he understood them, against the Greek belief in pedigrees traced through a few generations up to a god: "Egyptian history shews a lapse of over 11,000 years, during which the sun four times changed its places of rising and setting (probably a misunderstanding of some astronomical

<sup>1</sup> If any one accepts Mr Sayce's interpretation of *ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν ἐτραπέμην* (p. 274)—"he turned into," with the comment "Thebes was too far away from Memphis to turn into it" [as one turns into bed, I suppose]—he must surely allow that Herodotus did not mean

to make much of the feat! But this is only *ad hominem*. As usual also he mistakes the context. Herodotus did not go to Thebes "to enquire about the linguistic experiment" of Psammetichus, but about "other things." And he *does* tell the result.

theory—may be an exaggeration of the phenomena of the Precession of the Equinoxes); and yet no change in the order of things on earth or among living things, and a succession of men born in natural course with no god intervening. And in proof of this they shewed me, as they had done to Hecatæus, 340 and odd statues, ranged in order, of priests who had succeeded each other from father to son; each statue made in the life-time of the person represented.” Such is the substance of what he says. Whether he meant to banter Hecatæus on his pedigree or not must depend upon the tone in which Hecatæus himself (as I suppose) told the story—with a smile, or a look of offended dignity. I hope the former; for he appears to have been a sceptic or a rationalist from the first sentence of his *Genealogies*—οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν. And these, I think, are the only passages where Herodotus alludes to his presence at Thebes. Some general statements there are about Upper Egypt which seem meant to give the results of his own observations on the spot. And as to these, in the absence of any signs of fraud and of any conceivable motive for it, the question—if there is a question—must be whether the inaccuracies or mis-statements that can be pointed out are such as to be inconceivable as the result of haste, carelessness, imperfect memory, and other human infirmity of this kind. And to shew how far such causes may operate, I will take the case of Mr Sayce himself. When he published his *Herodotus*, had he been as far as Thebes? In his preface he says “with the exception of Babylonia and Persia there is hardly a country or *site mentioned* by Herodotus which I have not visited.” Taking this in connexion with other passages where he speaks of Thebes and other places up the river in the tone of a man who has seen them, I think a commentator 2000 years hence will be justified in saying he “wishes his readers to believe” he had been so far. And yet he tells us (note 4 to II. c. 122) that there is a “representation of Ramses III. seated at draughts with a woman of the harem, which holds a *prominent place on the outer wall* of the Palace at Medinet Abu”! Now (as Mr Sayce or the commentator would say) “no one who has

actually seen" the representation in the inner corner of an upper chamber of the palace "could have said" it is prominent on an outer wall. And if the commentator is bent on making a charge of unverity he will be at no loss for an assignable motive. Mr Sayce suggests that the story of Rhampsinitus' dice-playing in Hades, as given by Herodotus, is of Grecian origin, and was suggested by this scene. Now a Greek would not be likely to have penetrated into that chamber, but might have seen any thing on the outer wall!

Did Mr Sayce trust to his *dragomen*?

Before further examining the charges of inaccuracy made against Herodotus with reference to their weight in this question of veracity, it will be well to enquire what were, most probably, the circumstances under which he made the voyage, if he did make it. And I think we have some material. In the Ptolemaic and subsequent times, we know that the Greeks had come to translate the names of all or most of the important towns in Egypt into their own language; and these names have subsisted in literature up to quite recent times. But in the history of Herodotus, and therefore presumably at Naucratis and among the Greek population generally, the process had only reached (if I am not mistaken) Hermopolis Parva (not Magna as Mr Sayce twice writes it) on the Canobic arm, near the coast and Naucratis; Heliopolis always the resort of learned strangers; and Elephantine—the "ivory-island" as Brugsch in one place calls it, that is, I suppose, the mart for ivory and other southern produce (and certainly there was never room for many elephants there). Other Greek names—Naucratis and Neapolis—belonged to towns which apparently never had native names and were trading stations from the first—or else, if old towns, were renamed, on their becoming such. Of Naucratis we know the history. If Neapolis be Kenh (*καινή πόλις* in Ptolemy) it probably grew up as a rival to Coptos in the trade through the mining district and to the Red Sea; lying probably more convenient to the river traffic (Ptolemy calls Coptos "inland"; that is away from the river bank). I conclude that these were the towns with which Greeks had most relations, whether of residence or of traffic.

And I therefore conclude that there was Greek trade with, if not residence in, Neapolis and Elephantine in the time of Herodotus, and probably not much elsewhere. It is true he speaks of "the Egypt which the Greeks navigate," meaning Lower, or at most Middle Egypt; and Mr Sayce says, but as usual with no references, that it is otherwise known that "Greek ships did not sail further south" in those days. But he also tells us they had no difficulty in getting to Abydos. They may have used Egyptian or Persian bottoms; or they may have travelled by land in caravans. Now we have seen that the only towns in Upper Egypt which Herodotus mentions, besides Thebes, for which alone (as he tells us) he made the journey, are these two, Neapolis and Elephantine, and "Chemmis" (of which more anon), which is described as "near Neapolis." It seems to me probable that, wishing to have an interview with the priests at Thebes, he joined some trading party, travelling by water or by land, which was bound to these places, for the trip up and down again. The visit to the Labyrinth and Lake Moeris may or may not have been on this occasion<sup>1</sup>. Otherwise he would seem to have kept entirely on the Arabian bank; and so Mr Sayce is still at liberty to think he would have scratched his name on the wall at Abydos had he had the opportunity. It also makes it quite likely that his visit to Thebes, both going and coming, may have been short and need not have extended to the western suburb. So that Mr Sayce's difficulty in conceiving the possibility of Herodotus having seen it and not describing it is minimized by this hypothesis.

But Mr Sayce makes much of the blunder of describing "Chemmis" as "near Neapolis." And if Neapolis be Keneh—which no one seems to doubt—it is a blunder. The towns are over 80 miles apart, with two towns lying between them on the same side of the river, big enough to be mentioned by Ptolemy. Mr Sayce does not think it a mere chance shot of Herodotus wishing to fill up his canvas with imaginary details;

<sup>1</sup> He speaks as one of a party in this visit, "we saw," and "we speak of what we saw." Does he ever else-

where use the plural as of himself? It suits the hypothesis that it was an excursion with others from Memphis.

but he insists that what he tells of Chemmis is what some wandering Chemmites endowed with strong imaginations told him at Memphis or elsewhere in Lower Egypt, and that in placing it near Neapolis (obviously taken as well-known, by name at least, to Greeks at all acquainted with Egypt), "he *must* have been led astray by that foreshortening of distances which is *inevitable* in geographical information *derived at second hand*."

I am quite unable to accept this psychological law. But supposing it true, how does it account for these Chemmites describing the position of their native town by such a reference? How came they to think of Neapolis? Moreover, if Herodotus did not see what he describes, he lies by insinuation as assuredly as he does if he was never at Thebes. Mr Sayce is as ingenious here in exonerating Herodotus from responsibility, as he is elsewhere in fixing it upon him.

As usual, he takes no notice of the context.

In c. 91, towards the close of his account of Egyptian manners and customs, Herodotus says: "They eschew Grecian, and indeed all foreign customs. At least all others do, but there is a large town, Chemmis, of the Thebaic nome, near Neapolis. Here there is a quadrangular *ἰρόν* of Perseus the son of Danae. Round it grow palm-trees. The *πρόπυλα* of the *ἰρόν* are of stone and very large, and upon them stand two large statues. And *in this enclosure* [this must refer to *ἰρόν*; so that here *ἰρόν* is equivalent to enclosure, or *τέμενος*] there is a *νηός*, and in it stands an image of Perseus. The Chemmites tell"—a legend about Perseus haunting the district and leaving his monstrous shoe behind him, and the luck it brings—"This is their tale, and they celebrate games in his honour in Grecian fashion, and when I asked why, they said...." Can anything be clearer than that he means us to understand that he saw the *ἰρόν* and asked the questions on the spot?

But Mr Sayce says no such sight can have been seen: "It certainly corresponded to no fact....The propylæa of an Egyptian temple were lofty....Statues never stood upon them...it would have contravened the primary rules of Egyptian sacred architecture." And he adds something quite unintelligible to me:



“Had they done so however, they would have been visible far and near; so that in affirming their existence Herodotus implies that his account was taken at second hand”!

But Herodotus is professedly telling of a place where Egyptian rules were not observed.

Nor is there anything in the description suggesting an Egyptian rather than any other style of sacred building. The *ίρόν* as I have pointed out is a *τέμενος*, the *πρόπυλα* any kind of gateway on which statues could stand (everywhere else Herodotus uses the word *προπύλαια* for the special Egyptian gate and towers), and the *νηός* a shrine or chapel big enough to hold the image of the god or saint (which would be equally unorthodox according to Strabo xvii. 1, sec. 28). There is an exactly parallel passage in the account of Babylon i. 181: a *ίρόν τετράγωνον* with brazen gates; within, the eight-staged tower of Belus; and his *νηός* at the top.

There remains then that Herodotus says that the town where all this was to be seen was near Neapolis and was called Chemmis; both which facts cannot be true. Is it not the obvious and most probable explanation that his memory failed him, when he wrote, as to the name of the town? I can think of no other which has any plausibility; and it is surely not an unlikely thing, if he made no note at the time and wrote long after.

The nearest large town, on the same side of the river, was Coptos. While his companions were trafficking at Neapolis he could spend a short day in visiting it; or he might precede them and be picked up on their way upwards. This alone suggests that Coptos was the town in question. But, besides, it was, together with the neighbouring passes to the Red Sea, as much under the patronage of the god Khem as was Chemmis itself (*Brugsch, History, English Translation* i. 133, 134): so that there is little difficulty in conceiving how Coptos and Chemmis may have been confounded in Herodotus' memory. And it may be added that Coptos, as connected of old with Eastern commerce, was a more likely place than any other in Upper Egypt to have admitted or adopted foreign worships. Nor is it, perhaps, irrelevant to observe that it appears to have

been the residence of two Persian governors throughout the reigns of Cambyses and Darius and part of that of Artaxerxes (*Brugsch* II. 212). They acknowledged Khem as their patron; but one may imagine there may have been enough of Persian air about the place to favour the notion—however suggested—that Perseus, the eponymous hero of the race, was the occupier of the shrine. Whether this is the true explanation of the blunder or not, it seems to me much more plausible than Mr Sayce's: and if it is accepted it involves the admission that Herodotus was there.

However he is certainly incorrect in his description of the physical character of Upper Egypt; though here also Mr Sayce misquotes so as to make the case stronger. At p. 296 he says: "He adds that the country above the Fayoum is *similar to that below it*. Now no one who has actually sailed there [we do not know whether he sailed or went by land and over the hills] could have said that the country resembled the Delta in any respect *even in the inundation.*" What he does say is that the upper country is equally *ἐπικτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, which Mr Sayce does not deny, and which would be not less but more obvious in the time of low Nile.

But at p. 270 we get the only weighty case of incorrectness. In the description of Egypt at the commencement of the book (c. 8) he says that above Heliopolis Egypt is narrow "being confined between two ranges of hills for about 4 days' journey"; and then adds "after this it is wide again."

Now I cannot attach so much importance as Mr Sayce seems to do to these specific measurements. As they stand, whether as to Upper or Lower Egypt, they appear to me inconsistent not only with the facts, but with themselves. As regards those given in stadia we learn from Strabo that the schænus, which Herodotus took as 60 stadia, varied locally from 30 to 40 or more in the Delta, and (as he found it stated by Artemidorus) was 120 in Middle Egypt (!), and only in the Thebais (so far as his information went) 60 stadia; *Strabo* XVII. cap. I, secs. 24 and 41. So that this seems a case in which Herodotus is more correct for the Thebais than for the country below. And as regards measures by time every one with any experience knows

how untrustworthy they are in general; and of all such measurements I suppose days' journeys up the Nile against stream must be the vaguest. Add to this the liability of figures to alteration by transcribers, and the personal liability of Herodotus, admitted by the Edinburgh Reviewer, to slips in sums of addition, and it seems to me unsafe to expend much critical sagacity in this direction.

But taking the statement broadly to mean that at some point in the ascent of the river the valley changes its general character and from "narrow" may be said to become "wide," it is not such an account as an observant traveller at his ease on the deck of his dahabeeah, setting down his impressions while fresh, might be expected to make. And yet Strabo, who was in this condition, and a geographer by profession, could sum up the physical character of the valley thus: *ἡ ποταμία ἐστὶν Αἴγυπτος ἡ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ Νείλου, σπάνιον εἶ που τριακοσίων σταδίων ἐπέχουσα συνεχῶς πλάτος τὸ οἰκήσιμον*—rarely if anywhere 35 miles broad; while Mr Poole (*Encyc. Brit. Egypt*, p. 705) having, no doubt, maps and measurements at hand, gives a maximum breadth of some 13 miles! So little are eye estimates to be trusted. From another passage in Herodotus (c. 11) one may infer that he would be content with Strabo's estimate, or even less; for he compares the Nile valley with that of the Gulf of Suez, "half a day's journey across *at its widest*." And we must remember that we are quite in the dark as to how and in what circumstances—by land or sea; in high or low Nile, and with what rapidity—the trip was made; whether any notes were made (there was little occasion for them, seeing how little he tells us); and how many years elapsed before he wrote this sentence. And then we must ask the question whether, if this be the only serious objection to our taking Herodotus' word, the error is such as exceeds ordinary human faculty in that way<sup>1</sup>.

But Mr Sayce urges one or two other objections.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot say where the spot is; but I remember one where the Eastern range diverged far away from the river bank and seemed to lose itself in the distance, and thinking to myself

"this must be where Egypt widens again." I was soon undeceived. But an impression made in a traveller's mind by a single view often dwells there to the obscuring of all others.

"He invariably calls Elephantine a city. But the proper name of the city on the island was Kebh, and not Abu 'the elephant island.' Moreover it was as an island rather than as a city that it was known to the Egyptians, *the important city of the neighbourhood* being Syene on the main land opposite."

My first authority against this statement shall be from a work which passes as Mr Sayce's—*Append. to Herodotus II*. "List of nomes: first nome To Ken, *Capital Abu (Elephantine).*" The same information is to be found elsewhere *passim*. As also that Abu, and not Syene, gave its name to an early dynasty. We also know, and Mr Sayce himself immediately after reminds us, that from the time of the sixth to that of the 19th dynasty, whenever the bringing down of granite from the south is mentioned, it comes from Abu, or from "the quarries of the red mountain," or simply from "the south"—never from Syene; and that Herodotus was told that Amasis got his material from Abu. It is as we speak of Aberdeen granite, not meaning that it is taken from the paving of the town.

So much I knew from sources open to all. But not being an Egyptologist, I have questioned a friend who is, and he sends me the following information, referring to Brugsch as his main authority.

1. Many cities have a sacred as well as a profane name, and Kebh is the sacred name of Abu.

2. The usual determinative for Abu is either *city* or *land*—never that he knows or remembers *island*. So that it happens that Ἐλεφαντίνη πόλις is exactly what an Egyptian would write.

3. According to Brugsch the name Syene occurs but rarely until "a late date." The ancient inscriptions call the town Abu. Obviously, as it seems to me, it was originally a village of quarriers dependent on the capital of this name, which in course of time increased in importance and so acquired a name of its own.

But (4th) the old name Abu for Syene continued to be in use concurrently till quite late times: "the demotic form Ib is found, and the name very likely vanished with the Egyptian language."

This last fact may perhaps be thought to throw light on the only puzzle I can see about the way in which Herodotus tells the story of the scribe at Sais—his taking no notice of the impossibility of there being mountains between Elephantine and Syene. Of course one explanation may be that, as he certainly did not believe it but told it as a story, he did not think it necessary to do more. But is it not very possible that he never heard the name of Syene when he was at Elephantine? He never mentions it again; and, while assuming the name of Elephantine to be well known, he thinks it necessary to state (as he heard it from the scribe) that Syene was a town somewhere “in the Thebaid.” There is no reason for imagining that he ever visited the quarries, in which Mr Sayce thinks he would have been particularly struck by the sight of a half-finished obelisk, because it interests our sentimental race, lying on the now deserted hill-side.

Another point made about Elephantine is that Herodotus asserts that “*on starting from the city of Elephantine to ascend the river, the country is up-hill; whereas no one who had been at Elephantine could have imagined that the country immediately south of it was up-hill.*” Well! Assouan is in a hilly situation. But this is not the way to construe ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἀναντές ἐστὶ χωρίον ταύτη οὖν κ.τ.λ.—“as you ascend the river from Elephantine there is a steep place. Here the boat has to be hauled up”: which seems to me quite a natural way of describing the fact.

Mr Sayce seems to have been lucky enough to “shoot the cataract” upward in five hours (p. 272), as happened also to Sir G. Wilkinson (Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*). I was five days. It does not appear that Herodotus went up it, or saw it.

One more effort to oust Herodotus, if not from Thebes yet from the country beyond it, must be noticed as a specimen of Mr Sayce’s zeal. He cannot abide the “extremely startling” and plain passage in c. 29 μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών. In his *Herodotus* he proposed to follow an obvious blunder in some MS. and leave out αὐτόπτης and 10 words following, with the result that the cataract would be placed below Elephantine! Now he is inclined to adopt the suggestion

of a friend (*οὔτος δ' ἐμολ γε παίζειν δοκεῖ*), that (if I rightly understand him) five whole chapters (29 to 34), which begin with this passage, "are more probably a *verbatim* quotation from another author, embodied in the text of the Greek historian without acknowledgment, after the fashion of his age and race, and so producing [intentionally?] the impression in the mind of the reader that he actually went as far as the First Cataract." Three reasons are given: one that it would explain the want of an apodosis to the *μέν* after *τοσόνδε*, which I cannot see. Another seems cogent to him for want, as usual, of looking to the context. Herodotus in c. 28 had said he could find no one who pretended to know the "sources" of the Nile, except the scribe at Sais; and after telling the story he repeats *ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι*. Of course the *οὐδὲν* means "nothing about the sources." But Mr Sayce chooses to *say* it looks as if when first written it was intended to be interpreted "*literally*." If Mr Sayce is here speaking literally, he means that after the scribe shut his mouth no one ever gave Herodotus any information about anything! I presume he means "nothing about the Nile." But this is quite arbitrary. The chapters to be expunged contain an account of all he could hear, conjecture, or infer from analogy about the upper course of the Nile, commencing *ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπυθόμην*.

The third reason is, "It is certainly noticeable that he uses the word *αὐτόπτης* elsewhere (III. 115) *not of himself but of others*." A wonderful reason, of which I leave the reader to discover the force<sup>1</sup>.

We now come to the third thesis, which is prefaced "He arrived in the country during the inundation, and he did not travel further than the Fayoum. These are the two *facts*

<sup>1</sup> The passage here referred to is one he has strangely misused in his *Herodotus, Introduction*, p. xxv: *οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκούσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅπως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ ἐπέκεινα (to the north) τῆς Εὐρώπης*—"I have never been able, though I have tried, to hear from any one who has seen it that there is a sea on that

side of Europe" (I translate for Mr Sayce's benefit). He was sceptical, not to say prejudiced against that opinion. Mr Sayce apparently takes *τοῦτο* to mean "finding eye witnesses in general"; and calls the passage "an ostentatious assertion that it was his invariable rule to hear things from eye witnesses"!

which I believe I have *established*. In order to *trace his journey in detail* we must have recourse to his account of Egyptian history from the time of Menes to the rise of the 26th dynasty under Psammeticus."

I have set out in his own words, at the head of this paper, what these "details" are: and I think the reader will agree with me that if a study of the history of ancient Egypt as given by Herodotus leads to nothing more than to that conclusion the trouble will have been poorly repaid. I suspect that the true moving power on Mr Sayce's mind was the wish to prove that Herodotus took no pains at all about getting at the history, and that the blunders are his own. However, here is the argument.

First, with much comment, he sets out the order which Herodotus assigns to the old kings: Menes, 330 successors including Queen Nitocris, and Mœris the last on the list; Sesostris, Pheron, Proteus, Rampsinitus; Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, the builders of the three famous pyramids; Asychis who also built a pyramid; Anysis and Sabaco (the Ethiopian), contemporaries; and Sethos, the Memphite priest, contemporary with Sennacherib. Mr Sayce adds the so-called Dodecarchy. But this is a mistake, the Dodecarchy—really the time of Assyrian dominion—is no part of what Herodotus professes to have learnt from "priests" whether at Memphis or elsewhere; but is part of the modern history known by common repute, native and foreign (c. 147, and cf. c. 154). Then he says: "It is *plain* that such a list of kings could not have been derived from any Egyptian source." If he had said "not from any one, Egyptian, Greek, or Persian, who had the materials which Eratosthenes or Manetho used centuries after," no one now-a-days would dispute it. But Mr Sayce elsewhere takes it for granted that Herodotus got his information from the *dragomen* of Memphis, inferior servants of the temples, guides and *ciceroni*" (p. 264, and cf. his *Herodotus*, p. xxxi and *passim*). We know from Herodotus himself that the "interpreters" claimed to have existed as a class from the times just after Psammetichus (c. 154); and it is surely reasonable to surmise that before the time of Herodotus some consistency in the stories they repeated to

visitors must have established itself. And if others than Mr Sayce bring themselves to believe that he did contrive to get interviews with higher dignities of the priesthood, one must remember that at the time of his visit antiquarian and literary learning was probably at its lowest level. Thebes, one seat of such learning, had been sacked and plundered and its monuments carried away by Assyrians and Persians, and had been for some centuries left to the fate of deserted capitals in Eastern countries: the renewed kingdom had had its centre in Sais and Lower Egypt: and Persian, Greek, Libyan, and native had since mingled and influenced one another, hostilely or otherwise, over the whole country up to Memphis. On the other hand, under Macedonian rule there was a general revival: old temples restored and new ones built: learning encouraged and libraries founded: and the old religion taken into alliance with Greek philosophy. And yet, though Eratosthenes and Manetho wrote learnedly, and Hecatæus of Abdera and "many Greeks who visited Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Lagus" wrote more popularly, Diodorus corrects none of the errors of the earlier author, but (with some new names which can be identified) confuses times and mixes up purely Greek sophistications with native legends so as to depart much more systematically from genuine history than Herodotus.

I do not therefore anticipate that any light will be thrown on the chronology of Herodotus' Egyptian history by any reference to his own personality or circumstances. However, setting aside the question of its validity, let us see what use Mr Sayce makes of this dogma.

"There is *only one way* in which he *could* have arrived at this list. He *must* have given the names in the order in which they occurred in his note-book [what kind of portable apparatus was this?]. And this order *was* determined by the order of his visits to the various monuments to which the names were attached." This might be true without explaining anything if his guides intentionally took him to the monuments in their chronological order *as they conceived it*. But as this would make them, and not Herodotus, the authors of the chronology, I understand Mr Sayce to mean that the guides took him in the



order most convenient for him and themselves, round one temple, and then to another, and so on: and that Herodotus, either at the time or afterwards when using his notes for his book, took this order for a chronological one. As some of the kings are connected with more than one monument we must, I conceive, take the first-mentioned one in each case as that in front of which Herodotus made the entry in his note-book.

First, then, comes Menes, connected with the dam (still existing) by which the course of the Nile is said to have been diverted to make room for the city: this then must have been the starting-point of his journey, and this, and not common fame, the reason why Menes comes first.

2. King Mœris was named in the papyrus roll, but he also built the northern propylæa of the Hephæsteum. And Sesostris set up a family group of statues of which Mr Sayce assumes that the well-known existing statue of Ramses II. is one (which seems to me doubtful); and he says that modern excavation shews that this lies on the northern side of the temple. So we will admit without disputing that the next point Herodotus was brought to was this northern front of the temple, which therefore is to be taken as the cause of Sesostris following Mœris. But, thirdly, "Pheron" follows, not connected with any part of this temple, but with two obelisks before the "temple of the Sun," and with "all the temples of note"—I suppose over all Egypt. Mr Sayce takes this temple of the Sun to be that at Heliopolis<sup>1</sup>: but there appears to have been one at Memphis. Anyhow, to explain the position of "Pheron" in the series, we must suppose that Herodotus saw no more of the Hephæsteum until he had visited this spot. Mr Sayce chooses to say this is unnecessary, but then what becomes of his theory? 4. "Proteus" is not stated to have left any work behind him (naturally enough); but Herodotus saw a "very fine" *τέμενος* which he understood to be consecrated to him in the quarter of the *Τυρίων στρατόπεδον*, where the *Φοινίκες Τύριοι* dwelt; within which *τέμενος* was a temple *τῆς Ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης*, whom Herodotus identi-

<sup>1</sup> He asserts that the obelisks were those of Usertasen, of which one remains there. This may or may not

be, for Strabo tells us the Romans carried off two, and still left some behind.

fies with Helen (and others with *Σελήνη*, *Strabo*). We are to suppose then that this is the place Herodotus visited on his return from Heliopolis, or wherever the temple of the Sun stood. 5. Rhampsinitus built the western propylæa, which must be the next monument visited. 6. Next came the Pyramid kings in their proper chronological order, as among themselves. 7. Then came Asychis who built the eastern propylæa, "much the finest and largest," which was therefore the next monument visited; though, here again, if Mr Sayce is right in identifying Asychis with "the third successor of Mykerinus," he also, by good luck, is in his true relative place. 8. Anysis and Sabaco seem to have left no monument. How did they get into the note-book in this place? They however belong to the time of the Ethiopian invasion, and therefore, in true chronology, came after all the others and before.—9. Sethos, a Memphite High Priest, who withstood Sennacherib, and who left a statue of himself somewhere within the temple precincts—we know not where—but who, if he represents any historical person, rightly closes the roll of the old monarchies.

If any one can make out of this a walk round the Hephæsteum from north by east and south to west, I cannot. And this it was that Mr Sayce undertook to prove.

And, as I have incidentally shewn, the only distinct chronological misplacement (as distinguished from gaps) which can be made out is that of the kings of the fourth dynasty. And this is an error repeated with exaggeration by Diodorus; who adds that there was much dispute about the true history of the Pyramids (I. 63, 64, and compare previous chapters). The substance, then, of this third discussion is the laying down of an arbitrary dogma about what *must* have been, and then refusing to apply it honestly to the facts and so *inventing* the march round, &c.

To sum up. For the first and third theses Mr Sayce has made absolutely no case whatever; but has only confirmed the justice of the appreciation of his critical powers made by the Edinb. Reviewer. And, had I not already taken up so much space, I think I could without much difficulty shew from the internal evidence that the theses are not only unproved but

false : at the least that it is highly probable that Herodotus first dwelt some time in towns near the coast among his fellow-countrymen, observing and picking up information, critical and credulous by turns; and there mainly learnt the history of Psammetichus and his successors, which he afterwards introduces in its right place; that he then went to Memphis and Heliopolis, and there obtained at least the chronology (such as it is) of the ancient kingdom, and perhaps most of the stories about the named kings—though there may be ground, from the local colouring, for surmising that some of them were picked up elsewhere (cf. c. 100 about Nitocris, c. 122 about Rhampsinitus and the temple of Demeter, c. 129, &c. about Mycerinus and his daughter).

But, wherever he got the information, there is no ground whatever for Mr Sayce's assertion that in Herodotus' list of *ancient* kings "most of them belonged to dynasties which were essentially northern"—it is not his fault that the *modern* ones were so. Except the fancied Proteus and Sethos the priest of Hephæstus all are simply kings of Egypt. That such of them as were real kings, whether rightly or wrongly named, would have left their monumental mark at Memphis as well as elsewhere, and that, this being so, the guides would shew them and Herodotus would record them, is only what was to be expected, and leads to no further inference. With respect to the second thesis, if a man is resolved to believe that Herodotus did not go beyond the Fayoum, there is no syllogism which can confute him. I have noticed all the arguments which Mr Sayce uses which seem to me to need notice. The rest of what he says is, either that Herodotus was bound to tell us more of what he saw (though it was not his habit to do so in Lower Egypt); or that if he had really been up and down the Nile he could not possibly have avoided obtaining full, and always accurate, information about every usage of every town there,—and this though, in his *Herodotus*, he had pointed out many inaccuracies about Lower Egypt (where he does not dispute his having travelled) quite as grave.

But my paper is already too long. I will merely add that ill-luck seems to attend Mr Sayce whenever he meddles with

Herodotus, however innocently. In a note (p. 277) he tells us he is engaged on working out Herodotus' Assyrian chronology, and that the foundation of his synchronisms is that "he counts 30 years to a generation." He will find himself 70 years out in the 700 years he is dealing with! And, while I am writing this paper, I see in the *Contemp. Review* for July 1886, he speaks of the Greek settlement on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile "whence, according to Herodotus, they were transferred by Amasis to Naucratis." Herodotus says to Memphis!

D. D. HEATH.





### THE SEASON AND EXTENT OF THE TRAVELS OF HERODOTOS IN EGYPT.

THERE was a time when I fondly hoped that the autograph of Herodotos might yet be found engraved on the walls of one of the ruined temples of Egypt. The Greeks of the classical epoch were as fond of writing their names on the monuments they visited as are the Greeks of to-day. In the temple of Seti at Abydos I have copied several hundreds of Greek *graffiti* ranging in date from the beginning of the 6th century before our era to the third or fourth century after it. It would seem to be a moral certainty that Herodotos also followed the fashion of his countrymen and helped to deface the monuments of Egypt like the British tourist of modern times. But it is only at Abydos that I have succeeded in finding Greek *graffiti* which go back to his age. It is in vain that I have searched for them elsewhere among the temples and tombs that lie between Cairo and the First Cataract. There are few now that I have not visited both in the valley of the Nile and in the Fayûm; but always with the same result. Apart from the inscriptions of Abydos and the famous texts of Abu-Simbel no research has as yet brought to light any Greek *graffiti* older than the age of Alexander.

I have thoroughly explored the monuments of Thebes and its neighbourhood, including of course the Tombs of the Kings; I have copied all the *graffiti* that are legible in the grottoes of Tel el-Amarna, and I have found a few Greek scrawls in a number of lesser known places like the quarries of Turra, the

tombs of Dêr-er-Rîfa south of Siût, the rocks of Negadiyeh opposite Girgeh, and the temple-walls of El-Ḳâb. But like my predecessors whose labours have been published by Letronne I have failed to discover anything in Central and Upper Egypt—apart, as I have said, from the texts of Abydos—which is earlier than the period of the Lagidæ. It is the same with the Greek *graffiti* scratched on the sphinxes of Sakkârah and the temple of the sphinx at Gîzeh. South of Cairo the only early Greek inscriptions that exist are at Abydos and Abu-Simbel, and in neither place is the autograph of Herodotos to be seen.

It is almost hopeless to look for it in the Delta. In the Delta stone is scarce and there is no friendly sand to cover and protect a ruined and deserted building. The temples of the Delta, accordingly, have long since perished; as soon as Christianity was triumphant they became the quarries of the neighbourhood, or else the stones of which they were composed were burnt into lime. It is only by a rare chance that cut blocks or stone figures have survived in the Delta to our time. It must be remembered, moreover, that in the Delta the temples alone were built of stone; all other structures, not excluding tombs, were composed of crude brick.

If, however, we can no longer expect to find the name of Herodotos written by his own hand, it is yet possible to determine from the words of his narrative the route he followed in Egypt and the extent of his travels there. That the attempt has not been previously made in a detailed way is due to the fact that Herodotean critics have not usually been Egyptian travellers, while Egyptian travellers have not been Herodotean critics.

But before we make the attempt ourselves it is necessary to ascertain the season of the year at which Herodotos paid his visit to the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs. This is indicated in pretty clear language in II. 97. Here Herodotos describes the appearance of the Delta at the time of the inundation in words which none but an eye-witness could have used. The towns, he tells us, appear above the surface of the water like the islands in the Ægean, while the traveller sails not along the river but through the plain. At this season



when "sailing through the plain" he leaves the sea and Kanôbos (now Abu Kîr) behind him, and after passing the Greek settlements of Anthylla and Arkhandria reaches Naukratis. In going from Naukratis to Memphis he has to pass by the pyramids instead of the apex of the Delta.

The discovery of the site of Naukratis by Mr Flinders Petrie has cleared up the difficulties of this description. Naukratis stood at Tel en-Nebîreh, about four miles to the west of Teh el-Barûd, a station on the line between Alexandria and Cairo and 54 miles from Alexandria. The canal which passed it ran from Lake Mareotis to the Kanopic arm of the Nile which it joined south of the modern Kafr ez-Zaiyât, while a high-road went in a pretty direct line from the Greek town to the city of Sais. In going from Naukratis to Memphis when the inundation was out the shortest course would be along the edge of the Libyan desert, which would necessarily take the voyager by the pyramids. It is noticeable therefore that the city of Kerkasôros at the apex of the Delta does not seem to have been visited by Herodotos himself, since in ch. 15 his reference to it is stated to have been derived from "the Ionians."

But though the statement of Herodotos about Naukratis in II. 97 is strictly consonant with facts, as has been shown by Mr Petrie's discovery of the site, it is not consonant with the natural interpretation of another statement made by him about Naukratis in II. 179. Here he tells us that before the time of Amasis a Greek captain who was driven by contrary winds into any mouth of the Nile other than the Kanopic, had "to sail ship and all to the Kanopic; or if he could not sail against the wind, he had to carry his freight in Nile-boats round the Delta until he reached Naukratis." As Naukratis was more than 50 miles from the sea, and not on the Kanopic arm of the Nile, this would have been an impossible feat. The only explanation of Herodotos's inconsistency must be that in ch. 179 he is quoting, and misunderstanding, the statement of some other author. He is referring to a period much before his own time, and his misconception of his author's meaning must be due to the fact that he had never seen the country about Naukratis

in its normal condition, that is when the inundation had subsided. Had he done so he could never have made the statement he has made in the text. During the inundation, however, the channel of the Kanôpic arm was obliterated as well as the distinction between the sea which washed the shores of the Delta and the water that covered the land.

Let us now pass from the Delta to the country above Memphis. In II. 18 Herodotos states that the Nile overflows not only the Delta but also "some parts" of the western and eastern banks of the river to the south of the Delta for "a distance of two days' journey on either side more or less." Now there is only one part of the course of the river of which this statement is true. It is only where the Bahr Yûsuf unites the Fayûm to the ancient "island" of Hêraklêopolis and the Nile that a traveller could have taken two days, or anything like two days, in sailing from west to east. Consequently in using the word *ἐνιαχῆ* Herodotos is speaking incorrectly. It is in one part of its course alone, and not "in some parts," that the overflow of the river could be said to extend for a distance of two days' journey. It seems clear that Herodotos must be here writing from his own experience. He had visited the Fayûm when the valley of the Nile was under water to the extent specified, and he assumed that what was true of one part of its course might be true of other parts. Had he derived his information from natives and not from his own experience he could hardly have employed such a term as *ἐνιαχῆ*, which is not consistent with fact.

The extreme interest taken by Herodotos in the origin of the inundation will further be explained if we suppose him to have had ocular evidence of it, as well as his ready belief in the assertion (II. 4, 5) that before the time of Menes the whole country between the sea and lake Moeris was a marsh—an assertion, by the way, inconsistent with the fact recorded in ch. 99 of the construction of the great dyke of Kafr el' Ayât by Menes. We shall also have an explanation of the extraordinary mistake he twice commits (chh. 124, 127) in supposing that there were vaults under the pyramid of Kheôps in an island formed by a canal the builder had introduced from the Nile.

I think therefore we may conclude that the visit of Herodotos to Egypt took place during the period of the inundation. At the First Cataract the Nile begins to rise towards the end of May, but in the neighbourhood of Memphis the rise takes place a month later. Towards the end of September the rise ceases for about a fortnight, when there is a fresh increase for a short time, after which the water subsides with accelerating rapidity. If, then, Herodotos visited Egypt during the inundation he must have been there between the months of June and October, or if he was at the First Cataract when the rise took place between May and September. As, however, he tells us in ch. 19 that the rise of the water commences with the summer solstice and continues for a hundred days, his visit must have fallen between the end of June and the beginning of October. Since the Delta was already under water when he sailed over it we should not be far wrong in placing his arrival at Naukratis about the 20th of July. It is during the preceding five days of that month that the rise of the water usually becomes most rapid.

As we have just seen, the inundation begins in Upper Egypt at the end of May, nearly a month before the summer solstice, the period fixed for its commencement by Herodotos. This raises a suspicion that Herodotos did not visit Upper Egypt, where the information given him about the season of the rise of the Nile would have been different from that which he actually records. The suspicion is increased when we remember the great heat of Upper Egypt during the summer months and the unsuitableness of the time of year for travelling there. This brings me to the question of the extent of Herodotos's travels in Egypt and the route or routes which he followed.

Two results are involved in the conclusion that he arrived in the country after the Nile had begun to rise. In the first place he must always have travelled by water; and secondly he had no need of following the windings of the river or the angles of the canals. In going from Naukratis to Memphis, for example, he could take a straight course, as indeed he implies he did, while a voyage over the plain from Naukratis to Sais was at once short and simple.

Let us first enumerate the places which it is *certain* from his language that he must have visited. These are Kanôpos (97, ch. 113), Anthylla, Arkhandria, Naukratis, Sais, Memphis and the Pyramids of Gîzeh, the Fayûm, Hêliopolis, Butô and Khemmis (75, 155, 156), Bubastis, and Paprêmis (III. 12). No one who has visited the site of Bubastis can doubt for a moment that the description given of it by Herodotos is that of an eye-witness; it is even possible to trace the line of sculptured wall which surrounded the temple and over which the Greek traveller looked down into the temple-enclosure from the mounds on which the city was built (ch. 138), just as it is possible to look down upon the great mosque of Hebron from the hill which rises above it.

It is further highly probable that Herodotos visited Busiris, as he couples the festival held there with those of Bubastis, Sais, Hêliopolis, Butô and Paprêmis, all which places it is certain that he saw (59, 61),—as well as Hermopolis Magna, the modern Damanhûr,—which is coupled with Bubastis and Butô (67),—the island of Prosôpitis (41), and Pelusium (154, III. 10). He may have also seen other places besides in the Delta, but there is no clear indication that he did so.

South of the Delta he visited Memphis and the Fayûm; did he penetrate further south? Greek scholars who have not been in Egypt answer "yes"; Egyptian travellers answer "no". Let us consider why they do so.

(a) Had Herodotos sailed up the Nile south of the Fayûm, it would have been with the object of visiting Thebes. From the time of Homer "hundred-gated Thebes" had been known by fame to the Greeks; its buildings were indeed, as they still are, among the wonders of the world. By the side of the temples of Thebes, the capital of the Middle and New Empires, the temples of Memphis, the capital of the Old Empire, faded into insignificance. The two colossi of the temple of Amenôphis, in one of whom the Greeks of a later day saw the vocal Memnôn, would alone have been worthy of comparison with anything the Greek traveller saw at Memphis. Herodotos was specially concerned to describe the great monuments of Egypt, and a writer who bestows such extravagant admiration upon the

Labyrinth would have been still more ecstatic over the wonders of Thebes. The recent uncovering of the temple of Luxor by M. Maspero has revealed to us its magnificence even in its present state of ruin; in the time of Herodotos it must have been still more striking to the passer-by. And the voyager by the river was obliged not only to pass, but to moor, under its very walls; he could not help observing and admiring it. This was also the case with the other great buildings of Thebes during the period of inundation;—Karnak with its lofty obelisks and hall of gigantic columns, the Ramesseum with its monstrous image of Ramses, shattered by earthquake, Medinet Abu not yet buried under the mounds of a Coptic village, all alike would have stood at the edge of the water and forced themselves on the attention of the most incurious traveller. The colossi themselves, then as now, would have risen out of the flood in grim majesty, inviting the dragoman to narrate the story of Memnôn who went to the Trojan war. No one who has seen the ruins of Thebes, even as they now are, can have any doubt that had Herodotos also seen them the extravagance of his admiration would not have been reserved for the Labyrinth alone.

But those who have not seen Thebes may find several indications in the text of Herodotos that the Greek historian was not more fortunate than themselves. (1) None of the kings mentioned by Herodotos are connected by him with Thebes. The stories told of them, like the monuments they are said to have erected, all refer to the Fayûm and the country north of it; none to the country to the south. Most of the kings belonged to dynasties which were essentially northern, and when we come to a monarch like Ramses-Sesostris who ruled at Thebes rather than at Memphis and whose name was specially attached to Thebes and its temples, we find that all Herodotos knows of his multitudinous monuments are the two statues in front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Had Herodotos been at Thebes we should have heard of Theban kings as well as of Memphite and Saite kings, and the great Theban monuments would have been described with which their names were connected by the guides.

(2) With the reign of Psammetikhos I. the information of Herodotos about the kings of Egypt ceases to be legendary and becomes fairly historical. He describes with some detail the architectural works of Amasis during the Saitic revival of Egyptian art and power. But while he tells us of all that Amasis did at Sais and Memphis, not a word is said of his restorations at Karnak, much less of his building at Abydos. And yet the *graffiti* I have copied show that Abydos was visited by the Greeks long before the time of Herodotos, while the Greek inscriptions of Abu-Simbel prove that Greeks had penetrated far to the south of Thebes as early as the age of Psammetikhos II. Hekataeos had visited Thebes before the travels of Herodotos, and we must therefore suppose that he had either found Greek-speaking guides there or had brought one with him. Indeed the Greek traveller who went up the Nile and did not know Egyptian was obliged to take a dragoman with him even more imperatively than the modern traveller who does not know Arabic. The latter would find it difficult to manage in these days of posts and steamers, of guide-books and donkey-boys who chatter English and French; in the age of Herodotos it would have been impossible. Consequently had Herodotos really visited Thebes he would have been accompanied by an interpreter who could have replied like the dragomen of Memphis to the questions put by the inquisitive Greek regarding the marvellous monuments he saw around him.

(3) Herodotos informs us that the hippopotamus was "sacred in the nome of Paprêmis, but not elsewhere in Egypt" (II. 71). It so happened, however, that it was also worshipped at Thebes. But Paprêmis was in the Delta, and had been visited by Herodotos; had he visited Thebes he would doubtless have been as well informed about the cult he saw going on there as he was about the cult he saw going on at Paprêmis.

(β) A visit to Thebes implies a double voyage through the greater part of Upper Egypt, and those who have sailed up the Nile in a dahabiah know well what an enforced acquaintance this means with the country. Every night the boat has to moor under the bank; often it is impossible to sail for days

together when the wind is contrary; while at other times a slow progress can be made only by towing the boat along. The traveller is perforce made acquainted with the towns and villages he passes, and the sailors generally take good care that a large town shall not be passed even when the wind is fair. If Herodotos really reached Thebes, it is plain that he must show some acquaintance at least with Upper Egypt. The evidence, however, all points the other way.

(1) The only Egyptian festivals known to Herodotos, of which he has left us an account, were held exclusively in the towns of the Delta. The festivals of Bubastis, of Busiris, of Sais, of Héliopolis, of Butô, of Paprêmis are described and referred to; of the festivals of Upper Egypt not a word is said. The gymnastic contests which took place at Khemmis were only reported to Herodotos by natives of Ekhmîm (91) and not witnessed by him on the spot.

(2) Herodotos took a particular interest in oracles. He discovered oracles in Egypt (83, 57—58), where they never existed in the Greek sense, except when imported by the Greeks. Yet he never once refers to the oracle at Abydos, which the *graffiti* there prove to have been an oracle of the genuine Hellenic kind established in the ruined temple and enjoying a wide-spread fame among the Greek and Karian visitors to Egypt from the 7th century B.C. downwards. His silence on the subject is inexplicable if he was ever actually in the neighbourhood of the holy city of Osiris.

(3) In II. 67 he states that the cats were embalmed and buried at Bubastis, the hawks and mice at Butô and the ibises at Hermopolis or Damanhûr. Now, though it is conceivable that the corpses of these creatures might all have been conveyed from different parts of the Delta to the cities mentioned by Herodotos, it is inconceivable that they should have been conveyed to them from so distant a locality as Upper Egypt. And, as a matter of fact, exploration has shown that they were not. Apart from the mice, of which I shall speak presently, there were various places in Upper Egypt in which they were entombed. Thus the mummies of the sacred cats are found at Beni Hassan, in the cliffs of Gebel Abu Fêda, and at Thebes

itself, those of the sacred hawks at Ekhmîm and elsewhere. Herodotos could not have made two voyages in Upper Egypt without having experiences which would have corrected his statement about the burial-places of the sacred beasts<sup>1</sup>.

(4) In II. 165—6 he gives a list of the nomes which furnished soldiers to the Egyptian army. Six of them furnished Hermotybies, and 12 of them Kalasiries. All the six are nomes in the Delta, since the position of Khemmis in the enumeration, between Sais and Paprêmis, shows that Khemmis near Butô (155) is referred to, and not Ekhmîm; while of the 12 all belong to the Delta except Thebes. That is to say, out of 18 nomes providing troops Thebes alone is in Upper Egypt. Such a statement is, of course, defective; troops were furnished for both divisions of the Egyptian army by other nomes of Upper Egypt besides the Theban, and the only explanation there can be for the omission of their names in the list of Herodotos is that he was unacquainted with them. Thebes however was well-known to every educated Greek, whether he had visited it or not, and was naturally, therefore, inserted in the catalogue. The other nomes were omitted because the author did not know them. There can be no other reason for the remarkable nature of the list.

(5) In ch. 12 he declares that the plateau on which the pyramids stand "above Memphis" is "the only sandy hill in Egypt." No one could have said this who had travelled south

<sup>1</sup> The same holds good of his statement in ch. 41 regarding the burial of the oxen in the island of Prosôpitis. He there maintains that the carcasses of cows, which were "sacred to Isis," or more correctly Hat-hor, were thrown into the Nile, while the bones of the bulls were brought in boats to the island of Prosôpitis and there entombed. It is obvious that Herodotos must have been mistaken in supposing that the sacred river of the Nile, which was itself identical with the bull-god Hapi or Apis, was ever polluted by the corpse of an animal, more especially

of one which was consecrated to the goddess Hat-hor, and it is difficult to imagine that the Egyptians would have been perpetually occupying themselves with conveying the bones of dead bulls from Upper Egypt to an island in the Delta. As a matter of fact, however, apart from the Apis-bulls whose mummies were enshrined at Sakkârah, mummified bulls are found at Thebes and other places in Upper Egypt. Nor was it the bones only which were preserved; different parts of the body, including the head, were dried and folded up in the shape of the animal.



of the Fayûm. In many places the sand-drifts come to the very edge of the river and must have been particularly observable to a voyager in the time of the inundation. The hills in the neighbourhood of Tel el-Amarna, for instance, where later Greek travellers left their names on the walls of the old tombs, are much more sandy than those in the neighbourhood of Memphis; and as the voyager proceeds further to the south the sand-hills become still more numerous and noticeable. This statement of Herodotos is consequently one more proof that he could never have been as far as Thebes, or indeed further south than the vicinity of the Fayûm.

(6) In chapter 74 we are informed that snakes existed at Thebes which were sacred and harmless. The description shows that the *cerastes* is meant. Now the *cerastes* was not only not sacred—the sacred snake of Khnum being the poisonous asp—but it is extremely venomous, and the terror of the natives during the summer months. No one who had been in Upper Egypt between April and October could have believed in its harmless character.

(7) When we come to examine the description of the country south of the Fayûm given by Herodotos, we shall find that it bears out the conclusion suggested by the facts I have already enumerated. As far as the Fayûm and the Hêraklêopolitan nome the geography of Herodotos is exact; from this point southward it is not only more or less vague, but inconsistent with such facts as an eye-witness would have observed. It has often been noticed that whereas Herodotos is full of information about the Delta and the Fayûm, his references to Upper Egypt are scanty and meagre, and the only towns he mentions south of the Fayûm are Khemmis (Ekhmîm), Neapolis (Keneh), Thebes and Elephantinê. Now in chap. 91 he tells us that Khemmis was “a great city of the Theban nome near Neapolis,” and distinct, of course, from the “island of Khemmis” at Butô in the Delta, which is described in ch. 156. In making this statement Herodotos must have been led astray by that foreshortening of distances which is inevitable in geographical information derived at second-hand. Had he actually gone up the Nile he would never have described Khemmis by its vicinity

to Neapolis, a place from which it is separated by a voyage of about three days with an ordinarily good wind<sup>1</sup>. Ekhmim, in fact, is 84 miles north of Keneh, while Thebes itself was only 40 miles further on. The nearest large city to Khemmis was This (Girgeh) with its adjunct, the holy city of Abydos. In the eyes, at all events of Egyptian sailors and dragomen, This was a far more important place than Neapolis, and the *graffiti* I have copied at Abydos and on the cliff opposite Girgeh show that Greek travellers also took pretty much the same view.

(8) The description given of the temple of "Perseus" at Khemmis in ch. 91 must be due to the imagination of the natives of Khemmis whom Herodotos seems to have met at Memphis or in the Delta; it certainly never corresponded to fact. The propylæa of an Egyptian temple were lofty and solidly-built towers, which could be used as places of defence in cases of necessity and guarded the entrance to the temple. Statues never stood upon them; to have put them there would have contravened the primary rules of Egyptian sacred architecture. Had they done so, however, they would have been visible far and near, so that in affirming their existence Herodotos implies that his account of them was taken at second-hand and not from personal inspection. The only alternative would be to suppose that he tells a deliberate falsehood about a place he visited, and this supposition can be admitted by no one who has compared his descriptions of places in Egypt he really saw with the sites themselves.

(9) In ch. 69 he states that the crocodile was considered a sacred animal by the inhabitants of Thebes and the Fayûm, but was eaten at Elephantinê. As regards the Fayûm this was strictly the case; the crocodile-god Sebek was held in the highest veneration there. At Thebes, however, Sebek occupied a subordinate place; no crocodile mummies have been found in its tombs, and it is even questionable whether the crocodile was not treated there as it was at Denderah and Elephantinê.

<sup>1</sup> This agrees with one of the estimates given by Herodotos for the length of a day's voyage. According to the other estimate the voyage would

have required nearly two days. For these inconsistent estimates see further on.

But in other parts of Upper Egypt and in the neighbourhood of Thebes itself, there were nomes in which the creature received as much respect as in the Fayûm. Ombos more especially was a seat of its worship, and tombs containing the mummies of crocodiles are found in abundance at El-Ḳab. The crocodile was also worshipped to the north of Thebes at Koptos (Ḳoft) and Krokodilopolis, and the vast crocodile mummy pits of Maabdeh, opposite Manfalût, a little to the north of Siût, still remain but half explored. In saying, therefore, that the crocodile was worshipped by "those who live about Thebes," Herodotos is again guilty of that geographical foreshortening which personal experience and a knowledge of Ombos and Koptos would have corrected. Ombos is 106 miles from Thebes by river and Koptos 50, while the distance from Ombos to Elephantinê is only 27 miles.

(10) At the beginning of the second book (chh. 4, 5) we find Herodotos assigning all Egypt south of the Fayûm to "the Theban nome." This, of course, is strictly speaking incorrect, but it was a convenient way of referring to the southern part of the country, just as it is now-a-days convenient to include Fostâni or Middle Egypt in Saïd or Upper Egypt, as indeed I have done in this Paper. But Herodotos goes on to say that north of the Theban nome and Lake Mœris "Egypt, into which Greeks sail," is, as can be plainly seen by the "eye-witness" a made land, the gift, in fact, of the river. Here the Egypt which is seen by the eye-witness, that is, by the writer himself, is confined to the Delta and the country "below" the Fayûm, and Herodotos implies,—what indeed we know from other sources,—that Greek ships in his age did not sail to the south of it. He adds, however, that "the country above the Fayûm for a distance of three days' voyage is similar to that below it." As he reckons it a voyage of 7 days from the sea to the Fayûm, a distance of about 190 miles, three more days of sailing would bring us to Samalût and the Gebel et-Tayr, 80 miles distant. Now no one who had actually sailed south of Beni-Sûef and the Hêraklêopolitan nome (65 miles north of Samalût) could have said that the country resembled the Delta in any respect, even in the time of inundation.

After leaving Beni-Sûef the valley of the Nile becomes contracted; cliffs rise on the eastern side above the normal bank of the river, and sand-banks begin to abound. The "eye-witness" must have stopped short at Beni-Sûef.

(11) The same conclusion must be drawn from ch. 8. According to this, the traveller who goes southward finds the country "narrow" for four days after leaving Héliopolis. After that it becomes "broad" again. Now four days mean 108 miles, which bring us to Feshun, 19 miles south of Beni-Sûef. At this point the Nile-valley, which had broadened out in the neighbourhood of the Hêrakiléopolitan nome, again becomes narrow, and remains so for the rest of its course throughout Egypt and Nubia, only widening out a little in the plains of Gau el-Kebîr, Abydos and Thebes. The accuracy of Herodotos is in no way assisted by Dietsch's conjectural insertion of the words *καὶ δέκα* after *τεσσέρων*, since a voyage of 14 days would bring us to Keneh or Neapolis, from which point onwards the valley certainly does not become "broad" again.

(12) In ch. 9 we are told that the voyage from Héliopolis to Thebes required only nine days. Now the distance from the one place to the other by river is 455 miles: and this at the rate of 27 miles given by Herodotos as the extent of a day's voyage in that part of Egypt which we know him to have traversed would mean a journey of nearly 17 days and not nine. Nine days would imply an average rate of 50 miles a day, which in *ascending* the river is far too high, and would bring the voyager in four days not to Feshun, as I have calculated above, but to Tel el-Amarna, where the Gebel Abu Fêda begins and the Nile-valley becomes extremely narrow. Of course no argument can be drawn from the incorrectness of the distances in stadia given in the chapter by Herodotos. Neither he nor his Greek predecessors were able to use the measuring-rod and survey the country, so that their estimates must be founded to a large extent on conjecture.

(13) In ch. 18, however, Herodotos states that at the period of the inundation the Nile overflows not only the Delta, but also some parts of the Libyan and Arabian banks for a distance of two days' journey on either side, "more or less."

Though he does not express himself very clearly, he must here be referring to the Libyan and Arabian banks of the river south of the Delta, since the desert on either side of the Delta was not inundated, while the context requires a contrast to be drawn between the Delta and the Nile-valley. South of the Delta, however, there is only one part of the Nile-valley where the inundation extended to anything like a distance of two days' journey, reckoning this at 54 miles. This was the district of the Fayûm and the Hêrakleôpolitian nome. Consequently Herodotos was wrong in supposing that it took place "in some parts" (*ἐν μέρεσσιν*), and the statement hangs together with that which makes the Nile-valley become broad again at a distance of four days' journey from Héliopolis. It is another indication that the writer's personal observation did not extend so far.

(γ) When it is thus clear that the journey of Herodotos in Egypt never reached as far south as Minieh, much less to Thebes, it might seem superfluous to show by internal evidence that Elephantinê, 133 miles above Thebes, was also unvisited by him. For a reason to be stated presently, however, it is as well to bring this evidence forward.

(1) Herodotos invariably calls Elephantinê a "city" (ch. 9, 17, 29, 69, 175; III. 19). Now it is true that there was a city on the island of Elephantinê, but its proper name was Kebh, the city of "fresh water," and not Abu "the elephant-island." Moreover it was as an island rather than as a city that it was known to the Egyptians, the important city of the neighbourhood being Syênê or Assuân on the mainland opposite. In most of the passages in which Elephantinê is mentioned by Herodotos, it is the island rather than the city that ought to be referred to (see especially ch. 69), and anyone who had actually ascended the Nile so far would naturally speak of it as an island.

(2) In ch. 175 Herodotos describes a monolithic shrine of granite which had been brought to Sais by Amasis "from the city of Elephantinê." Of course it really came from the granite quarries on the mainland above Assuân, and we should have expected a visitor to the spot to dilate upon the quarries and

the half-hewn obelisk lying in them which is still the admiration of travellers. Herodotos, however, knows nothing about them, and avers instead that the stone came from "the city of Elephantinê." Had he said "the island of Elephantinê" his statement might have passed, since boats from the Syênê quarries would sail along it, and Ramses II. himself speaks of bringing an obelisk to Thebes from "the island of Abu." So, too, in the time of the vith dynasty Una was sent to "the island of Elephantinê" to bring a granite doorway for the pyramid of Pepi.

(3) In ch. 28 Herodotos reports the famous account of the sources of the Nile which the sacred scribe at Sais invented for the benefit of the inquisitive foreigner. According to this two mountains with pointed summits called Krôphi and Môphi rise "between the city of Syênê and Elephantinê"—which latter, it will be observed, the scribe does not qualify with the title of "city." Herodotos had a half-suspicion that the Egyptian was making fun of him; had he been as far as Elephantinê his suspicion would have been a certainty, and we should have lost the delicious story of Krôphi and Môphi. Between Elephantinê and Syênê there was only the channel of the river.

(4) The rest of the story, that the fountains of the Nile are two bottomless springs which flow down the slopes between those two mountains, one into Ethiopia and the other into Egypt, would also have been assessed at its right valuation by a traveller who had actually been at Elephantinê.

(5) In the next chapter (29) Herodotos gives a different account of the geography of the Nile-valley south of Elephantinê, but even this account is full of inaccuracies (see my notes on the passage in my *Herodotos*). Most of these inaccuracies, however, prove nothing as regards the extent of the travels of Herodotos, since no one claims that he went further than Elephantinê. It is otherwise with the words with which the account begins. These are that "on starting from the city of Elephantinê to ascend the river the country is uphill;" and the uphill portion is then explained to be the First Cataract through which the boat has to be towed for four days. Instead of four days the shooting of the Cataract does not

ordinarily take more than five hours, and no one who had been at Elephantinê could have imagined that the country immediately south of it was "uphill." This much at all events Herodotos would have known if he had ever visited the "Elephant-island," however misinformed he might have been about the length of the voyage through the Cataract and the course of the Nile in Nubia.

An examination of the text of Herodotos, then, leads to the same conclusion as that suggested by the remarkable silence of the Greek writer in regard to the monuments of Egypt south of the Fayûm. The Fayûm and the Hêraklêopolitan nome were the extreme southern point of his Egyptian tour.

(δ) But, it will be objected: what in this case can we make of the passages in which Herodotos implies or asserts a longer continuance of his voyage? Let us see what they are.

(1) Thebes is mentioned in 11 passages (I. 182; II. 3, 15, 42, 54, 56, 74, 143, 166; III. 10; IV. 181); Elephantinê in about as many; and Khemmis (Ekhmîm), Neapolis and Syênê in three (II. 91, 91, 28). The other great cities of Upper Egypt are not referred to. The mention of Syênê occurs in the story of the fountains of the Nile invented by the sacred scribe at Sais, and the designation of it as "a city of the Thebais" and not "of the Theban nome," which Herodotos elsewhere incorrectly uses as the equivalent of Upper Egypt, goes to show that the scribe's words are reported with fair accuracy. Neapolis is named as being near Khemmis, and of Khemmis Herodotos does not say that he had actually seen the place but only that he had conversed with certain of its inhabitants. The conversation might have been carried on anywhere, and the knowledge displayed by his informants of Greek habits and Greek heroes suggests that they were not stay-at-home inhabitants of a town which lay far beyond the limits of Greek trade in Egypt, but merchants who came to the Delta and had there mixed with the Greeks (comp. ch. 15).

(2) The case is different as regards Thebes. In II. 3 the present text of Herodotos makes him positively assert that he visited Thebes, in 54, 55 he states that he conversed with "the priests in Thebes," while in ch. 143 he implies that

he had seen the same statues at Thebes as his predecessor Hekataeos. In my *Herodotos* I have pointed out that the last passage is merely an adroit piece of verbal legerdemain, which has succeeded in deceiving readers, editors and commentators up to the present time. Herodotos has cleverly mixed together his account of the 345 royal statues Hekataeos had seen at Thebes two generations previously with an account of 341 other statues which he himself saw (as the context shows) at Memphis. In the first passage it is possible that the words ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ are an interpolation. At all events they interrupt the context where not another word is said of the visit of Herodotos to Thebes. Herodotos states that after having been told at Memphis of the linguistic experiment made by Psammetikhos he "turned into" (ἐτραπόμην ἐς) Héliopolis to make further enquiries about the matter, "for the Heliopolitans—not the Thebans, be it noticed—are said to be the best informed of the Egyptians." Thebes was too far away from Memphis for the traveller to "turn into" it for information, nor in enumerating the places he visited after Memphis would he have mentioned it first in order, before the nearer Héliopolis. The explanatory clause which follows, moreover, confines the visit to Héliopolis.

The second passage (chh. 54, 55), stands on a different footing. Here we learn that "the priests of the Theban Zeus" informed him that the Phœnicians had carried two priestesses away from Thebes, one to Libya and the other to Greece. This he "heard from the priests in Thebes," and he gave ready credence to the tale because the priestesses and people of Dôdôna averred that the oracle there had been founded by a black dove from Egyptian Thebes, whose companion had founded the oracle of Ammon in Libya, while "the divination practised at Thebes and Dôdôna is pretty much the same." Two points must be noticed here. First of all the close resemblance of the two tales precludes their independent origin, and since they relate to the foundation of a Greek oracle their origin must be Greek rather than Egyptian. Secondly, as Wiedemann has pointed out, the Egyptian "priests" referred to by Herodotos were really the "beadles" or guides who



showed travellers and their dragomen over the temples. A real Egyptian priest would not have contaminated himself by intercourse with "the vile" stranger whose language he despised to learn and for whom he would never have condescended to act as guide. "The priests of the Theban Zeus," therefore, resolve themselves into *ciceroni*, who might be found in any of the parts of Egypt—and they were many—where Amun of Thebes was worshipped. It is true that the expression τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱερέων ἤκουον implies that Herodotos conversed with them in Thebes itself, and the impartial reader can have little doubt that this is what Herodotos meant it to imply. It might, however, be strained so as to be nothing more than an equivalent of the expression already made use of οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεβαίου Διὸς, "the priests of the Theban Zeus" being "priests in Thebes"—when they were there. Herodotos carefully avoids saying that he "heard in Thebes" what "the priests" said. Indeed his narrative contains fairly clear indications that he could not have done so. (1) Thebes was far beyond the region which was acquainted with Greeks and kidnapping Phœnicians. This was the Delta, not Upper Egypt. (2) The Greek oracle was a peculiar institution and was unknown to the Egyptians except in places to which it was brought by the Greeks. In the time of Herodotos there was no Greek oracle at Thebes, such as existed at Abydos; indeed, as I have stated above, no Greek inscriptions earlier than the period of the Lagidæ are to be found there, and the first Theban oracle was that of the vocal Memnôn, which began after the earthquake of B.C. 27. Consequently the assertion that "divination at Thebes and Dôdôna is pretty nearly the same" cannot be founded on personal observation. The true history of the whole passage seems to be this. Herodotos, full of interest in oracles which he believed to have been of Egyptian origin and remembering the story told him at Dôdôna, put certain leading questions to some "priests" of the Theban Zeus whom he met with in the Delta and presumed to have come from Thebes. The answer he received was just such as might have been expected under the circumstances. This view of the occurrence is supported by another passage (ch. 42), where he says that "All

those who build a temple to the Theban Zeus or belong to the Theban nome spare sheep and sacrifice goats," while those "who have a temple of Mendés or belong to the Mendésian nome spare goats and sacrifice sheep." The "Theban Zeus" is the ram-headed Amun-Min (or Knem) and his worshippers who were spread all over Egypt are distinguished from the inhabitants of the Theban nome itself. The fact that they are mentioned before the inhabitants of the Theban nome suggests that the temple where Herodotos saw the image of the ram-headed Amun was situated elsewhere than at Thebes. Indeed a traveller who had once seen the marvellous structure of Karnak and the long avenue of ram-headed sphinxes which led to it could hardly have refrained from alluding to them in connection with the festival of Min. After, however, thus placing the inhabitants of the Theban nome second in the list of the worshippers of the Theban Zeus, Herodotos goes on to place them first,—an instructive parallel to his usage in chh. 54, 55<sup>1</sup>.

(3) We now come to a passage which is extremely startling. In ch. 29 he declares that he went "as an eye-witness as far as the city of Elephantinê, but from this point southward he could speak only from hearsay." I have suggested in my *Herodotos* that the words are possibly an interpolation, as they are in part omitted in one MS. But it has been pointed out to me that they are more probably a *verbatim* quotation from another author, embodied in the text of the Greek historian without acknowledgment after the fashion of his age and race, and so producing the impression in the mind of the reader that Herodotos himself actually went as far as the First Cataract. Certainly such a supposition would not only explain the want of an apodosis to the *μὲν* after *τοσόνδε*, but also the inconsistency of what follows with the general and comprehensive character of the statement immediately preceding: "from no one else [besides the sacred scribe at Sais] was I able to learn

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 42:—

(1) Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θεβαίους ἱδρυσται  
λεπὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θεβαίου εἰσι...

(2) Θεβαῖοι μὲν νῦν καὶ σοὶ διὰ τοῦ-  
τους ὄλων ἀπέχονται.

Chh. 54, 55:—

(1) οἱ λεπτεῖς τοῦ Θεβαίους Διός...

(2) τῶν ἐν Ἠθήσσι λεπῶν.

anything." The contents of chapters 29—34 show that the statement must be understood in a limited sense as referring only to "the sources" of the Nile (chh. 28 and 34), but it looks as if Herodotos when first writing it intended it to be interpreted literally, the account of the course of the Nile which follows being a subsequent addition. It is certainly noticeable that he uses the word *αὐτόπτης* elsewhere (III. 115), not of himself but of others whom he consulted.

Whether or not, however, Herodotos can be acquitted of saying in so many words that he ascended the Nile above the Fayûm, it cannot be denied that he has conveyed to his readers the impression that he did so and that his account of things and places in Upper Egypt was the result of his own experience. Indeed so successful has he been in producing this impression that it still imposes on the minds of untravelled scholars. As we have seen, however, the internal evidence of his work proves with as much certainty as is attainable upon such subjects that the impression is a false one. The Egyptian voyage of Herodotos ended with the Fayûm and the Hêraklêopolitan nome. It seems to me, therefore, that the judgment I have passed in my *Herodotos* on the amount of credibility to be assigned to the statements of the Greek historian, where otherwise unsupported, is fully justified, and that it becomes a profitable task to investigate the sources of the information of Herodotos and to determine the authors he has used and the extent to which he has used them. I have indicated a mode of carrying out this enquiry in a part of my book which has not been noticed, so far as I am aware, by any reviewer: the enquiry will at any rate show that Herodotos was not the bookless man he has often been supposed to be, and will throw light on the problems which still beset his commentators<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As an example of what may be done in this direction, I may mention the Assyrian chronology of Herodotos which has hitherto caused so much perplexity. I hope to work out the subject in detail on another occasion; here I will only give the main results of my investigation into it. Hero-

dotos's Assyrian history and chronology are alike derived from a Græco-Lylian source. The Greeks first became acquainted with the Assyrians through Lydia, Gyges having sent tribute to Assur-bani-pal or Sardanapallos, who tells us that the Assyrians had previously never even heard of the

Let me now return to the main question of this Paper, the route followed by Herodotos in Egypt. He arrived in the country during the inundation and he did not travel further south than the neighbourhood of the Fayûm. These are the two facts which I believe I have established. In order to trace his journey in detail we must have recourse to his account of Egyptian history from the time of Menes the first king of the united monarchy to the rise of the 26th (Saitic) dynasty under Psammetikhos I.

name of Lydia. Hence the Greek tales about the wealth of Sardanapallos (Hdt. II. 150). Semiramis was a Lydian goddess; and consequently though her attributes were those of the Assyrian Istar, her name is not found on the Assyrian monuments. The 520 years of Assyrian rule over "Upper Asia" (I. 96) correspond with the

505 years of the rule of the Herakleids in Lydia or "Lower Asia" west of the Halys (see I. 103, 177), the Herakleids being descended from Ninos the son of Bêlos (I. 7). As Herodotos counts 30 years for a generation as well as for a reign (II. 142, &c.), his chronological scheme was as follows:—

Lower Asia.	
	yrs.
Ninos one generation ...	30 (B.C. 1250)
Agrôn and his successors .....	505
The Mermnadæ .....	170 (B.C. 715)
Conquest of Kyros B.C.	545
Total number of yrs.	<u>705</u>

Upper Asia.	
	yrs.
Ninos .....	30 (B.C. 1250)
His successors (520—30=) .....	490
The Median revolt followed by a generation of autonomy (ch. 96)	30 (B.C. 730)
The Median kings .....	150
Conquest of Kyros B.C.	550
Total number of yrs.	<u>700</u>

The date of the overthrow of Assyges and the Median Empire by Kyros is derived from the cuneiform documents. It will be noticed that the fall of the Herakleids is placed 15 years, i.e. half a generation, after the Median revolt in harmony with the statement that the Medes "first" revolted from Assyria and "the other nations" not till a little later (I. 96). Sardanapallos is consequently assigned to B.C. 700, and the erroneous date given for the overthrow of Nineveh by Ktésias is due to a confusion of Sardanapallos

with the last king of Nineveh. The Semiramis of Herodotos is also assigned to B.C. 700 (five generations before Nitôkris the mother of Nabonidos, I. 184; see my note on the passage in my *Herodotos*); this is natural, if Semiramis is the Lydian name of the Assyro-Babylonian Istar who first became known to the Lydians in the time of Gyges. She has been confounded with the wife (or mother) of Assur-bani-pal whose father Earhaddon rebuilt Babylon.

He begins by telling us (ch. 99) that the great temple of Hêphæstos or Ptah at Memphis was built by Menes; next that the priests read to him from a papyrus the names of 330 other princes, the successors of Menes, one of whom was a queen, Nitôkris, and the last of whom was Mœris, the builder of the propylæa and pyramids on the north side of the temple. Then we are told of Sesostris (102—110) who set up the colossi in front of the temple; he was followed by his son Pherôn or Pharaoh, whom (Greek) legend connected with the *oracle* of Butô and a "Red Mound" or Kôm el-Ahmar, of which there are so many in Egypt, and to whom it also ascribed the two great obelisks at Héliopolis—the erection, really, of Usertesen I. of the 12th dynasty (ch. 111). Next we have the Greek god Prôteus, whose name is attached to the Tyrian camp at Memphis, on the south side of the temple of Ptah; Rhampsinitos, the builder of the propylæa and the two colossi on the west side of the temple of Ptah (ch. 121); and then come the builders of the three great pyramids of Gîzeh, Kheôps, Khephrên and Mykerinos, the last of whom dedicated a cow at Sais (ch. 129). They were followed by Asykhis who constructed the eastern propylæa of the temple of Ptah, and the brick pyramid of Dahshûr; Anysis who came from "the city of Anysis" and fled before the Ethiopian invaders to the island of Elbô; Sabakôs the Ethiopian who raised the sites of the Egyptian cities, more especially Bubastis; Sethôs the priest of Ptah who routed the "Arabian" host of Sennacherib at Pélusion; and lastly the Dodekarkhy who built the Labyrinth. The Dodekarkhy were overthrown by Psammetikhos I., with whom the Greek history of Egypt begins. Furthermore, according to "the Egyptians and the priests" there were 341 kings and 341 generations from Menes to Sethôs (ch. 142), i.e. 330 kings ending with Mœris in addition to the 11 princes subsequently mentioned by Herodotos.

Now there are two facts which strike us at once in regard to these 11 princes; they are each connected with a particular monument or a particular locality, and the localities follow in geographical order from north to south. But it is observable that except in the case of Anysis and Sabakôs—who is stated in ch. 152 to have

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Psammetikhos into exile and who was therefore connected with the Greek history of Egypt—all the eleven kings are associated with the great temple of Ptah at Memphis and the chief centres west and south of it as far as the Fayûm. Anysis, or Anysis, is the name not of a king but of a city<sup>1</sup>—which may not be the same as Anytis in ch. 166—and the presupposes that this city also is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Memphis. Sesostris or Ramses II., who has left his monuments in all parts of Egypt and Nubia, and who especially a Theban monarch and builder, is known only by the obelisk he erected at Memphis; the “Red Mound” of his son “the Pharaoh” is probably to be found in one of the old monuments on the eastern bank of the Nile a little above Memphis, the obelisks of Usertesén which Herodotos ascribes to him at Héliopolis within an easy drive northwards from Memphis. We have already seen that after conversing with the “priests” of the temple of Ptah at Memphis Herodotos fell into the hands of the “Memphite” Prôteus, a deity from a Greek source and has taken the place of some other or Phœnician deity. Rhampsinitos is again a Theban monarch and his historical prototype was probably Ramses III. of the 20th dynasty, but he also is celebrated not on account of his palace and temple at Medinet-Abu (Thebes) but because of the obelisks and statues which he set up in Memphis. The pyramids of the 20th dynasty, who are made to follow Rhampsinitos, belong really to the 20th dynasty and carry us back some 3000 years before the time of the Ramses of the 20th dynasty. Asykhis is Aseskaf, the immediate successor of Mykerinos (Men-ka-Ra)<sup>2</sup>, and his brick pyramid is one of those at Dahshûr south of Gîzeh. From this another chronological jump is made to Anysis and Anysis (B. C. 720). It is plain that such a list of kings could not have been derived from any Egyptian source, and conse-

Herodotos has made a similar mistake in the names of his goddesses Bubastis and Butô. Bubastis is the goddess of the temple of Pasht” (or perhaps Pasht “the place of Pasht”), and Butô is Pa-Uats “the temple of

Uats.”

<sup>2</sup> The tablet of Abydos makes him the immediate successor of Men-ka-Ra. The Greek name shows that the old reading Aseskaf instead of Shepseskaf must be adhered to.

quently the statement that there were 341 kings from Menes to Sethôs was not given, as Herodotos asserts, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, or even on that of the guides, but was a calculation of his own.

There is only one way in which he could have arrived at it. He must have given the names of the Egyptian kings, or what he believed to be Egyptian kings, in the order in which they occurred in his note-book, and this order was determined by the order of his visits to the various monuments, to which the names were attached by the guides. At Memphis the temple of Ptah was naturally the first object a traveller would go to see. Here the names of a number of Egyptian kings were recited to him, beginning with Menes—or Mina as the Greek-speaking dragomen seem to have pronounced the name, in memory of Minôs—and ending with a king who built the northern propylæa of the temple. The document from which the names were read might have resembled the Turin papyrus; more probably it contained only the names of the kings specially connected with Memphis, like the Theban document used by Eratosthenês. In any case as Herodotos did not speak Egyptian he could not have understood a word of what was read to him, and experience teaches us to distrust the interpretation which must have emanated from his guides both as regards the numeral (330) and the name of the last king, which indeed is demonstrably false. We may, perhaps, gather, however, that the scribe's chamber where the document was read was on the north side of the temple. At all events the next monuments described by Herodotos, the two colossi of Ramses II., were on the north, as has been shown by Mariette's excavations. The legend of Sesostris associated with him his son "the Pharaoh," and the latter was therefore necessarily made to follow him in the account of Herodotos. It is not needful to suppose that Herodotos made his excursion to Héliopolis immediately after his visit to the northern entrance of the temple of Ptah. He might have gone there at any time during his stay in Memphis.

Herodotos would appear to have walked round the temple along its eastern wall, where the propylæa had been built by Asykhis; but as the story told to him about Asykhis related

not to these propylæa but to one of the pyramids of Dahshûr the mention of his name and his work at Memphis is postponed. We are accordingly next taken to the southern side of the temple and the Tyrian camp, and then to the western side. This was of course the starting-point for a visit to the pyramids of Gîzeh which lay to the north-west of Memphis. During the period of the inundation Herodotos would have sailed along the canal, whose channel can still be traced from Gîzeh to a point between the ruins of the temple of Ptah and Sakkârah, the chief necropolis of Memphis, and would have landed on the rocky ledge on which the pyramids stand. This explains the impression made upon him by the causeway to the Great Pyramid, which would have been a striking object in the water, as well as his extraordinary statement that the pyramid or its subterranean vaults stood in an island formed by a canal (ch. 124). His equally extraordinary statement that inscriptions were written on the pyramid may be due to his having noticed inscriptions on the tombs or *mastabas* surrounding the pyramids, and omitting to record in his notes that they were not on the pyramid itself. That no notice should be taken of the Sphinx—that wonder of Greek travellers of a later day—is easily explicable when we remember that he reached Gîzeh by water. He would have landed just below the small pyramid which he ascribes to the daughter of Kheôps and have walked round the northern side of the great pyramid, thus making his way to the second and third, and returning to his boat either by the same road or round the southern side of the second pyramid. In either case he would not have observed the Sphinx.

On leaving Memphis for the Fayûm in the time of the inundation, Herodotos would have first passed under the pyramids of Dahshûr, on the south-west of the old city, and the fact that some of them are of brick would naturally have excited his curiosity and induced him to question his dragoman about them. It is immediately after his reference to Dahshûr, but before any mention of the Labyrinth, that the city of Anysis is named. Anysis ought therefore to lie between Dahshûr and the Fayûm, and to have been a place of such importance as to have a legend attached to it by the guides.



Now between Dahshûr and what in the time of Herodotos, before the construction of the modern railway, would have been the natural entrance to the Fayûm, the only monument which strikes the traveller is the curious pyramid of Mêdûm. No notice, however, is taken of it by Herodotos, and we must therefore seek the city of Anysis nearer the Fayûm. The Fayûm was approached through the Hêrakilêopolitan nome and by the great canal (the modern Bahr Yûsuf) on which Hêrakilêopolis, the capital of the nome, stood. Strabo calls the nome an island, as indeed it was, being surrounded by canals which opened into the Nile. Hêrakilêopolis was a city of considerable importance: it had been the seat of two dynasties; and its mounds, now called Anasîyeh or Ahnas el-Medîneh, "Ahnas the city," by the Arabs, cover a large area of ground. It is termed Khininsu in the cuneiform texts of Assur-bani-pal, which shows that its hieroglyphic name must be read Khenen-su and not Su(ten)-khenen as has sometimes been proposed. According to a well-known rule of Semitic (and Egyptian) phonetics Khininsu would tend to be pronounced Khinissu, which would be written in Hebrew characters **כּינִסּוּ**, that is to say the Hanes (Khânês) of Is. xxx. 4, which Gesenius long ago identified with the Coptic Hnes or Hêrakilêopolis. Now Hanes is manifestly Anysis, the strong guttural at the beginning, which was avoided by the Greeks in their reproduction of foreign names, being softened as in the Coptic or Later Egyptian Hues and the Arabic Ahnas. Geography and philology thus agree in determining the position of the most southerly point attained by Herodotos in Egypt, and in showing what a valuable clue is afforded by his list of Egyptian kings to the geography of his travels in the country. If the Anytis of ch. 166 is really Anysis we should have a further illustration of the way in which the statements of Herodotos are conditioned by his travelling experiences, since the name of Anytis is here immediately followed by that of an "island" in front of Bubastis, just as in ch. 137 "king" Anysis is immediately followed by Sabakôs, the raiser of the site of Bubastis.

Between Anysis and the Labyrinth Herodotos interposes two kings, Sabakôs and Sethôs. Sabakôs, the first of the Ethiopian dynasty, here represents the whole dynasty, and as he

is made to drive both Anysis and Psammetikhos to the marshes of the Delta and Syria he becomes the connecting link between the two and necessarily follows Anysis. The position of the priest-king Sethôs is more difficult to explain, and (as we may gather from ch. 147) must have to do with one of the legends current among the Greek settlers in Egypt in regard to the rise of Psammetikhos I. The fact, however, that in the story told of Sethôs Sennacherib is called "king of the Arabs and Assyrians," while his army is called "Arabian," proves that the legend must be of an Egyptian origin. Arab was the Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Shasu or Beduin, and we accordingly find some of the expounders of Manetho designating the Hyksôs as Arabs (Joseph. c. Ap. i. 14. Compare also Herod. II. 30 where Psammetikhos is said to have established a garrison in the Pelusiac Daphnê (Tel ed-Defenneh) to protect the country from "the Arabians and Assyrians.") The legend of Sethôs must therefore have been derived from an Egyptian source, and as it is associated with a statue in the temple of Ptah at Memphis it would seem to have been heard by Herodotos when at Memphis.

Herodotos does not say in what precise part of the temple the statue stood. But since the inscription which he states was upon it was one which never existed on any Egyptian monument and was simply due to the imagination of his dragomen, the hieroglyphics composing it must have been seen by Herodotos himself. Had he heard of them from the Egyptians, their meaning would have been more correctly reported. A Greek stranger, however, was not admitted within the sacred precincts of an Egyptian temple, and the statue must therefore have stood at one of the entrances of the temple of Ptah or at most in one of its outer courts. The statue was doubtless one of Horos to whom the field-mouse was dedicated, the only other deity with whom that animal was associated being Uatsit (Uats) or Butô, the nurse of Horos (see Ant. Liberal. *fab.* 28). The twin deities honoured at Butô were known as "Horos of Pe and Uatsit of Tep," and the Mayer collection of Egyptian antiquities at Liverpool possesses two bronze figures of shrew-mice (from Athribis) placed side by side on a single stand.

The key to the position occupied by Sethôs is given in the opening words of ch. 142. He was the last of the kings of whom Herodotos heard from his guides only, and the place he occupies would lead us to infer that Herodotos did not hear of him until after his return to Memphis from the Fayûm. However this may be, from this point onwards the Greek historian records what is stated not only by "the Egyptian" dragomèn but also by "other men," that is to say, by Greek writers and the traders of Naukratis (ch. 147). The legend of the Labyrinth alone is out of its place; but as it was connected with the rise of Psammetikhos it was necessarily transferred from the position it should properly have occupied to what may be called the Greek section of the narrative of Herodotos. Strictly speaking the story of the Dodekarkhy should have preceded the story of Sethôs had Herodotos adhered to the geographical order of his notes; this, however, was impossible since Sethôs was asserted to have been the last of the Memphite kings, while the legend of the Dodekarkhy was bound up with the history of Psammetikhos. Herodotos, consequently, had no choice in the matter.

We can now, therefore, give a fairly accurate sketch of the tour of Herodotos in Egypt. He arrived like other Greeks of his age at the mouth of the Kanôpic arm of the Nile, and there found the country covered with the waters of the inundation. He first made his way to the Greek capital, Naukratis, where he doubtless hired a dragoman. Under his guidance he made an excursion to Sais, and subsequently took his way in a direct line, under the lee of the Libyan desert, to Memphis, passing the pyramids of Gîzeh on his right. After inspecting the great temple of Ptah there, first visiting its northern entrance and then walking round it from east to west, he went by water to Gîzeh in order to see the Pyramids. The expedition would not have occupied more than a day, and was followed by a voyage southwards, past Dahshûr, to Anysis or Hêraklêopolis, and from thence to the Fayûm. Herodotos then returned to Memphis, and either now—or more probably on the occasion of his first visit<sup>1</sup>—made an excursion to Hêliopolis. On

<sup>1</sup> The statements made in chh. 7—9 seem to imply that Herodotos visited Hêliopolis before ascending the Nile above Memphis, and the same in-

leaving Memphis he must have passed Héliopolis again on his way to Bubastis (Tel Basta, near Zagazig) and Butô, the site of which latter place is unfortunately uncertain; while here he made a short expedition into the Arabian desert in order to see the bones of the winged serpents (ch. 73<sup>1</sup>). Eventually he found himself, in all probability, at Pélusion (III. 10), but it is impossible to say whether he arrived there from Bubastis by the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile or whether he made his way back to Naukratis and the Kanôpic mouth, and from thence coasted along the Delta, touching at Pélusion, in a ship which finally brought him to Tyre (ch. 44). His reference to the Pelusiatic Daphnê in ch. 141 may be an indication of his having followed the first-mentioned route. Such a question, however, can only be decided when exploration in the Delta has settled the ancient geography of the country and determined the sites of Paprêmis, of Butô, of Busiris and of Prosôpitis. Hermopolis Magna or Damanhûr, which he probably saw, could easily have been visited by him on his way to Naukratis from the sea; whether this was also the case as regards Paprêmis, Busiris and Prosôpitis must be left to future research to decide. Our knowledge of the ancient geography of the Delta is still in a most unsatisfactory state, and excavation alone can enable us to settle it. The discovery of Naukratis however is a cheering illustration of what may be done at a comparatively small outlay, and it may therefore be hoped that it will arouse classical scholars as well as Egyptologists to take a practical interest in the archæological exploration of the Delta.

A. H. SAYCE.

ference may be drawn from the words he uses in ch. 3 on which I have commented above.

<sup>1</sup> In the list of nomes Butô is named between Bubastis and Pharbæthos,

which is usually identified with Horbêt near Abu Kebîr, 15 miles N.E. of Zagazig. In this case Butô ought to be near Mehyeh, 8 miles N. of Zagazig.





*M. S. Peck Esq.  
with the writers'  
sincere regards.*

THE EPOCH  
OF THE  
REIGN OF MENES.  
BY  
JOHANNES VON GUMPACH, ESQ.

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## ON THE EPOCH OF THE REIGN OF MENES.

READ BEFORE THE INSTITUTE, 23RD MARCH, 1857,

BY JOHANNES VON GUMPACH, ESQ.

INDIVIDUALS are but so many types of their species. The history of every one of us is a miniature of the history of the human race. Who is able to trace his recollections beyond a certain epoch of his existence? Our origin and the first period of our infancy, so far as our personal knowledge goes, are shrouded in complete and impenetrable secrecy. The same is the case with the earliest history of mankind. It will never be disclosed to us; or, at the best, we have no reasonable hope that it ever will. The inhabitants of no other worlds were called by God to witness the birth of man, that they might relate to him what they beheld. The veil, which He Himself threw over the act of the creation, no human hand will be allowed to lift. Never shall we succeed in tracing the history of our race to its cradle, much less to its origin.

It is true that numerous attempts to this end have been made, and, no doubt, will continue to be made, in all times. But, upon examination, what do we find them to be? The mere flights of a wild and ungoverned imagination, soaring far above the highest land-marks of history, and viewing the latter, from the dreamy regions of theory and speculation, only as so many *conveniences* placed in the ocean of time for its special use. Yet, similar indulgences of the fancy are presented to the public as the results of profound chronological research and learning. Harmless enough in themselves, they unfortunately tend to discredit, in the general opinion, a science so little understood and appreciated as is Chronology, though not improperly termed the backbone of history, and yielding in importance to few other branches of human knowledge.

But whilst the earliest infancy of our race is involved in inscrutable mystery, still, as there is a period in the life of individual man to which his clearly defined recollections carry him back, so there is a corresponding period in the

existence of mankind to which its accredited history may be traced, and which we emphatically term *the historical epoch*. It would seem to reach nearly 5,000 years into the past, or to fall between the 25th and the 30th century before the Christian era. At least, the chronological traditions of those ancient nations, with whose history we are sufficiently acquainted, point without exception to that period as comprising the epochs of the reigns of their earliest recorded kings. The accredited history of Egypt alone is by some chronologers asserted to ascend to far remoter ages. Thus Chevalier Bunsen—who not only places “the creation of the first man in Northern Asia,” but also traces the history of language and of its grammatical structure up to 20,000 years B.C.—assigns the year B.C. 9,085 as the epoch of the reign of Bytis, the first *priestly* king of Thebes; whilst he states the reign of the first *electd* king of Egypt to have commenced in the year B.C. 7,230, and that of her first *hereditary* king in the year B.C. 5,413. He then, in B.C. 3,624, divides the empire into Upper and Lower Egypt, in order to reunite it 350 years later under Menes, its *first historical* king. No rational person would wish me to follow Chevalier Bunsen into the regions of his extravagant speculations. Being unconnected with the well-known Prussian expedition to Egypt, undertaken several years ago at the personal expense of King Frederick-William IV., the most enlightened and munificent patron of science in our time, and entrusted by him to the able conduct of Professor Lepsius, a distinguished member of this Institute,—I do not feel in duty bound to offer to his Majesty a return for his thousands of goodly Fredericks-d’or in the shape of as many centuries of Egyptian antiquity. But, however untenable certain hypotheses concerning the age of the kingdom of Egypt may be, they are, as regards the epochs assigned by Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Lepsius to the reign of Menes, not altogether devoid of traditionary support; and the question of the accredited period of Egyptian history, therefore, presents a deep interest, not merely in a chronological point of view, but also with regard to the history of our species. It is on this question that I would venture to offer a few remarks, which, I have but a diffident hope to express, may not be considered wholly undeserving of some moments of indulgent attention.

Few are the contested points of chronology on which there exists so wide a difference of opinion, as is the case with regard to the epoch of the reign of Menes, universally allowed to have been the first historical king of Egypt. Whilst M. Lesueur places it as high as B.C. 5,773, Professor Boeckh as high as B.C. 5,702, Professor Lepsius in B.C. 3,893, and Chevalier Bunsen in B.C. 3,623, Mr. Poole brings it down to B.C. 2,717, Mr. Nolan to B.C. 2,673, and Mr. Osburn to B.C. 2,429, Mr. Sharpe questioning the historical existence of Menes altogether. Thus, the two systems of Egyptian chronology, of which the above numbers are the exponents, and familiarly termed the long and the short chronologies, are seen to differ by a space of time varying from 900 to 3,300 years—naked figures, which barely convey to us an idea of their historical import. If we would form such an idea, let us suppose that, at some future period of the world's history, chronographers were to raise the question, whether Victoria I. of England reigned in the days of Napoleon III. of France, or in the time of Moses, the great law-giver of the Jews? whether from the 13th century before, to the 19th century after, Christ, there had, or had not, existed a British empire under the rule of princes *posterior* to Victoria I.? And let it be remembered that, under the former supposition not only the reign of her present Majesty and the entire history of England would have to be thrown back in the past beyond the period of the Jewish Exodus, but that also the vast gulph of time, thus created, would have to be filled up again with new events of English history, and that the battles of the Alma and of Inkermann, and the fall of Sebastopol, supposed to have taken place some 3,000 years ago, would have to be connected with the history of the year A.D. 1857. Unfortunately, we know almost as little of the early events of Egyptian history as we do of those of the next ten or thirty centuries to come, and still less of their sequence and connexion. Bare names and numbers, admitting of a ready adaptation to any chronological system, is nearly all, tradition has handed down to us of the remotest history of the lands of the Nile.

As it is now generally admitted, that Manetho's list of Egyptian dynasties, in the form in which it has reached us, observes no consecutive chronological order, but that some at least of those dynasties reigned contemporary with each

other, I may be permitted to silently pass over the systems of Egyptian chronology advanced by M. Lesueur and Professor Boeckh, who still rested them on the contrary opinion; the latter commencing the reign of the gods, or the first year of Hephaestos, on the 20th July, B.C. 30,522. There remain thus only two "long" systems, those of Professor Lepsius and Chevalier Bunsen, for us to examine,—a task greatly facilitated by the circumstance that both rest their respective systems exclusively on a certain number of "3,555 years," which the *true* Manetho, they assert, states to have elapsed from the reign of Menes to the death of the younger Nectanebus in the year B.C. 340, and which would raise the former epoch to the year B.C. 3,895. This epoch Professor Lepsius adopts; only that, taking the 3,555 years to be vague Egyptian years of 365 days, he lowers it to the Julian year B.C. 3,893, in contradiction with himself; since he himself (in another part of his "Chronology of the Egyptians") insists that Manetho reckons according to fixed Alexandrian years of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$  days, as is really the case. On the other hand, Chevalier Bunsen, with that inconsistency which so greatly distinguishes his lately completed work on Egypt, after repeatedly urging the indubitable genuineness and paramount importance of the Manethonian number of 3,555 years, and adopting it for the two periods of the new empire and the Hyksos time, rejects it as regards the duration of the old empire in favour of the Canon of Eratosthenes, which he calculates to be shorter by 271 years. It is thus that he obtains for the commencement of the reign of Menes the year B.C. 3,623, instead of the year B.C. 3,895. But notwithstanding this modified acceptance of the number in question on the part of Chevalier Bunsen, his entire system of Egyptian chronology depends as much on it as does that of Professor Lepsius. To prove, therefore, the unhistorical character of that fundamental date is to overthrow the very basis upon which both their chronological systems are made to rest, and, consequently, to overthrow those systems themselves.

The passage, in which the number of 3,555 years occurs, belongs to Syncellus, and reads thus: "Manetho, who is so celebrated among the Egyptians, in treating of the 30 dynasties mentioned in the Old Chronicle, and, evidently relying on the authority of the latter, differs yet essentially

from it as regards the number of years; . . . for the 113 generations, which he describes in three books, and under 30 dynasties, he computes to have reigned altogether 3,555 years, from A.M. 1,586 to 5,141, or to within 15 years of the empire of Alexander, . . . from the first king of Egypt, Mestraim, who is also called Menes, . . . to Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt." It will be remarked that, from this passage, both Professor Lepsius and Chevalier Bunsen select the number of "3,555 years," as alone suitable to their purpose, and that they altogether disregard the "113 generations," inseparably connected, and at the same time utterly irreconcilable, with the former — irreconcilable inasmuch as the mean duration of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  years for a long series of successive reigns, which those numbers suppose, is contrary to all human experience. One only of the two numbers, therefore, can be historical; the other must, of necessity, be fictitious. We have seen that Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Lepsius adopt the "3,555 years" in the former sense. Let us inquire what reasons they assign for their choice. Chevalier Bunsen, in the first place, urges the intact character of the number of "3,555 years;" but does not attempt to prove the corruptness of the "113 generations." The simple fact that "no clerical error has crept into the date," as Syncellus found it recorded, can as little establish its historical character as it is calculated to convince us that the work from which it was taken was the genuine history of Manetho. On the contrary, the irreconcilable nature of the two combined dates irresistibly leads us to a different conclusion. A second and last reason adduced by Chevalier Bunsen, and repeated by Professor Lepsius, in favour of the 3,555 years, we will presently consider. The latter has, at least, seen the necessity of some notice being taken of the "113 generations;" and bolder than Chevalier Bunsen, he endeavours, by a truly desperate argument, to discredit the historical character of that date. "When finally," Professor Lepsius writes, "Syncellus makes mention in this place of the 113 generations, which, for reasons already assigned, belong exclusively to the Old Chronicle, he does so merely in consequence of his frivolously confounding what immediately precedes; unless, indeed, the date should have got into the text by the wisdom of some later copyist." Alas, for poor Wisdom! she is made to serve many a purpose, and to cover a multitude of sins. But Pro-

fessor Lepsius's "Reasons *already assigned?*" On turning to the page of his work to which he refers us, we read thus: "New, in the Old Chronicle, are, at all events, the 113 generations." Not a syllable more does he say. That sole assertion constitutes his "reasons already assigned." Nay, as appears from his own work, he must have been fully aware that they did *not*, as he pretends, "exclusively belong to the Old Chronicle." At any rate, there they remain equally unmoved by his "wisdom" and his "frivolity."

On the other hand, Professor Lepsius adduces three reasons in support of the number of 3,555 years. "This number," he argues, "must, under any circumstances, be regarded as a traditional one, handed down to Syncellus, who treats it as of so great importance that, without connecting it with any other dates, he places it, as the sum of Manetho's chronology, in opposition to the Old Chronicle, and relies on it in order to establish his own biblical epoch for the early history of Egypt." But this reason is a sorry one indeed. The 17,520 years, which Manetho states the gods and demigods to have reigned, are no less a traditional number, handed down to Syncellus, than are the 3,555 years. And so far from attaching any importance to the latter date, he treats it, according to the own statement of Professor Lepsius, ever in contradiction with himself, as a "lying" number, which he unhesitatingly reduces to 2,365 years, by deducting from it two periods of 656 and 534 years as purely fictitious,—*"a stupid process,"* in Chevalier Bunsen's opinion, *though adopted by himself* on a more limited scale.!

Professor Lepsius's second reason is as futile as we have found his first one to be. It demands some preliminary remarks. The "true" Manetho divided his historical work into Sothic cycles. He commenced and ended the reign of the gods, and, consequently, commenced again his human history with epochs of that cycle. It is thus he reckons:—

		B. C.	
Reign of the gods commences with the epoch of the 1st cycle		=20th July 21,765	
namely: gods, 13,870 years } . . . . .		17,520	
demi-gods, 3,650 years } . . . . .		<hr/>	
ends at the conclusion of the 12th cycle . . . . .		=19th July 4,245	
Human history commences with the epoch of the 13th cycle		=20th July 4,245	
and comprises :			
10 (pre-historical) generations, Thinites,	350 years	}	
	1,110 years		
	epoch of the 14th cycle 20th July	2,785	
	1,460 years	<hr/> =1,460	
30 historical dynasties, with Menes at their head, together 3,555 years in 113 reigns,	{	epoch of the 15th cycle 20th July	1,325
			985 years
			<hr/> = 985
	3,555 years	<hr/>	
concluding at the extinction of the Egyptian empire in the 986th year of the 15th Sothic cycle . . . . .		=20th July 340	

This statement differs only in one point from the views of Professor Lepsius, inasmuch as he makes the epochs of the Sothic cycles occur three years later, although, as I have already had occasion to remark, he himself insists that Manetho reckons according to fixed years of 365½ days, and, moreover, that the epoch of the 13th cycle *actually did fall in the year* B.C. 4,245, instead of the year B.C. 4,242. Nor can the corresponding commencement of the 15th cycle, on the 20th July, B.C. 1,325 instead of B.C. 1,322, as commonly supposed, any longer, I venture to think, be subject to a doubt; the astronomical and historical proofs, I have had occasion to adduce to that effect, appearing to me conclusive.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Zeitrechnung der Babylonier und Assyrier." Heidelberg, 1852. "Zwei Chronologische Abhandlungen." Heidelberg, 1854. I may be permitted to take this opportunity of stating that, since the appearance of the latter pamphlet, two Demotic inscriptions, comparing years of the Apis cycle with regnal years of a king of Egypt, have been published by Dr. Brugsch in his "Demotic Grammar." Unfortunately they both refer to the same reign, that of one of the Ptolemies, whose 32nd and 33rd years are stated to correspond to the 2nd and 3rd years of the Apis cycle. The Ptolemy meant can only be Philadelphus, Philometor, or Soter. Dr. Brugsch supposes the inscriptions to date from the reign of the former; but his reasons apply with greater force to Philometor, who succeeded in the year A.N. 568. His 32nd and 33rd years would therefore be A.N. 599 and 600. Now, I have proved the year A.N. 223 to have been the first year of an Apis period. Consequently, adding 15 completed cycles = 375 Egyptian years, the year A.N. 598 would be the epoch of another cycle, and the 2nd and 3rd years of the latter

Professor Lepsius, now, argues thus: "From Manetho's mode of arrangement, we should have been led to expect that he would have made the first year of the first historical king, Menes, to coincide with an epoch of the Sothic cycle. But, on the contrary, we find not only that, according to Manetho, the epoch of the reign of Menes does *not* fall upon such an epoch, but that the Egyptian historian moreover, and evidently for the purpose of thus far extending the human history, *invents* a pre-historical dynasty of 10 Thinite kings, with 350 regnal years, in order to interpose them between the gods and Menes. "And this number of 350 years, thus introduced," he concludes further, "a number which, though pre-historical and, therefore, fictitious, yet partakes of no cyclical character, has nothing in common with the Sothic period, and can no more be a Sothic number than its complementary number 3,555, proves, by this very circumstance, both the genuineness and the historical character of the important, truly Manethonian number 3,555; and proves further, that the establishment of the first historical year, or the epoch of Menes, fixed directly by that number, cannot first date from Manetho, but must be at least as old as is the invention of the cyclical system of Egyptian mythology, inseparably connected with it, and which no one would or could first ascribe to Manetho. The epoch of Menes, therefore, must have been fixed previously to the consolidation of the cyclical system, because the latter is based on that number and supposes it; in other words, the epoch of Menes, recorded by Manetho, was always a given one, historically handed down to him."

Now, I quite agree with the premises established by Professor Lepsius; but the conclusion he draws from them, I hold to be utterly untenable. Or, is it not simply preposterous to assert that the number of 3,555 years is "inseparable" from the cyclical system of Egyptian mythology, or that the number in question is necessarily involved in that system? It is plain, that any other chronologist than Manetho might have chosen any other number than 3,555

correspond to the years A.N. 599 and 600, in the most perfect accordance with our inscriptions. The anomalous epoch of the 6th Phamenoth, A.N. 584, adopted by Professor Lepsius, agrees with *neither* of the reigns here in question. Indeed, he should never have permitted his fanciful views regarding the Apis cycle to meet the eyes of chronologers.



years for the duration of the real history of Egypt, so long as he was possessed of sufficient power of invention to make up the chosen number by a complementary one, in accordance with his system, to the sum of 3,905 years. Supposing the text of Syncellus to read 2,999 instead of 3,555 years, and 906 instead of 350 years, would not the argument of Professor Lepsius apply with equal force to the former, as it does to the latter, or *any other two* numbers of years which, within the 13th Sothic cycle, make up the sum of 3,905 years, reckoned upwards from B.C. 340? Elaborate as is the argument of Professor Lepsius, it is so utterly futile as hardly to deserve the name of argument.

The third and concluding reason assigned both by Professor Lepsius and Chevalier Bunsen in favour of the date of 3,555 years is, that this number suits no known system whatever of ancient chronology, but is irreconcilable with all, and, consequently, admits of no explanation in accordance with any such system; "so that Boeckh," as Professor Lepsius adds, "after likewise seeking in vain for an explanation, at last arrives at the conclusion that the sum of 3,555 years is at any rate incorrect, being hardly the invention of any one, but probably resting on an error of Syncellus, who unwittingly vitiated or falsified the traditionary number." Certainly, such a strange and groundless assertion as this is undeserving of a moment's consideration; and it must be admitted that, so long as the number in question remains unexplained, the argument, based upon this circumstance, is not without some degree of force. But does it follow that, because the number of 3,555 years has thus far defied every attempt at explanation, it should be inexplicable? Far from it. To any one versed in chronology the explanation presents itself readily enough.

We have seen that Manetho,—according to Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Lepsius, the *true* Manetho,—is, as they themselves attest, a systematizing chronographer, who adapts his entire system to the Sothic period, and invents in the first place a long reign of gods and demi-gods, and then a pre-historical dynasty for the purpose of connecting that reign with human history. Chevalier Bunsen not only recognises in those royal personifications of Manetho's fancy, bodily opposition kings, and divides the Egyptian empire in order to submit to their rule half the lands of the Nile, but, moreover,

he sees in the demi-gods of the same historian's creation, so many electoral and hereditary princes, and even bestows some ten or twelve centuries of the very reign of the gods on King Bytis and his mortal successors. Professor Lepsius also regards Menes, "according to authentic national records," as the successor of Manetho's pre-historical Thinite dynasty of 10 kings, and the founder of a new empire, "by the division," he unaccountably adds, "of a yet older one." He holds Manetho to have been "a sober, intelligent, truth-seeking historian," who, "under all circumstances, faithfully adhered to his ancient authorities" ("the public annals of Egypt"), and whose statements possess "throughout the value of contemporary monuments," so that, in fact, the accredited history of Egypt would extend back to the epoch of the reign of the gods, that is, to the year B.C. 21,765. I cannot share these opinions. On the contrary. The palpable object of Manetho in extending his chronology to so remote a period, is to claim for the nation, to which he belonged, an undue antiquity; and we are, therefore, fully justified in assuming that this tendency, which equally characterizes the works of Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Lepsius in our own days, pervades his entire history; and, further, since he systematically reckons the duration of a reign of the gods at half a Sothic period, and that of a reign of the demi-gods at the twelfth part of the same period, that he likewise should have computed the duration of a human reign at a fixed number of years, corresponding to his system. And such, indeed, do we find to be the case. His "10 Thinite kings," with their regnal period of "350 years," contain the key to his whole proceeding. *He computed the duration of a human reign at 35 years.* The historical number of 113 generations, or successive reigns, was handed down to him; their duration probably not. Or, if it was, he made his historical knowledge subservient to his systematizing purpose. At any rate, he adhered to the 113 generations, making them the basis of his calculations, and computing them, as he does the 10 pre-historical generations, at 35 years each. He thus obtained 3,955 years for the sum-total of their reign; and, carrying this period upwards from the year B.C. 340, or the last year of the Egyptian kingdom, he arrived at the year B.C. 4,295, that is 50 years *beyond* the epoch of the Sothic cycle, following immediately

upon the reign of the gods. This would not do. Nor did it accord with his system to expand by another Sothic cycle either the historical or the pre-historical times, any more than the period of the gods. Was he, then, simply to waive the 50 years, and let the epoch of the reign of Menes fall upon the epoch of the 13th Sothic period, without the introduction of any transition period between that king and the gods,—between history and fable? He had no choice left but to sacrifice a few centuries of the imagined antiquity of his people, for the purpose of lending to, or preserving, according to his opinion, the historical character of his system. He, consequently, with the view of not curtailing the duration of the 113 reigns, as calculated by him, to a greater extent than necessity required, interposed the modest round number of 10 transition kings, with their  $10 \times 35 = 350$  regnal years, between Menes and the gods. These 350 years, added to the 50 years, by which his sum-total of  $113 \times 35 = 3,955$  years fall in excess of the epoch he had assigned to them, make together 400 years, by which he had to shorten his computation. Subtracting, therefore, 400 years from the sum-total of 3,955 years, we find a remainder of exactly 3,555 years left for the duration of the 113 consecutive reigns, according to Manetho's system. Such is the simple origin of that purely fictitious number of 3,555 years, on which Professor Lepsius and Chevalier Bunsen have not hesitated to found their systems of Egyptian chronology—systems which thus, by the proof of their unhistorical and purely imaginary basis, are completely and irrecoverably overthrown.

If, however, a still further proof to this effect were needed, it is furnished us by the 113 generations, which the Manetho of Syncellus—be he the real or a pseudo-Manetho—states to have reigned from the first year of Menes to the death of Nectanebus II., or the extinction of the kingdom of Egypt in B.C. 340. For, it having been shown that Manetho rests his computed system of chronology on that number, it admits of no reasonable doubt, not only that our number was by him regarded as indubitably historical, but that such, also, is its real character. The attempt of Professor Lepsius to call this character into doubt, we have seen to prove a signal failure. On the other hand, we meet with the same number of 113 successive reigns, occupying the entire space of Egyptian history, in that ancient record called the Old

Chronicle, which Chevalier Bunsen endeavours to represent as a bungling fabrication, and is commonly, but without sufficient reason, looked upon as an undoubtedly spurious work. Professor Lepsius would have us believe, not only that it concluded with Amasis, the last king of the 26th dynasty, but also that it enumerated, inclusive of 14 generations of the gods and 8 of the demi-gods, no more than 100 generations,—a purely cyclical number altogether destructive of the historical character of the document,—and that the 13 supplementary generations from Amasis to Nectanebus II., were added by Syncellus. But Syncellus himself, as we have seen, in the most positive terms denies the latter assertion, and assures us of the contrary; whilst the very text of the Old Chronicle, as plainly contradicting Professor Lepsius as does Syncellus, concludes not with the 26th but with the 30th dynasty, that is, not with Amasis but with Nectanebus II. Moreover, the number of generations or successive reigns between those two kings is 20 instead of 13, as Professor Lepsius is under the necessity of pretending. And, lastly, independently of minor points, he has to assign a mean duration of nearly 37 years (the historical mean being 20—21 years) to the 63 generations, which he makes the Old Chronicle to count from Menes to Amasis. Such are the principal features of Professor Lepsius's "critical" arrangement of the text of that document. There can, in my opinion, resting on the statement of Syncellus, be no reasonable doubt but that this ancient, and even in the corrupt state in which it has come down to us, still valuable record, enumerated, like Manetho, under 30 dynasties, 113 successive reigns of mortal kings, differing only from him as to their duration, which the Old Chronicle makes  $36,525 - 34,201 = 2,324$  years, or in the mean about  $20\frac{1}{2}$  years to each reign, in perfect accordance with our empirical knowledge. The reign of 8 demi-gods, which it interposes between that of the gods and human history, had evidently a twofold aim—that of a transition period, and of making up the cyclical sum-total of 36,525 years, which, thus considered, in no manner affects the historical credibility of the number of years, ascribed to the reign of mortal kings. This remark embodies a chronological truth of some importance, and has not been sufficiently considered by those who have pronounced so sweeping a judgment against the Old Chronicle.

The Sothis, a work erroneously ascribed to Manetho, and which Professor Lepsius, by his own peculiar critical process, moulds into the same shape as he does the Old Chronicle, enumerates between Menes and Amasis only 83 generations, the number for the old empire being short by 10. We thus, by adding the 20 reigns from Amasis to the extinction of the kingdom, obtain only a sum-total of 103 instead of 113 reigns. If, however, we take the error alluded to into account, we possess in the number of generations of the Sothis a further date confirmatory of Manetho and the Old Chronicle. Nor must I omit to state that the Sothis agrees with the latter record to the very year, as regards the duration of their respective number of reigns, the Sothis reckoning from Menes to Amasis 2,139 years; or, if we suppose its author to have placed the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in B.C. 525, as is commonly done, and the last year of the kingdom in B.C. 340,  $2,139 + (525 - 340 =) 185 = 2,324$  years from Menes to Nectanebus II., in the most perfect accordance with the Old Chronicle. The agreement is a striking one. But the 113 generations of Manetho we meet with yet again and again. Thus Diodorus Siculus enumerates 116 consecutive reigns, from Menes to Darius Codomannus, the third Persian king after Nectanebus II., and thus he, too, reckons 113 generations between the latter king and Menes. The author of the royal lists of Syncellus enumerates, as does Syncellus himself, between Menes and Amasis 86 kings, assigning to the ancient Pharaonic times 9 instead of 17 kings, and to the Hyksos period 23 instead of 22 kings, or in all 7 reigns less than he should have done. Considering this difference, and adding the 20 reigns posterior to Amasis, we once more obtain 113 generations between Menes and Nectanebus II., with a regnal period of 2,395 years. Eratosthenes enumerates 38 native reigns during the old, Apollodorus 53 during the new empire; Manetho 43 Hyksos reigns, of which 2 in the 13th, and 19 reigns in the 18th and 19th dynasties are contemporary with native rulers, leaving 22 reigns in consecutive chronological order between the lists of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. In adding, therefore, the three series of 38, 22 and 53 kings, as independently enumerated by three different chronographers, we once again arrive at 113 generations, occupying the entire space of Egyptian history from Menes to Nectanebus II. Another

combination leads to the same result. Diodorus tells us, that from Menes to Moeris there reigned 81 kings; and from Hierodotus we learn that, inclusive of the reigns from Amasis to Nectanebus II, the number of kings from Moeris to the latter was 32. Adding both sums together, we obtain once more the sum-total of 113 generations between Nectanebus II. and Menes. This number is further confirmed by additional historical testimony, to discuss which would lead me too far on the present occasion. All I wished here to show is, that, in the passage of Syncellus previously quoted, and in which he states Manetho to have reckoned 113 generations, with 3,555 regnal years, from the historical commencement to the final extinction of the kingdom of Egypt, not only the 3,555 years, upon which Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Lepsius have exclusively based their respective systems of chronology, are an indubitably fictitious number computed by Manetho; but, on the other hand also, that the 113 generations, which occur in the same passage, constitute its historical element; and that, if there is among a vast proportion of corrupt figures relative to Egyptian history, which have been handed down to us by ancient chronographers, one number supported by a mass of evidence and entitled more than any other to historical credibility, it is that number of "113 generations."

Having thus cleared our way, we may now enter upon the consideration of the main point of our inquiry. It is a well-established truth, that, however greatly the duration of single reigns may vary, there is a mean, towards which they approximate in proportion of their number; and that, the longer any series of successive reigns, the less it will deviate from that mean. Now, we know this mean to be 20—21 years for a single reign; and with reference to a series of 113 consecutive reigns, certainly each reign cannot reasonably be supposed to have extended in the mean more than one year more or less. For the most probable duration of the 113 generations, we would thus obtain the sum-total of  $20 \times 113 = 2,260$  years, and for the two extremes of their duration 2,147 and 2,486 years. Reckoning from the year B.C. 340, we would thus obtain the year B.C. 2,657 as the probable, and at the years B.C. 2,826 as the possible, epochs of the reign deduced from the 113 consecutive reigns inter-

vening between him and Nectanebus II. In very close agreement with these results, the 2,324 years, which, according to the common testimony of the Old Chronicle and the Sothis, elapsed between the two reigns in question, lead to the year B.C. 2,664, and the 2,395 years of the Laterculus of Syncellus to the year B.C. 2,735, as the epoch, we are seeking to establish.

It is not my intention to adduce, on this occasion, testimony of any kind which would involve the discussion of details, whether connected with the succession of the Manethonian dynasties, subject to so much difference of opinion, or with the monumental and literary remains of Egypt, still so imperfectly understood. I must necessarily, therefore, continue to confine myself to those few additional points of broad and massive evidence, bearing upon our question, which we possess, and upon which alone, in my opinion, its solution, in the present state of our hieroglyphical and historical knowledge of Egypt, can successfully be attempted.

There occurs in Herodotus one important passage of this kind, which has been frequently cited, much discussed, and yet never been properly understood. I allude to the well-known passage in which he informs us of the age which the Egyptian priests themselves, in personal communication with him, ascribed to their first historical king. During the time from Menes to their own days, they told the Greek traveller, the Sun had four times left his seat; twice he had risen where he then set, and where he then rose there he had twice set. Professor Lepsius erroneously understands these words, which are generally and correctly taken to apply to the Sothic period, or rather to the Egyptian kalendar, as based upon the vague year of 365 days, to apply to the Phenix cycle, to which he, erroneously again, ascribes a duration of 1,505 instead of 1,507 tropical years, and with which they have no connexion whatever. The Egyptian priests simply transferred the movement of their vague, because imperfect kalendar, as compared with the Earth's annual motion, to the Sun, as we still, in common parlance, do the diurnal motion of our planet. In other words, they applied the length of their vague year, consisting of 365 days, as the year's normal duration, to the Sun's apparent motion; and regarding their kalendar as immoveable, in seeing the

Sun at the commencement, or on the 1st of Thot, of each year, gradually recede from star to star, they mistook this apparent recession, resulting from their vague kalendar, for a real motion of the Sun; and as, really, their 1st of Thot, in the course of every 1,460 Julian or 1,461 Egyptian years, performed a whole circuit with regard to the tropical year, so they believed the Sun to perform that circuit, in the same (the Sothic) period, with regard to the stars. Hence, the meaning of the priests is perfectly clear, and easily ascertained. Yet, strange enough, our passage has frequently been understood to refer to 4, or even to 8 completed Sothic cycles. Professor Lepsius has been the first to interpret it more correctly. He holds it "to indicate only 2 completed cycles," and that "without contradiction;" but the temptation to contradict himself proves too irresistible for him—he yields to it, and shows, a third time contradicting himself, that the words in question, in fact, refer only to one completed circuit and a half. And such is indubitably the case. Let the Sun on any given day have been in any given sign of the zodiac, that day is the starting-point, and on it he would, for the first time, leave his seat, rising in it and setting in the opposite sign; 730 years later he would rise in the latter sign, and set in the former, leaving his seat for the second time; 730 years later still, he would rise and set a second time in his first place, leaving his seat a third time; and 730 years later again, he would set a second time where he first rose, and rise a second time where he first set, leaving his seat the fourth time. And such were the (apparent) changes, which the priests of Egypt told Herodotus, the place of the Sun had then undergone (with reference to the commencement of the vague year), since the reign of Menes. Consequently, they placed Menes at a distance from their own time of not less than  $3 \times 730 = 2,190$  years, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Sothic periods. But it is little probable that Herodotus should have arrived in Egypt precisely  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Sothic periods subsequent to Menes. On the other hand, it is as little probable that the priests, had the Sun already entered the fourth quarter of his second circuit, should not have expressed themselves differently from what they did, and to the effect that he was about to leave his seat for the fifth time. In all probability, therefore, the Sun was then in the third quarter of his second circuit since Menes; and the epoch of the latter's reign must



thus, according to the Egyptian priests themselves, have fallen in the interval of the years 2,190—2,555, before Herodotus's visit to Egypt, in about B.C. 460, and, hence, in the interval of the years B.C. 2,650—3,015, in perfect accordance with the epochs previously found.

Professor Lepsius, who knows how to press every date into his service and to shape it into harmony with his own particular views, has arrived at a very different result. In the first place, and for the purpose, partly of gaining a suitable starting-point, partly of securing an additional century of Egyptian antiquity, he substitutes the Phenix cycle of 1,505 years for the Sothic period of 1,460 years. In the second place, he converts the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cycles, in contradiction with himself, into two completed cycles, thus gaining seven centuries and a half more. In the third place, he refers the end of that period, not to the time of Herodotus's presence in Egypt, as the repeated  $\nu\nu$  attests that it should be done; but to the time of Sethos, the priest of Hephaestos, in order to gain another two centuries and a half in support of his system. And, lastly, he is compelled to reckon his two completed cycles from the year B.C. 3,285, that is, from an epoch, according to him, six centuries *posterior* to Menes; asserting that the first departure of the Sun was stated by the Egyptian priests to have taken place *since* Menes, as though, under such a supposition, Menes might not with the same propriety be assumed to have lived as many thousands, as he assumes him to have lived hundreds, of years previously to that epoch, which is intended to fix the date of his reign, and, therefore, must necessarily either coincide with, or precede, the latter. The question thus presenting itself is an important one; the point at issue being, whether the priests allude to two fixed seats of the Sun in the heavens, or to any two points whatever at which he might have happened to rise and set on the 1st of Thot in the reign of Menes. For that the 1st of Thot marked then the commencement of the Egyptian year, as in subsequent times, I will presently show. Our passage, certainly, is couched in such general terms as to admit of a general construction; yet, when we consider that the Sothic period forms the basis of the priestly statement, and that the 1st of Thot coinciding with the epoch of that cycle fell, in the normal year, together with the summer-solstice and the inundation of the Nile, we can hardly fail to arrive at the

conclusion that, in speaking simply of the Sun's seat, they meant its fixed seat at the summer-solstice, and that, consequently, they represented the epoch of the reign of Menes as coinciding with the corresponding epoch of the Sothic cycle, i. e., the year B.C. 2,785. This epoch would fall within the limits of the possible epochs deduced from the 113 generations, since we obtain for each reign a duration in the mean, of  $21\frac{1}{3}$  years. From the statement of pseudo-Manetho, also, we have some reason to infer that the true Manetho placed the epoch of Menes's reign on an epoch of the Sothic cycle; for commencing his history, as he does, with the epoch of the thirteenth period, the probable assumption that the pseudo-Manetho extended that history by exactly one period, would lead to the inference in question; to which, however, no great weight is to be attached.

Before I proceed further, I would say a few words on the short systems of chronology to which I have referred at the commencement of this paper. Mr. Nolan chiefly relies on the Old Chronicle; Mr. Osburn principally on the monuments, in connexion with the date of the Jewish Exodus. Both arrive at their respective epochs of the reign of Menes by a process of chronological details, a discussion of which is necessarily excluded from the scope of these remarks. The case is different with regard to the system of Mr. Poole. He fixes the epoch in question independently of those details, and on a cyclical and astronomical basis. In the first place, Mr. Poole assumes the existence of what he terms a Tropical Cycle, comprising 1,500 vague years. Its epoch, which he refers to the year B.C. 2,005, he states to be marked by the vernal equinox, attended by the occurrence of a new-moon, and the coincidence of the tropical and the vague years. He further proves the important fact, that the Egyptians had great panegyric periods, to which he assigns a mean length of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  Julian years, or an alternate duration of  $364\frac{1}{2}$  and 366 years; each panegyric month consisting of 30 years, and being divided into twenty divisions of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years each, with  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 intercalary years at the end of each period. He then, finding that in the reign of Amenemhe II., the commencement of the tropical cycle, as he interprets the monument, is mentioned as having occurred in the course of the twelfth division of the twelfth month of a panegyric period; he refers this date to the year B.C. 2,005, and thus is enabled

to compute the epoch of the corresponding panegyric period to have been the year B.C. 2,352, and the preceding epoch the year B.C. 2,717, in which he places the commencement of the reign of Menes. But this view, much as it contains that is true and important, contains also much that is erroneous and untenable. In the first place, a tropical cycle of 1,500 vague years, having no astronomical basis whatever (1,508 vague years are almost exactly equal to 1,507 tropical years), is a very precarious period to assume without conclusive proofs. In the absence of such proofs, it is altogether inadmissible. Mr. Poole quite correctly states, that in B.C. 2,005 the vernal equinox fell on the 7th April; but, as he himself shows, even the astronomical new-moon did not coincide with it, whilst the first visible phase, which we have alone to consider in similar cases, occurred three days later, as the 1st of Thot, falling on the 7th of January, did three months earlier. A further objection consists in the assumed anomalous division of the month of 30 years into twenty parts of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years each, as being contrary to all chronological rule. Nor could the great panegyric period connected with the Sothic period, have comprised, as he assumes,  $1441 = 365\frac{1}{2}$  Julian, but only  $1440 = 365$  Julian or  $1441 = 365\frac{1}{2}$  vague years; whence it follows that the commencement of each period fell at first successively on, or nearly on, the four cardinal points, differing subsequently more and more from them. The panegyric period must necessarily have consisted of regular cycles of 365 Julian years, divided into regular months of 30 years each, with regular intercalary days of 5 years. Its first epoch was that of the Sothic cycle B.C. 2,785: a supposition, with which *all the panegyric dates, which Mr. Poole has read upon the monuments, most perfectly agree*. In my opinion, therefore, his tropical period cannot possibly be accepted; nor are we, consequently, warranted in accepting his epoch for the reign of Menes, as resting upon no solid foundation.

The name of Dr. Brugsch is well known in this country. Last year a small pamphlet was published by him under the title, "Nouvelles Recherches sur la Division de l'Année Egyptienne," in which he establishes two points of importance to Egyptian chronology. The first is, that he proves the hieroglyphic names of the five planets, according to Professor Lepsius's interpretation, to be erroneous; the

Jupiter of the latter being in reality Saturn; his Venus, Jupiter; his Mercury, Venus; and his Saturn, Mercury; Mars alone having been correctly deciphered by him. Astronomy has raised the truth of Dr. Brugsch's interpretation beyond a doubt. The second point he establishes with equal certainty is, that the hieroglyphic names of the three Egyptian seasons have been erroneously rendered by, and since, Champollion. The season, which hitherto was believed to be the season of vegetation, is, in reality, the season of inundation; that of harvest, the season of winter; and that of inundation, the season of summer. So, in fact, and in the same succession, the seasons are called in Egypt to the present day,—a circumstance which would seem to have escaped Dr. Brugsch's attention. The importance of this new discovery on his part, with reference to Egyptian chronology, can hardly be overrated. It completes the proof of the utterly untenable nature of Chevalier Bunsen's and Professor Lepsius's chronological systems, and causes the whole structure of astronomical speculations, based on Champollion's interpretation of the seasons, to fall to the ground. According to that interpretation, it had to be assumed that, at the period of the introduction of the Egyptian kalendar, the year commenced with the 1st of Pachon instead of the 1st of Thot, as it was known to do subsequently. Hence, the epoch of the year B.C. 3,285 was derived, in which—or rather in the year B.C. 3,282, erroneously substituted for it by him—Professor Lepsius places the introduction of the Egyptian solar kalendar, although he finds himself under the necessity of undertaking, without so much as a trace of historical authority, its complete reform, 500 years later, in B.C. 2,785 (B.C. 2,782). That reform, which no chronologer could ever have accepted, is now *proved* to be simply the work of Professor Lepsius's imagination; and the epochs of years B.C. 3,285 and B.C. 1,780, as bearing upon Egyptian chronology, will have to be consigned to oblivion. We find thus the historical times of Egypt depressed to the year B.C. 2,785; and the only question remaining to be solved is, whether the reign of Menes be marked by that very epoch, or whether it falls posterior to it.

In my judgment, the discovery of Dr. Brugsch enables us to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point. That discovery fixes the introduction of the Egyptian kalendar to

the epochs of the Sothic cycle. The years B.C. 2,785 and B.C. 1,325 are such epochs. In both years, the 1st of Thot, or the commencement of the year and of the season of inundation, fell on the 20th July; in both years, the Sothis, or dog-star, the heliacal rising of which, on the 1st of Thot, marked the epoch of the Sothic period, did so rise on the 20th July. The real rise of the Nile at Memphis commenced then, as it does now, on or a few days after the summer-solstice. In B.C. 1,325 that solstice occurred on the 5th July; in B.C. 2,785, on the 17th July. In B.C. 1,325 the first phase of the new moon fell in the night of the 19—20th July; in B.C. 2,785 the full moon, or rather that phase of it answering to the first phase of the new moon, occurred at midnight of the 19—20th July. A cursory glance at these dates shows that, as regards the period of the first introduction of the vague Egyptian kalendar, the far greater probability is in favour of the year B.C. 2,785, inasmuch as the 1st of Thot, and the commencement of the season of inundation, then strictly corresponded in time with the actual rise of the Nile at Memphis, which was not the case in B.C. 1,325, when the imperfect agreement of the Sothic period with the tropical year had already led to a difference of 12 days between the kalendarian and the physical epochs of the inundation. This circumstance in itself might be regarded as decisive, but there are further proofs which give it an irresistible force. They are, independently of other historical testimony, that the five intercalary days have, by Professor Lepsius, been traced on monuments up to the 12th dynasty, consequently, to a time much anterior to the year B.C. 1,325; and that Mr. Poole has adduced monumental proofs of the occurrence of panegyric dates up to the 4th dynasty, the panegyric period being but a subdivision of the Sothic cycle. Thus this cycle itself, in fact, has been shown by Mr. Poole to have been in use in Egypt not many generations subsequently to Menes; and it was only because he mistook the panegyric period for an independent tropical cycle, the epoch of which he referred, without sufficient authority, to the year B.C. 2,005, that we find him calling the existence of the Sothic period, previously to B.C. 1,325, into doubt. He will now, with the discovery of Dr. Brugsch before him, probably be the first to acknowledge his error.

The importance of that discovery has lent an additional importance to his own.

But, if the Sothic cycle was in use in Egypt previously to the year B.C. 1,325, the kalendarian system, too, inseparably connected with it, must have been introduced at an earlier period. Indeed, the very circumstance of the panegyric period being but a precise reproduction of the vague year, on a larger scale, proves the anterior, or contemporary, origin and use of the latter. The introduction, therefore, of the kalendar, of which the vague year is the type, before the year B.C. 1,325, may be looked upon as an indubitable fact. Consequently, it must have been introduced at the preceding epoch of the Sothic cycle, in B.C. 2,785, because at no intermediate time would the kalendar have corresponded with the actual phenomena of nature, to which it was originally adjusted. And admitting this, the question concerning the epoch of the reign of Menes, assumes very narrow limits; for the introduction of a national kalendar, regulating the civil time, and the religious festivals and public observances, of a people, is not a theoretical proceeding and invention, the origin of which, like that of the Julian period, may at pleasure be thrown back into the past; but is one of the most important legislative measures, as the kalendarian system itself is one of the most important national institutions, which of necessity demands and supposes a contemporary founder. Hence, our inquiry resolves itself into these two questions—Does the commencement of the historical period of Egypt precede the year B.C. 2,785? and was Menes the first king in that period? To both questions, History returns but one answer. Upon her unanimous testimony, therefore, we may now state it as a fact, admitting of no reasonable doubt, that the epoch of the reign of Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, falls in the year B.C. 2,785, and that the kalendarian system, represented by the vague year and the Sothic cycle, was introduced into Egypt by *him*: because this system can have originated only in that particular year; because it can have been established by no one but a contemporary law-giver; because history attests both that Menes was the *first* historical law-giver of the Egyptians, that he lived at or about the time in question, and that the historical epoch of Egypt

does not reach beyond the year B.C. 2,785; and because the first historical king of a people cannot possibly be assumed to have lived posterior to the institution of such a kalendarian system as is represented by the vague year in connexion with the Sothic period. The principal objection which may be urged against this conclusion is, that the author of the Old Chronicle and the Sothis, as well as some subsequent chronographers, positively assign a somewhat later period to the reign of Menes; but, if we consider the corrupt state in which those records, in the shape of mere abstracts, have come down to us, together with the fragmentary character of the remains of some of those chronographers, and the curtailing tendency of others, the objection loses its entire force, or is, at all events, more than outweighed by the historical testimony, I have adduced in confirmation of our epoch.

It is, of course, to be assumed that Menes, when he promulgated his kalendarian system, basing it on the astronomical knowledge of his time, combined with those natural phenomena which Egypt, in his days, offered as most suitable to his purpose, had already held the government for a certain number of years, and that, consequently, the year B.C. 2,785 does not, strictly speaking, mark the commencement of his reign; but those few years are of little moment with regard to the main fact, and, in a chronological point of view, the year named will ever have to be considered as the epoch of the reign of Menes. From one of the astronomical features attending this epoch, it would appear that at first the Sothical and panegyric festivals were observed at the full-moon; and that only in B.C. 1,325, when the shorter panegyric periods had been found not to keep in accordance with the lunar phases, the Apis cycle of 25 years was introduced for this purpose, and the first phase of the new-moon, occurring on the day of the Sothic epoch, was substituted for the full one. Thus, the introduction of the Apis cycle, which I have proved to have taken place in the year B.C. 1,325,—probably to supply the place of the panegyric period of 30 years, termed also the Set period,—is, at the same time, most satisfactorily explained.

In casting a retrospective glance at the results thus obtained, they consist, so far as they are of a negative character, in the destruction of two systems of chronology,

designed to ascribe an undue antiquity to the people of Egypt, and made to rest on a purely fictitious basis; but built up by two eminent men of learning, whose authority lent to their views an ephemeral support, too slender to uphold them.

Our positive results include, on the one hand, the general proof, that all the most reliable historical evidence, which is at present available to us, unites in referring the reign of Menes to a period about 27 centuries anterior to the Christian era. On the other hand, they furnish the particular proof, that this reign, in perfect accordance with the approximate period thus found, comprehended the epoch of the Sothic cycle corresponding to the 20th July, B.C. 2,785; and that, consequently, this very year may be regarded as constituting the epoch of the reign of Menes, or of the accredited history of Egypt, which it was our object to establish. How far the arguments I have adduced to this end may be deemed conclusive, I must leave to the judgment of chronologers to decide. But whatever merit they may be inclined to attach to them, that merit will be chiefly due to the important discoveries of Dr. Brugsch and Mr. Poole, without which no satisfactory solution of our problem could even have been attempted.







H. Stearn Pooler Esq.  
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OF

MANETHO.

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## EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

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ALLOW me to offer a few remarks in reply to Dr. Hincks' paper on the "Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho," which appeared in the *Journal* of last January, and in which he has called in question my arrangement of the reigns of the kings of the twenty-fifth dynasty, in connection with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. Dr. Hincks has there and elsewhere proclaimed himself the champion of the commonly received chronology of those times, as arranged by Ussher and the many eminent chronologists who have followed him, and supports his cause with great learning and ability: while, on the other hand, I have contended, and still contend, that Ussher's reckoning throughout the times of the Jewish monarchy is in error to the extent of between twenty and thirty years. I have been lately occupied in preparing for publication in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* a paper shewing how the Assyrian canon of Sir Henry Rawlinson proves, beyond question, that the Hebrew reckoning of Ussher, in the times of Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, is in excess to the extent of twenty-three or twenty-four years, and how Dr. Hincks, in his endeavour to escape from the evidence of this invaluable record, is compelled, as it were in despair, to suggest that four Assyrian scribes, who have each given independent copies of the canon (one of them writing in the reign of Sennacherib), have ignorantly omitted about thirty names from the list of Assyrian archons, which, if inserted, would produce harmony between his reckoning and that of the canon. Few, it may be assumed, will be disposed to acquiesce in such a mode of treating the adverse evidence of an ancient document: and Sir Henry Rawlinson denies that there is the slightest foundation for this assumption. The presumption is, that if, according to the Assyrian canon, Ussher's reckoning is in excess twenty-three or twenty-four years in the days of Ahaz and Hezekiah, the contemporaries of Sargon and Sennacherib, his reckoning must also be in error to about the same extent in the reign of Jehoiakim, the contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar. I have therefore endeavoured to shew that the battle of Carchemish, which was fought in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, and in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when the army of Necho II., king of Egypt, was destroyed, was fought, not in the year B.C. 604, as Dr. Hincks and most other chronologists suppose, but in the year B.C. 583, soon after the eclipse of Thales, which governs the date of

the event, and in accordance with the reckoning of Demetrius, who places the accession of Nebuchadnezzar at that time; and the date of this battle I have made the fundamental date of my whole system.<sup>1</sup> But if Necho II. was alive till the year B.C. 583, then, according to the proposed reckoning, would Psammuthis, the successor of Necho, appear to have reigned five years, till the year 578; Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, to have reigned nineteen years, till 559; and Amasis, the successor of Apries, who was conquered by Cambyses, or at any rate succeeded by him, to have reigned forty-four years, till the year B.C. 515, that is to say, till ten years after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. Now Dr. Hincks, with his usual acuteness, fixes upon this last inference as untenable; and I am willing to confess that he has exposed the weak point in my arrangement, and that it must be abandoned as far as regards the reign of Amasis.

I have already pointed out how much Herodotus and Ctesias differ in their accounts of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses—how Manetho, the Egyptian priest, was the fittest person to decide between the two historians on Egyptian matters—and how Manetho, who complains much of the errors of Herodotus, has decided in favour of Ctesias, by assigning six years, instead of three, to the reign of Cambyses in Egypt, which accords also with the reckoning of the Parian chronicle. I have also observed that the Apis buried in the fourth of Cambyses, and the Apis born in the fifth of Cambyses, were buried and born, not in the fourth and fifth years of his reign at Babylon, but in the years so counted from his conquest of Egypt. To all this I still firmly adhere. But, having appealed to Manetho as the fittest referee on Egyptian matters, I am bound by his decision in favour of Herodotus as regards the reign of Amasis. Now Manetho, as copied by Africanus, certainly assigns forty-four years to the reign of Amasis, and six months to Psammecherites, before the conquest of Cambyses. So that if Egypt were conquered in B.C. 525, upon which all are agreed, Amasis must have begun to reign in the year B.C. 569: and this is the date of his first year, according to Dr. Hincks.

Having thus, in deference to Dr. Hincks, pleaded guilty to an error in my own scheme, and corrected it, I proceed to point out the weak point in the scheme of Dr. Hincks. No one is better aware than Dr. Hincks that his date, B.C. 594, for the death of Necho II. is untenable, if the Astronomer Royal has proved that the eclipse of Thales should be placed, as it was placed in ancient days, in the year B.C. 585. This result of modern astronomical science is, after fifteen years' discussion, now generally admitted. Dr. Hincks, however, is still unconvinced, and loudly demands that Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables, which confirm Mr. Airy's calculations, should be tested by certain lunar eclipses of ancient days, the times of which have been recorded: while Mr. Airy, who has tested his reckoning by recorded total eclipses of the sun, replies that every total solar eclipse is at least

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Chronological Institute*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 16.

fifty times as valuable as any lunar eclipse; and every total eclipse of the sun is at least ten times as valuable as any other eclipse of the sun, as a test of these tables: and that to put the calculations to the test of lunar eclipses, would be much like testing the scales of the Bank of England by some coalheavers' machine. This, then, is the weak point of Dr. Hincks' arrangement; and, until he shall have succeeded in setting aside the calculations of modern astronomy, which are in unison with the records of ancient history, we may safely place the termination of Necho's reign not earlier than B.C. 583.

But if Necho ceased to reign in B.C. 583, then, as before observed, Apries must have completed his nineteenth year in B.C. 559; so that, if Dr. Hincks is right as regards the reign of Amasis, and I am right as regards the reign of Necho, Amasis, whose first year we have fixed in B.C. 569, must have begun to reign eleven years before the death of Apries. Now this result, at first sight, appears to be highly improbable. But if we examine the history of the two kings, as related by Herodotus, and the records of the Apis tombs, and also the reckoning of the reigns by Manetho, we shall find strong, if not decisive, reasons for inferring that such was the actual arrangement of those two reigns. In the first place, we are informed by Herodotus that, after the battle between Apries and Amasis, which decided the fate of the former, Apries "fell into the hands of his enemies, and was brought back a prisoner to Sais, where he was lodged in what had been his own house, but was *now the palace of Amasis*. Amasis treated him with kindness, and kept him in the palace for awhile."<sup>m</sup> Here, then, is direct evidence that Amasis came to the throne before the death of Apries, though for how long a time is not stated.

Secondly; Africanus, in copying from Manetho, cuts out *ten* years between the first year of Necho and the first of Amasis. He deducts, however, from the reign of Necho, the years which we propose to deduct from the reign of Apries.

Thirdly; Herodotus relates that the cause of the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses was, that Amasis had sent the daughter of Apries, as a wife, to Cambyses, instead of his own daughter. Now, if Apries had died forty years before this marriage, his daughter must have been between forty and fifty years of age at the time, which makes the story highly improbable. But, if Amasis began to reign eleven years before the death of Apries, his daughter may, in that case, have been not more than thirty years of age when sent to Cambyses, which is quite within range of probability.

Lastly, what appears to me to render it almost certain that Amasis came to the throne exactly eleven years before the death of Apries, is the testimony of the Apis tablets. M. Mariette has discovered a series of tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis, through the successive reigns of Psammetichus, Necho, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, each successive Apis being

<sup>m</sup> Rawlinson's *Herod.*, ii., 169.





THE  
EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES  
OF  
MANETHO.

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1. Few persons would probably hesitate to admit that if we possessed the chronological work of Manetho in its original form, we should have information on which we could reasonably depend as to the duration of each Egyptian dynasty, and as to the interval between its commencement and a fixed point of time, for at least as far back as the expulsion of the Hyk-Shôs. On the other hand, few persons would venture to assert that any of the lists of kings, with the durations of their respective reigns, which have been handed down to us as those of Manetho, can be depended on as really his. The discrepancy which everywhere exists between these lists appears to most persons a sufficient reason for rejecting the authority of them all. This being the case, it becomes a question, whether any certainty is attainable in respect to Egyptian chronology. It is vain to appeal to the monuments. I do not say this with reference to the scepticism which still exists as to there being *any* monumental evidence which can be depended on as properly interpreted. Scepticism like this can only exist where the grounds of hieroglyphical interpretation have not been properly investigated. I say however, advisedly, that we do not yet possess, and that it is extremely unlikely that we ever shall possess, such monumental evidence as would enable us to construct a chronological canon.

2. The chronological value of the evidence which we possess is extremely small. The Egyptian kings dated their public acts, not from any fixed epoch, but by the years of their respective reigns. In a few instances the interval between events which occurred in recorded regnal years of different kings is recorded also; and when this is the case we can compute the interval between their accessions. We know in this manner that Ahmôs the Saite came to the throne forty years after Nekau, and Pemi fifty-two years after Shishonk III. In a few other instances, where the reign of a king overlapped that of his successor, and where the regnal years of both the existing kings are recorded together, the interval between their accessions can also be determined. In this manner I ascertained, many years ago, that the first year of T'usortasen II. was the thirty-third of his father, Amen-em-hè II.; and that the first year of the latter was the forty-third of his grandfather, T'usortasen I., whom he succeeded. The number of cases, however, in which intervals between the commencement of reigns can be determined with accuracy by either of these methods is so extremely small, when

compared with the entire number of reigns, as, in place of encouraging us to hope for ultimate success in constructing a perfect canon, to lead us to despair of even approximating to its construction.

3. In a few instances, but a few only, genealogies exist which link together by a known number of generations an earlier and a later reign. We have it on record, for example, that in the thirty-seventh year of Shishonk IV., which must have been one of the very last years of the twenty-second dynasty, a tablet was erected by a person who was ninth in descent from Shishonk I., the founder of the dynasty. Assuming that Osorkon I., his ancestor in the eighth degree, was of the same age when his father became king as he himself was when he erected the tablet, the duration of the dynasty would be exactly measured by eight generations; and it could not be very much more or very much less than this.\* There is, I believe, no instance in Egyptian history where a genealogical tablet gives such good chronological evidence as this; and yet how far is this from giving us accurate information! The dynasty lasted "*about* eight generations;" how many years should that be reckoned to be? In English history a generation has been on an average about 32 years. Between the birth of William the Conqueror and that of Queen Victoria, the twenty-fifth in descent from him, 792 years intervened. At this rate eight generations would occupy 253½ years. In ancient times and in eastern countries the average was less. The interval between the births of Rehoboam and Jeconiah, the sixteenth in descent from him, was about 416 years, giving 208 for the eight generations. The highest sum of eight consecutive generations in the line of Rehoboam is 244 years, the lowest, 195. The genealogy to which I have referred may be regarded as conclusive against those who, relying on the statements attributed to Manetho by Julius Africanus, make the duration of this dynasty only 120 or even 116 years; and it harmonizes well with the reading "202 years," which I will hereafter shew to have been what Manetho really made it; but I would not venture to rely on this genealogy as conclusive against the views of Lepsius and Bunsen, who, with the knowledge of what it contains, have assigned to the dynasty 174 and 176 years respectively. We may assume 25 years as a probable average for a generation;

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\* That Shishonk I. was not a very young man when he obtained the kingdom, and that Osorkon his son had then attained to man's estate, are evident from the monumentally-recorded fact (Nile statue, British Museum) that Osorkon, and not Shishonk himself, married the daughter of Psusennes, the last king of the twenty-first dynasty.

but even if the length of the dynasty had been accurately, instead of approximately, measured by eight generations, a large margin must be allowed on each side within which it might range without being decidedly at variance with what is stated in the genealogical inscription.

4. Neither is the evidence to be obtained from regnal dates to be implicitly relied on. Some persons seem to have thought that a chronological canon might be constructed by counting the highest regnal years of the successive kings which occur in the dates of tablets. But, on the one hand, we can never be sure that the highest date found is the highest that may have existed. The highest regnal year, for example, which has been found for Shishonk III. is his twenty-ninth year; and yet there is evidence, to which I have already adverted (§ 2), that he reigned fifty-two. On the other hand, in such cases of joint reigns as I have mentioned in the latter part of § 2, it is manifest that if the highest regnal years of all the kings were to be taken as the lengths of their reigns, the years in which two sovereigns reigned together would be counted twice over. Nor have we any right to assume that cases of this kind were few in number, or that the durations of these joint reigns were always small. There is a stèle at Leyden (V., 4) which has the double date of the forty-fourth year of T'usortasen I. and the second of Amen-em-hè II. There is another tablet (Sharpe, i., 83) which appears to be dated in the following year, the third of Amen-em-hè II. No second date accompanies this, but king T'usortasen I. is mentioned in the body of the inscription, and his name is followed by the addition "May he live!" which characterizes living kings; while his father's name has the usual addition "who hath spoken truth (or been justified)," which is characteristic of the dead. In this instance I suppose no one would question that T'usortasen I. was still alive; yet in a similar instance in the twenty-second dynasty, the validity of this conclusion is strenuously denied. In the Karnac inscription (Lepsius' *Auswahl*, 15) dated in the eleventh year of Takelut, king Osorkon, the grandfather of his wife, and, as I take it, his own father, is mentioned with the very same addition "May he live!" I shall have to return to the consideration of this clause (see § 57). I will only remark here, that it is at least possible that king Osorkon was actually alive in the eleventh year after his son had begun to reign in conjunction with him; nor should I be surprised at the discovery of a document dated during these eleven years, bearing the names and years of both the kings, or the name and year of Osorkon alone.

5. Another source of error in computation by regnal years

is the possible existence of double epochs at which reigns may be reckoned to commence. There may be cases in Egyptian history analogous to what occurred in the time of James I., or Charles II. In the former instance, a king who had reigned for sixteen years in Scotland from his mother's death, became king of England, and reigned over both countries for twenty-two years more. A chronologer who, possessing no historical information, should take as his guide dated documents only, might discover from English documents that the first year of Charles I. was only twenty-two years after the first of James I., and might come to the blundering conclusion that the reign of Mary of Scotland terminated when that of Elizabeth really terminated. This hypothesis would, of course, destroy the earlier synchronisms between Scottish and English history; and it might then occur to our supposed chronologer that the best way of setting matters straight would be to strike off twenty years or so from the long reign of Elizabeth. Absurd as this mode of proceeding must appear to persons acquainted with English and Scottish history, its absurdity would not appear to one who had only a few detached documents before him, relating to private affairs, although dated by regnal years. What I have supposed that this chronologer might have done is exactly parallel to what our best Egyptologers have done. A document is discovered which proves that the reign of Tirhaka as king of *Egypt* (reckoning from the death of Seti III.) was only twenty-seven years before the first of Psamitik I.; the false inference is drawn that his reign as king of *Ethiopia* (reckoning from the death of Shebetok, which was fourteen years earlier) began twenty-seven years only before that of Psamitik I. The consequence of this false inference is, that the conquest of Egypt by Shebek is made to fall a good many years after the conquest of Samaria; and as Hoshea, the last king of Samaria, is said to have made an alliance with Shebek, the anachronism thus produced is removed, not (as it ought to have been) by adding to the Egyptian chronology the fourteen years which had been improperly omitted, but by striking off twenty years from the reign of Manasseh of Judah, which is considered sufficiently long to admit of this reduction! It goes for nothing with the gentlemen who have made this *correction*, forsooth, of Egyptian chronology, that in the second book of Kings, Tirhaka is called king of Cush, or Ethiopia, a "Pharaoh king of Egypt" being spoken of as his cotemporary; that Herodotus speaks of Sethos as king of Egypt when Sennacherib invaded Palestine, and that Sennacherib himself speaks of having for his adversaries "kings of Egypt and the king of Ethiopia." All these proofs that the

invasion of Sennacherib took place while Tirhaka was king of Ethiopia, and before he had become king of Egypt, are disregarded; and to meet the supposed exigency of an Egyptian regnal date, Jewish, Assyrian, and Babylonian chronologies are all recklessly violated.

6. The other occasion in English history which I mentioned as what might give rise to a chronological blunder, is the reign of Charles II. Counting from the death of his father, from which he reckoned his regnal years, to his own death, he reigned thirty-six years; but in reality he began to reign in what he called his fourteenth year, thirteen years having belonged to the Commonwealth. So far as respects chronology, it does not matter whether the interval between the deaths of father and son be counted as thirty-six years of Charles II., or as thirteen years of the Commonwealth and twenty-three of Charles II.; but it would be a serious chronological error, into which however a person would be very likely to fall who had only detached regnal years to guide him, if this interval were counted as thirteen years of the Commonwealth and thirty-six of Charles II. Some instances are certainly to be met with in Egyptian history in which a chronologer would be likely to commit an error analogous to this; but I will not enter on the discussion of them here. I have said, I believe, quite enough to shew that the evidence furnished by the Egyptian monuments is quite insufficient for the construction of a chronological system. It may accredit, or it may shew the worthlessness of, dynastic lists—it may verify, or it may overturn, a chronological system otherwise constructed; but *of itself* it can produce nothing that can be relied on.

7. This being the case, it is evident that if a correct chronology of the Egyptian dynasties can be obtained at all, it must be obtained from the dynastic lists attributed to Manetho; a comparison of which in their present state of corruption may enable us to discover what Manetho really wrote. The problem to be solved is this:—Given the durations assigned to the dynasties and reigns by Africanus and Eusebius, and to the dynasties by the compiler of the Old Chronicle; to recover by legitimate criticism the durations originally assigned to them by Manetho himself; from which all the existing documents have been derived by misconceptions of Manetho's meaning, blundering attempts at correcting his supposed errors, and *subsequently to these*, deliberate falsifications, with a view to bring lists which appeared to be inconsistent with the received Biblical chronology into harmony with it. I believe that I have completely solved this problem. In the present article I give the durations

of the dynasties according to the restored text of Manetho, with such explanations as are necessary to the correct understanding of his chronological system; and I then gave the synchronisms by which the correctness of my restoration is, as I conceive, established. In a subsequent article it is my intention to fill up the outline which I have here drawn, by giving a restoration of the durations assigned to the several reigns by Manetho. In the meantime it is my wish that what I now publish should undergo the most searching criticism.

8. It will be observed that I go no further back than to the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho himself, as will be seen, marks this as a point of chronological departure; and the data by which, as I conceive, his text can be confidently restored back to this point, fail as to earlier dynasties. I ought to remark also that I carefully distinguish in my investigation between two things which some enquirers have confounded, namely, the true chronology of the period, and the chronology of it according to the mind of Manetho. I have, in the first instance, sought to discover the latter, using no other data than the three corrupt lists which I have mentioned, and those Greek writings which guided those who prepared them in their corruptions. Thus my restoration of the text of Manetho stands *absolutely independent of Egyptian monumental evidence*. And yet it can scarcely be doubted that Manetho had correct information with respect to the period in question, and that even when he thought it necessary to deviate from historical truth, he adhered strictly to chronological truth. I mean to say that, though he might misrepresent *facts* in a manner analogous to that of an English historian, who, ignoring the Commonwealth, ascribed thirty-six years to Charles II. of England as his reign *de facto*, he always in his summaries of the reigns in the dynasties gave the correct sums; so that the commencements of the several dynasties are all truly given. Hence the synchronisms, by which I shew that the dates according to my system are correctly given, are evidences also of the correctness of my restorations of Manetho's text.

9. The restoration that I have given is, as I have said, wholly independent of Egyptian monumental evidence. I have, however, tested it as well as I could by this last; and I am not aware of a single fact, nor do I believe that any exists, which is established by monumental evidence, and yet inconsistent with my system. This is, however, a matter on which I challenge the most searching criticism. If any such supposed fact be produced, either in the April number of this Journal or in a private letter to myself, and if I cannot shew that the person



who produces it is mistaken in supposing it either to be established by monumental evidence or to be inconsistent with my restored chronology, I will admit that, however plausible my restoration may be, it is unsound. I have no expectation, however, that this will be the case; and I hope that in the July number I shall be able to give, together with a triumphant reply to my assailants, if any, a restoration of the duration of the reigns in the dynasties as originally given by Manetho. I hold this in reserve, until my restoration of the duration of the dynasties be sufficiently tested.

10. Let it be observed, however, that it is to *facts* alone that I will surrender my opinion. *Authority* will have no weight with me. I am perfectly well aware that almost all Egyptologists support a chronological system which is altogether opposed to mine. They think that the accession of Rehoboam to the throne of Judah, and that of Shishonk to the throne of Egypt, which almost immediately preceded it, took place considerably after the time assigned to them in the margins of our ~~table~~; and in this Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Bosanquet agree with them. 1311 And they refer the exodus to the latter part of the nineteenth dynasty. I maintain, on the contrary, and I think demonstrate, that the accessions of Shishonk and Rehoboam were in 980 and 979 B.C.; and that consequently no curtailment of the reign of any of the kings of Judah is admissible; nor any such arrangement of the Persian reigns as Mr. Bosanquet proposes. I shew also that the Egyptian reign, in which Egyptologists place the exodus, did not commence till about 250 years before the death of Solomon! By *me* the exodus is placed at a far earlier period. This great diversity between my views and those which are generally entertained, renders it a matter of course that quotations from various eminent Egyptologists can be produced *ad libitum*, expressing opinions which, if taken as standards of truth, would prove me to be in error. Such quotations, however, being mere expressions of opinion, have not the slightest weight with me. Unless some monumentally-recorded fact can be produced, which is inconsistent with my chronological arrangement of the dynasties, I shall continue to hold that its inconsistency with the opinions of Egyptologists is no proof whatever that *it* is wrong; the fact being that the inconsistent opinions of Egyptologists are wrong. Again, as respects Sir Henry Rawlinson's canon. This is not a cotemporary document, but a compilation made by an unknown person in the reign of Assur-bani-bal. Its inconsistency with my restoration of Manetho, supported as this is by recorded astronomical observations, proves that the compiler of the canon was a blunderer;

and that the early dates which it is supposed to give are incorrect. Again, as to the Astronomer Royal, while I would cheerfully submit to him ~~some~~ astronomical questions generally, I except the two questions, which are linked together, of the date of the Medo-Lyidian war, and the magnitude of the moon's acceleration. I protest against any argument against my restoration which may be drawn from its inconsistency with his notions, that the Medo-Lyidian war was terminated by the eclipse of 585 B.C., and that the coefficient of  $T^2$  in the mean elongation of the moon, was  $12''\cdot192$ , as Hansen makes it, or even more. On the contrary, I appeal to the monumentally-recorded eclipse, which I shall bring forward as furnishing *conclusive evidence* that the coefficient of  $T^2$  is much less than this, and consequently that the moon's shadow in the eclipse of 585 B.C. could not have passed where the Astronomer Royal supposes that it did.

11. It is to facts monumentally recorded alone that I will yield; and if any one brings forward facts which he may conceive to be at variance with my views, I have to request that he will quote the precise fact monumentally recorded. There is very great temptation to quote, as a monumentally-recorded fact, what is not really so, but an inference from one; the suppressed premise of the enthymeme being one, of which the person who has drawn the inference has no doubt, but of which others may entertain very great doubts, which, in short, they may regard as positively erroneous. The extent to which this error has been committed by Egyptologists is really surprising. References to the evidence quoted should also be precise.

12. One word more of preliminary matter. The views put forward in this paper are not, so far as I am aware, held by any one but myself. Some of them I expressed so long ago as in March, 1856. See the *Literary Gazette* for that year, p. 111. I advanced further in a paper in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for October, 1858, p. 126; and still further in a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1861, vol. xviii., p. 378. In all these papers, while I was in the right direction and gradually approaching the truth, I admitted errors which kept me from attaining to it. My views are now matured. I have succeeded in completely removing the inconsistencies which, though they only introduced errors of small amount, disfigured my former papers. I have produced an arrangement of the dynasties which will, I flatter myself, be found to *run on all fours*; my former one, though much to be preferred to any that had been previously produced, *limping* in more places than one. As respects the medium through which I publish this restoration of Mane-

tho, I think a weekly journal would be objectionable; as in it I could not publish at once the entire of my system, so far as respects the dynasties, with the proofs of its truth. *The Journal of Sacred Literature* seems to be preferable to that of the Royal Asiatic Society, because the subject is closely connected with sacred literature; the chronology of the Israelites in Palestine, and particularly that of their kings, is as much my subject of discussion as that of the Egyptian dynasties; and the views of the early Christians as to Israelitish chronology have to be taken into account as an important means of restoring the corrupt text of Manetho.

13. The mode of proceeding by which I restore the original dynastic durations of Manetho includes a double criticism. These were depraved in the first instance by blundering Egyptian or Greek writers, who looked no farther than Manetho, and whose successive depravations of his numbers were the result of misapprehensions of his meaning in the first instance, and of injudicious attempts at restoring a text which they perceived to be faulty, at a subsequent period. Three texts were thus formed, which I will call A, B, and C, the last of them being the production of a person who had the two former before him, and who sought to reconcile their discrepancies. From these three documents, that attributed to Africanus, that of the Old Chronicle, and that of Eusebius were respectively derived, the process in each case being a process of deliberate falsification of the Egyptian text, grounded on non-Egyptian documents, with a view to establish synchronisms between dates given by A, B, and C, and dates supposed to be given by the non-Egyptian documents. The processes by which the lists of the supposed Africanus, the compiler of the Old Chronicle, and Eusebius, were obtained from the original list of Manetho, have to be reversed in our present proceeding. That is, we have, first, by a criticism in which non-Egyptian documents play a principal part, to recover the documents A, B, and C; and we have, secondly, by a criticism grounded on these three documents alone, to obtain the original text of which they were corruptions.

14. I begin with the first criticism, the object of which is from the three existing lists to recover the three lists A, B, and C; and I begin by remarking that in order that the result of the criticism may be satisfactory, the criticism must proceed on fixed and sound principles. In the first place, we have nothing to do with the question, What is the truth? Chronological truth is, I feel confident, contained in the original list of Manetho, but it is certainly not contained in any of the lists, A, B, and C. Nay, it is very possible that these may deviate from it

even more than the existing lists. Our present object is to distinguish non-Egyptian corruptions from what is Egyptian; whether the latter be the truth of Manetho, or the blunders of his followers. To distinguish what is Egyptian from what is non-Egyptian, I lay down the following canons:—

I. If a number occurs in two of the existing lists, it is Egyptian; the number in the third list may, or may not, be Egyptian. The three existing lists are independent of one another, having been corrupted by persons who sought to establish by their corruptions different synchronisms. It is, therefore, not to be supposed that two of them should have obtained the same numbers by their corruptions.

II. If a marginal note be appended to one of the lists, say A, which is inconsistent with that list, the marginal note is Egyptian, and probably Manetho's own, and the inconsistency arises from one or more non-Egyptian corruptions.

III. Where any of the lists contains or implies a synchronism with a non-Egyptian date, this synchronism has been produced by a corruption; the interval between the Egyptian date in the original list and the date which the compiler of the existing list believed to be the proper one having been added to, or subtracted from, some one of the Egyptian numbers, or having been divided into parts, which were added to, or subtracted from, some two or more of the Egyptian numbers.

It will be seen that each of the three existing lists contains a synchronism, produced by corruption, and that the three synchronisms are all different.

IV. Where a number that has to be added or subtracted in order to produce a synchronism is divided, it may be assumed that the division is so made as that all the changes but one are of the easiest and most obvious kind; that is to say, additions or subtractions of multiples of ten, or omissions of the units in a number, so as to reduce it to a multiple of ten.

V. Where a number is taken away from the duration of one dynasty and added to that of another, in order to correct a supposed non-Egyptian anachronism, the number so dealt with is probably a round number, that is, a multiple of ten.

I lay down these canons in order that it may be seen that my mode of proceeding is not an arbitrary one, and that the result at which I arrive is the only one that can be legitimately attained.

15. I will now consider what the synchronisms were which guided the persons who introduced into the lists non-Egyptian corruptions. Two of these are derived from the exodus of the Israelites; and it is therefore necessary to consider at what date

the early Christians placed this. St. Clement of Alexandria says expressly that the exodus took place 345 years before the renewal of the canicular cycle, which we know was in 1322 B.C. The date intended is therefore 1667 B.C.; a date which appears to have been that of all the early Christians, with the exception of Julius Africanus, who threw the exodus back 130 years. In the dynastic lists attributed to Africanus we find the accession of the eighteenth dynasty placed in 1667 B.C., a marginal note being added stating that this was also the date of the departure of the Israelites under Moses. From this Bunsen inferred that, when Clement placed the exodus in 1667 B.C., he meant that this was the date of the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, with which he erroneously supposed that the exodus synchronized. I have not a copy of the *Syromates* within reach, but I believe that there is no proof that he believed the exodus to synchronize with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty. This, however, is immaterial; others certainly thought so. But what appears to me quite certain is that 1667 B.C. is given by him as the date of the exodus itself, and that it was obtained from the Bible, without any reference to Egyptian chronology. Instead of its being borrowed from Manetho, as Bunsen imagined, the list which bears the name of Africanus has suffered corruption, in order that it might be brought into harmony with the Biblical date of the exodus, which was assumed to be that of the accession of the eighteenth dynasty.

16. In order that it may be clearly seen that this date of 1667 B.C. is a Biblical one, and that the authority on which it rests may be made manifest, I will give the chronology of the two books of Kings, according to the early Christians, and according to the margin of the English Bible, in parallel columns; the difference between the two dates being given in a third column; and whenever this difference changes, I will explain the grounds of the change.

The Exodus	1667	B.C.	1491	B.C.	176
Building of the Temple	1027	"	1012	"	15 (a)
Accession of Rehoboam	990	"	975	"	15
" Abijam	973	"	958	"	15
" Asa	970	"	955	"	15
" Jehoshaphat	929	"	914	"	15
" Jehoram	904	"	892	"	12 (b)
" Ahaziah	896	"	885	"	11 (c)
" Athaliah	895	"	884	"	11
" Jehoash	889	"	878	"	11
" Amaziah	849	"	839	"	10 (d)
" Uzziah	820	"	810	"	10
" Jotham	768	"	758	"	10
" Ahaz	752	"	742	"	10
" Hezekiah	736	"	726	"	10

Accession of Manetho . . . .	707 a.c.	698 a.c.	9 (d)
- Amen . . . . .	652 "	643 "	9
- Josiah . . . . .	650 "	641 "	9
- Jehoiakim . . . . .	619 "	610 "	9
- Zedekiah . . . . .	608 "	599 "	9 (e)

17 a. The difference between the two dates is here diminished by 161 years, of which the main part 160 is due to the circumstance that in 1 Kings vi. 1 the early Christians read in their Bibles "six hundred and fortieth," where our Bibles, following the present Hebrew text, read "four hundred and eightieth." In the text of the LXX., as now received, we have "four hundred and fortieth,"—a corrupt reading made out of the true reading of the LXX. and the translation of the Hebrew text which Origen made for his *Hexapla*. The additional year of difference arose from the early Christians having counted 640 complete years, whereas the English Bible counts 480 current years, or 479 complete years.

18 b. It is distinctly stated in 1 Kings xxii. 42, that Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years. In the margin of the English Bible this is reduced to twenty-two, on the strength of certain synchronisms between the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, which, according to the present Hebrew text, are inconsistent with his having reigned twenty-five years. The passages which give these synchronisms were translated into Greek by Origen for his *Hexapla*, and from that, as in many other instances, they have found their way into our present copies of the LXX. The original reading of the LXX. is, however, given also in these copies, and it fully supports the larger number of years assigned to Jehoshaphat in the passage already cited. After 1 Kings xvi. 28, the LXX., as uncorrupted, proceeds: "And in the eleventh year of Omri Jehoshaphat the son of Asa began to reign." Then follows the passage which in our present Bibles stands as 1 Kings xxii. 42—50, substituting, however, in verse 49 "the king of Israel" for "Ahaziah, the son of Ahab." After relating the succession of Jehoram, the LXX. proceeds as in 1 Kings xvii. 29, etc.; but in the beginning of verse 29 it reads, "And in the second year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began Ahab," etc.

19 (c). It is stated in both the Hebrew text and the LXX. that Jehoram reigned eight years. In the margin of the English Bible, however, only seven are assigned to him. The suppression of a year is, no doubt, due to the synchronisms which, as they now stand in the Hebrew, cannot be reconciled with one another without great difficulty, and without arbitrary assumptions of kings reigning in consort, and reigns being counted from different

epochs. I observe that the latter part of 2 Kings i. 17 is omitted in the LXX. It appears to be spurious. The Hebrew text in 2 Kings viii. 16 does not admit the translation given in the English Bible, which however is scarcely capable of a consistent interpretation. The only admissible translation would be, "And in the fifth year of Joram, the son of Ahab, king of Israel, and of Jehoshaphat king of Judah;" which is manifestly self-contradictory. Our present copies of the LXX. furnish us with no help. They contain a version of the Hebrew text, probably that of Origen taken from the *Hexapla*. The genuine reading of the LXX. is not given *also*, as it is in the First Book of Kings. Under these circumstances the only safe course is to have regard to the lengths of the reigns which are given, neglecting the corrupted synchronisms; and here we meet with no difficulty, for the two sets of numbers correspond. In the Biblical chronology of the kings of Judah, I take it that we have a chronological canon of the same nature as that of Ptolemy; as many years being assigned to each king as there were new moons of Nisan in his reign. On the contrary, a reign of a king of Israel was reckoned to include all the years in any part of which he was king. His first year was the civil—or, as some call it, the ecclesiastical year (beginning with the new moon of Nisan)—in which he came to the throne; while the accession of a king of Judah might be described, in reference to the reign of a king of Israel, either as the year corresponding to his first year, or as the year next before this. The following table will shew how the two sets of numbers of years assigned to the kings of Judah and Israel correspond. I prefix years B.C. at the new moon next after the vernal equinox of which the regnal years of the kings of Judah commenced. For the present these years B.C. may be regarded as arbitrary, and only approximate; but I will shew in the course of this paper that they are the true years, as fixed by astronomical observations. I begin with the accession of Omri in the thirty-first year of Asa, after the termination of the civil war. See 1 Kings xvi. 23.

B.C. 929	Thirty-first Asa	First Omri
" 919	Forty-first Asa	Eleventh Omri
" 918	First Jehoshaphat	Twelfth Omri and first Ahab
" 917	Second Jehoshaphat	Second Ahab
" 897	Twenty-second Jehoshaphat	Twenty-second Ahab and first Abaziah
" 896	Twenty-third Jehoshaphat	Second Abaziah and first Joram
" 894	Twenty-fifth Jehoshaphat	Third Joram
" 893	First Jehoram	Fourth Joram
" 886	Eighth Jehoram	Eleventh Joram
" 885	First Abaziah	Twelfth Joram

20 (d). The reigns of Jehoash and Hezekiah are expressed.

stated to have lasted forty and twenty-nine years respectively ; but in the margin of the English Bible a year is struck off from each of them.

(e). The early Christian placed the accession of Zedekiah and the captivity of Jeconiah, which was in the same year, seventy years before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, which all agree to have been in 538 B.C. They assumed this to be the true interval, believing that the prophecy of the seventy weeks' captivity referred to these limits. Archbishop Ussher transferred the earlier limit from the captivity of Jeconiah to an earlier captivity in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. He assumed that this was 606 B.C., and that the year of Necho's expedition, in which Josiah was killed, was 610 B.C. In reality, however, this last event took place in 608 B.C. ; the earliest date of which Egyptian chronology admits, as I will shew when I come to consider the separate reigns ; and the canon of Ptolemy fixes the accession of Nebuchadnezzar in 604 B.C. Archbishop Ussher thought that the canon gave the date of his father's death, and that he reigned two years in conjunction with him previous to 604 B.C. This, however, is an inadmissible hypothesis. Nebuchadnezzar's years must have been counted from the year when he became king. They were certainly counted from 604 B.C. and therefore he became king then. If he became king two years before his father's death, his father must have lived till 602 B.C. I believe that his father was the Labynetus of Herodotus, and that he was the king who intervened at the termination of the Lydian war in 603 B.C. The death of Josiah, and capture of Jerusalem by Necho, in 608 B.C., and the first captivity, at the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in 604 B.C., appear to me to be fully-established chronological facts, as to which no rational controversy can exist. We may date the seventy years' captivity from the former, and make it to terminate at the capture of Babylon ; or we may date it from the latter, and make it to terminate at the death of Darius the Mede, placing this last in 534 B.C. I am not aware of there being any authority for preferring the received date of 536 B.C. to this. The question of the seventy years' captivity belongs to the department of theology rather than to that of chronology ; and its discussion does not lie within the compass of the present paper.

21. I have now shewn that the date of 1667, assigned to the exodus by St. Clement of Alexandria, and believed to be the true date by the early Christians generally, was a purely Biblical date, obtained by calculation from Biblical numbers, historical or prophetical. It appears to have been accepted by all the



early Christians, with the exception of Julius Africanus, who threw the exodus back 130 years. He is blamed for having done this by Georgius Syncellus, who frequently complains of his chronological blunders. It appears that while he adhered to the apostolical tradition, that the incarnation of Christ was exactly 5500 years after the creation, he omitted the generation of the second or post-diluvian Cainan, which is given in the LXX. as 130 years, and that he compensated for this omission by adding 110 years to the interval between the exodus and the foundation of the temple, and twenty more to the interval between that and the first year of Darius. The Syncellus is not very clear in his statements as to where this error was committed. It seems clear, however, that he placed the captivity of Jeconiah in 631 B.C., seventy years before the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia. Here then he added twenty-three years to the received chronology. *Somewhere*, therefore, between the building of the temple and the captivity of Jeconiah he must have dropped three years. It is a matter of no importance, however, where this loss was, or how it was occasioned.

22. Having now shewn what was the date of the exodus according to the early Christians generally, and what it was according to the peculiar views of Julius Africanus, I proceed to speak of the synchronisms believed to exist between the exodus and events in Egyptian history. Two opinions seem to have divided the early Christians, each of which has been brought to bear on one of the existing lists. Africanus imagined, as Josephus had done before him, and probably other Jews, who thought that it was creditable to their nation, that the Hyk-shôs were the Israelites, that their expulsion was an Egyptian mode of describing the exodus, and that, consequently, the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, which synchronized with the expulsion of the Hyk-shôs, ought to be referred to the Biblical date of the exodus. The other opinion, which was probably held by a much greater number of the early Christians, and which was subsequently adopted by the Syncellus, harmonized much better with the Biblical narrative. According to it, the exodus did not take place at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, but eighty years or upwards after it. The Israelites came into Egypt in the time of the shepherds. One of these was the Pharaoh that advanced Joseph; Ahmôs of the eighteenth dynasty, who expelled them, was the new king who knew not Joseph, and who commanded that the Hebrew infants should not be suffered to live. Aaron was born before this edict, and of course before Ahmôs came to the throne; and Moses, it is supposed, was born very shortly after his accession. The

exodus, it is said, took place when Moses was eighty years old. All, therefore, that was necessary in order to determine the exact interval was, as was supposed, to find the least interval, consisting of a complete number of reigns, extending from Ahmô's downwards, and exceeding eighty years. Now Josephus gives the reigns from Ahmô's down with very great apparent accuracy, not only the years but the months being stated; and it cannot reasonably be doubted that the list which Josephus gives was Egyptian, if not Manetho's own. According to this list, the first four reigns consisted of 25y. 4m. + 13y. + 20y. 7m. + 21y. 9m. = 80y. 8m., or 81 years. Hence, the early Christians placed the accession of the eighteenth dynasty eighty-one years before the Biblical date of the exodus, or in 1748 B.C.

23. Plausible as this hypothesis is in some respects, there is probably no Egyptologist of the present day that could accept it. To say nothing of the monumental evidence connected with the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty (which, however, present very great difficulties), there are two parts of this hypothetic scheme which are plainly repugnant to the Biblical narrative. In the time of Joseph every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians: this could not have been the case when the Hyk-shô's kings were on the throne. And again, the fourth reign of those which make up the eighty-one years is that of a queen, whereas the Biblical narrative states expressly that the exodus was at the end of the reign of a king. The Biblical narrative would obviously be better satisfied by supposing the persecutors of the Israelites to be of the Hyk-shô's dynasty, and the patron of Joseph to be of the Egyptian dynasty which preceded them; when the Shôsu, or shepherds, were known as troublesome neighbours, but were not yet known as conquerors and oppressors of Egypt. Neither of the two modes of making the exodus to synchronize with events in Egyptian history which were current among the early Christians was a proper mode. It is fortunate, however, that both were in use, and that the existing lists were falsified, one of them in order to produce one synchronism, and another to produce the other; as this circumstance is a great assistance in restoring the genuine reading.

24. But, whatever be the defects of the two hypothetic schemes which I have mentioned, I cannot help saying that either of them is, in my judgment, far less objectionable than the modern scheme which has been devised as a mode of reconciling them. The inventor of it,—I will not mention his name, because I am not sure of it, and I have not the works within reach which would enable me to ascertain it, and also because I suspect it to be one to whom Egyptology is under very great

obligations,—the inventor of it, whoever he was, set out with supposing that, instead of the two hypotheses starting from the one date of the exodus, 1667 B.C., and placing the accession of Ahmô's, one of them in that year, and the other eighty-one years before it, they started from the accession of Ahmô's, and supposed two—not exoduses, but—expulsions of the Hyk-shô's, one of them at that time, and the other, eighty-one years after, at the beginning of the fifth reign in the dynasty. Ahmô's, according to this hypothesis, drove the Hyk-shô's out of the rest of Egypt, and shut them up in Avaris, and Thothmô's, the fifth king of the dynasty, drove them out of Avaris. One writer after another has repeated this statement, as if it were an unquestionable truth, although the only ancient authority adduced in support of it was manifestly misunderstood. To me, who never accepted this hypothesis, and to whom it was always a puzzle how any one else could believe it, the pertinacity with which it has been adhered to appears most unaccountable. Bunsen in his latest work, the fourth volume of his *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, and Lepsius in his *Königsbuch*, treat the existence of this interval between the partial and the complete expulsion of the shepherds as a settled point. Lepsius makes a seventeenth dynasty of it, to which he assigns ninety-three years. Now this appears to me absolutely inconsistent with the well-established fact that Thothmô's I., the third king of this dynasty, carried his arms into Mesopotamia. I cannot conceive it possible that he could have done this, if there were within the frontiers of Egypt, in the direction to which he had to march, a large fortified city in the hands of his enemies. And more than this, as De Rougé has long since pointed out, Ahmô's, the son of Abna, is made to say on his funeral stèle that in the sixth year of king Ahmô's he took part in the capture of Avaris; after which he says that the king passed along the Nile, the whole length of Egypt from the north to the south (*Stèle Egyptienne*, p. 119). The idea of the shepherds having remained in Egypt till the reign of Thothmô's III. is, in one word, a pure fiction of modern Egyptologists, for which there is no foundation either in the writings of the extractors from Manetho, or in the hieroglyphic records.

25. Having thus cleared the way, I will proceed to consider the three lists as handed down to us by Georgius Syncellus, confining myself to the portions which begin with the eighteenth dynasty and end with the twenty-sixth. I here give the duration of each dynasty according to the three authorities, and the interval from the accession of Ahmô's to the beginning of each dynasty after the eighteenth.

	Africanus.		Old Chronicle.		Eusebius.	
Eighteenth dynasty	263	263	348	348	348	348
Nineteenth "	209	472	194	542	194	542
Twentieth "	135	607	228	770	178	720
Twenty-first "	130	737	121	891	130	850
Twenty-second "	120	857	48	939	49	899
Twenty-third "	89	946	19	958	44	943
Twenty-fourth "	6	952	44	1002	44	987
Twenty-fifth "	40	992	44	1046	44	1031
Twenty-sixth "	150	1142	177	1223	167	1198

It will be observed that the interval between the expulsion of the Hyk-shôs and the conquest of Egypt is exactly eighty-one years more according to the Old Chronicle than according to Africanus, the latter going back to the exodus, and the Old Chronicle to a period eighty-one years before it. Take 1142 for 1667 B.C., or 1223 from 1748 B.C., and there remains 525 B.C. for the date of the conquest of Egypt.

26. Before going further, it is necessary to consider the summation at the end of the twenty-fourth dynasty which is given by the Syncellus in the list which he ascribes to Africanus. No one, I believe, pointed out the meaning of this number until I did so in my paper of 1861, already cited. I observed that if we substituted 44 for 6 as the duration of the twenty-fourth dynasty, which number 44 is found both in Eusebius and in the Old Chronicle, we should have 990 in place of 952 for the sum of the dynasties beginning with the eighteenth and ending with the twenty-fourth. This number left standing alone, and with nothing to explain it in the list where it stood, is therefore Egyptian, and I doubt not Manetho's own (can. ii. of § 14). It follows from this that the number 6 in Africanus's list was 44 in A; that one of the numbers in the list of the Old Chronicle is too great by twelve, and one of those in that of Eusebius is too small by three.

27. I have hitherto said nothing as to the synchronism, to effect which the list of Eusebius was corrupted from C. It did not depend on the exodus. Eusebius places this at the end of one of the reigns in the latter part of the eighteenth dynasty, and does not seem to have connected any other Egyptian event with it. He placed it honestly where, according to his Biblical views, it ought to be placed, making no alteration in Egyptian chronology with a view to establish a synchronism. If we look, however, to the end of the nineteenth dynasty, we shall see his synchronism. He says that Troy was taken in the last year of this dynasty. Take 542 from 1198, and there remains 656, the interval, according to Eusebius, between the fall of Troy and 525 B.C., the conquest of Egypt. Eusebius's date of the taking of Troy is 1181 B.C., *three* years later than that of Eratosthenes ;

and it cannot be doubted that Eusebius struck off the three years mentioned in the last section, in order to reduce the received date, with which C was in harmony, to his own. Let us now consider from which dynasty he struck off these years. Certainly not from the eighteenth, nineteenth, nor twenty-fourth, in which his numbers are the same as those in the Old Chronicle; nor yet from the twenty-first, where he agrees with Africanus. There remain the twentieth, twenty-second, and twenty-third; but if we look to the twenty-second, as it stands in Africanus's list, we shall see that the forty-nine years assigned to this dynasty by Eusebius are Egyptian. Africanus divides the dynasty thus:

α'	Σεσώγχις	ἔτη	ΚΑ'
β'	'Οσορθών	ἔτη	ΙΕ'
γ' δ' ε'	'Αλλοι τρεῖς	ἔτη	ΚΕ'
ς'	Τακέλωθις	ἔτη	ΙΓ'
ζ' η' θ'	'Αλλοι τρεῖς	ἔτη	ΜΒ'

It is evident that, when the compiler of C thought it necessary to diminish the length of this dynasty, he felt himself obliged to stop at forty-nine, the sum of the three single reigns which are given; viz., 21 + 15 + 13. We may be sure, therefore, that these three numbers are Egyptian. We cannot substitute fifty-two for forty-nine in C; nor yet can we admit any such correction as *ΚΔ'* for *ΚΑ'* or *ΙΘ'* for *ΙΕ'*, which have been proposed. If a correction of any number be required to make the sum accurate, we must read *ΚΘ'* for *ΚΕ'*. But it is an unsafe assumption that changes of the text were accidental, having been occasioned by similarity of letters; in the great majority of instances they were deliberately made, with a view to improve the text which the writer knew that he had before him.

28. It appears from what has been said that the three years struck off from C by Eusebius, were struck off either from the twentieth or from the twenty-third dynasty. We must suppose either that C had 181 for the length of the twentieth, or that it had 47 for that of the twenty-third. It will occur to most persons that the latter supposition is the more probable of the two, as it alters one of the three forty-fours which appear in the list of Eusebius as the number of years in these successive dynasties. It seems, at first, very improbable that this should be the case; and yet, if Eusebius obtained the number 44 accidentally by taking three from 47, neither of which last numbers was chosen in order to produce the 44, it does not appear to me that the improbability of the concurrence of three forty-fours is such as to have much weight. It appears to me a much stronger argument in favour of making this change rather

than the other, that 228, the length of the twentieth dynasty in the Old Chronicle, is probably a corruption of 178, the length according to Eusebius; and that the corruption having been made to avoid an anachronism, a displacement of the round number fifty years is vastly more probable than one of forty-seven. At any rate, as the two arguments tend to the same conclusion, I think we may safely infer that the change was made in the twenty-third dynasty, where C had 47 for the 44 of Eusebius. It will corroborate this conclusion if we find that to read 178 in the Old Chronicle as the length of the twentieth dynasty would produce an anachronism, according to a natural mode of connecting the reign of Rehoboam with Egyptian history, and that the substitution of 228 for it would remove the anachronism. Before, however, I consider the numbers in the Old Chronicle, I have something more to say of Eusebius.

29. It is not to be supposed possible that so laborious a chronologist as he was, and who had made so many changes as we know he did in the chronology previously received, as respected both sacred and profane history, should have made no change in the list of the Egyptian dynasties, other than to substitute 44 for 47 as the length of one of them. I by no means affirm this. I say that this was the only difference between the list given by the Syncellus as that of Eusebius, and the list that I call C,—the only change made by Eusebius from a non-Egyptian source; but I believe that the list C was constructed by Eusebius himself out of the two Egyptian documents A and B, which he had before him: and it will be found very useful in settling points that might otherwise be dubious in these two lists. We may assume that there is nothing in C which is not derived from A or B; and as a first-fruit of this principle we may conclude that 167, the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty in C, must have been that of B also; for it is impossible that it could come from A. The person who diminished the durations of the later dynasties in order to bring down the exodus to 1667 b.c., and who struck off 38 years from the twenty-fourth, and manifestly 4 from the twenty-fifth (rejecting the units in the 44 found in the other two lists), must have rejected a unit in the twenty-sixth also. The duration must have been  $150 + X$ ,  $X$  being less than ten, and could not therefore have produced 167.

30. The framer of the list in the Old Chronicle then added 22 years to the duration of the dynasties in B, in order to raise the accession of the eighteenth dynasty to 1748 b.c., i.e., 81 years before the exodus; and he effected this by adding 10 years to the twenty-sixth, and 12 to some of those before the twenty-fourth. The duration of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth

were 44 in all the Egyptian copies, as well as in the Old Chronicle and Eusebius. Now why did he divide these 22 years and add them in two places? Evidently to throw the accession of the twenty-fourth, or Ethiopian dynasty, sufficiently far back to maintain the proper Biblical synchronism. Hezekiah began to reign, according to the early Christians, in 736 B.C. (§ 16), and the first Ethiopian king had his aid sought by Hoshea before this. Now, according to B, the twenty-sixth dynasty began, as we have just seen, 167 years before Cambyses, that is, before 525 B.C. (§ 25), or in 692 B.C. The Ethiopian dynasty began 44 years earlier, or in 736 B.C., which as we have just seen is too late. Accordingly the compiler of the chronicle added ten years to the twenty-sixth dynasty, throwing back the accession of the twenty-fourth to 746 B.C., which produces the required synchronism.

31. We see from this that the compiler of the Old Chronicle did not look to the Exodus alone, as what required a synchronism in Egyptian chronology. He made a change in order to make the period of the Ethiopian dynasty synchronize with the reigns of Hoshea and Hezekiah; and this being the case we cannot doubt but that he would make the close of the reign of Solomon and the fourth year of Rehoboam to stand in what he would consider their proper place in Egyptian chronology. We now know perfectly well that the Shishak who then reigned in Egypt was the first king of the twenty-second dynasty; but to the compiler of the Old Chronicle such a supposition could not occur. According to the Old Chronicle the twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties together only lasted 67 years, and there is a doubt whether the twelve years which the compiler of the Chronicle added were not added to one of these dynasties. On the most favourable supposition, the twenty-second dynasty, which began according to the Old Chronicle in 847 B.C., would not begin before 837 B.C. in B; and it very probably would not begin till 825 B.C. The fifth year of Rehoboam fell according to the early Christians in 986 B.C.: so that the synchronism now known to be the proper one was one that he could not conceive possible. His idea evidently was that the year 994 must fall within the twentieth dynasty, where the kings were not named, and not in the twenty-first, where all the kings were named, and where it was clear that none could be identified with Shishak. Let us suppose that the twentieth dynasty lasted according to B 178 years; the eighteenth beginning in 1726 B.C., the nineteenth in 1878 B.C., and the twentieth in 1184 B.C.; the twenty-first would begin according to B in 1006 B.C., and according to the Old Chronicle in 1028 B.C. This is 42 years before the fifth year of

Rehoboam, which, according to the notions of the *compiler* of the Chronicle, was the limit which the twentieth dynasty must include. Therefore, he added 50 years to the twentieth dynasty, and subtracted the same number from one of the subsequent ones.

32. It is still uncertain what were the durations of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties, according to B; but we now know that the sum of the three was not  $121 + 48 + 19 = 188$  as in the Old Chronicle, but  $188 + 50 - 12 = 226$ . We have

	B		C		
Eighteenth	348	348	348	348	
Nineteenth	194	542	194	542	
Twentieth	178	720	178	720	
Twenty-first	} (121? ?	?	130	850	
Twenty-second		48?	?	49	899
Twenty-third		19?)	946	47	946
Twenty-fourth	44	990	44	990	
Twenty-fifth	44	1034	44	1034	
Twenty-sixth	167	1201	167	1201	

The lists B and C only differ in the duration which they assign to the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties; and it is evident that as to these they do differ materially. No addition of 50 years to a dynasty of the Old Chronicle and subtraction of twelve from the same or another can bring them into harmony. Here then the list C must have been taken from A; and I will now proceed to recover as far as possible this last list, which may again, when recovered, assist us in recovering the deficient numbers in B.

33. The list given in § 25 as that of Africanus cannot be really his; for the list, as given by the Syncellus, contains a statement that the exodus took place at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty; and we know that Africanus placed the exodus 130 years earlier than the accession of the eighteenth dynasty is here placed. When we recollect, however, that Josephus, who agrees with Africanus in respect to the synchronism of the exodus, says expressly and repeatedly that the eighteenth dynasty lasted 393 years, I think we cannot reasonably doubt that 263 was substituted for 393, which Africanus had in his list, by some corrector of Africanus, who disapproved of his lengthened chronology. It is certain, however, that the early Christians placed the exodus in 1667 B.C., and that this was, consequently, the date of the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, after they had cut down the three last dynasties from  $44 + 44 + 150 + X$  to  $6 + 40 + 150$ . Somewhere, therefore, after the eighteenth dynasty Africanus must have added 130 years; and let us now consider where.



34. In the first place, there can be no doubt that the duration of the nineteenth dynasty, which is divided into the several reigns, has been enormously magnified by Africanus. He makes the reigns of four kings, in four successive generations from father to son, to reign 191, or rather, if we correct a clerical error, 196 years, which is out of all bounds of probability. Here then Africanus has added something considerable. Sixty years, which would leave 136 years for the four reigns, cannot be thought too much to take from the 209, which he joins to the dynasty; and that this was the true number that he added is rendered almost certain from the comparison of  $393 + 149$  with  $348 + 194$ . Each sum is 542. It is very possible that the eighteenth dynasty was divided by Manetho into two portions, the latter of which lasted 45 years; and that while some of Manetho's followers, including the author of A, connected this period with the eighteenth dynasty, others, as the author of B, connected it with the nineteenth. We shall see hereafter that there is direct evidence that such a division of the eighteenth dynasty was made, and that the latter portion of it lasted 45 years.

35. There remain seventy years, which Africanus must have added to some dynasty between the nineteenth and the twenty-fourth. This could not be the twenty-first, because Eusebius, whose authorities were A and B, agrees with Africanus as to the duration of this being 130 years. It must, therefore, be either the twentieth, the twenty-second, or the twenty-third. In favour of the first supposition there are two probabilities. Africanus would be likely to make his additions to two adjacent dynasties; and the addition was more likely to have been made in the twentieth dynasty, where the reigns are not divided, than in either of the others, where the reigns are divided, and are already below the average, and in one of the dynasties greatly below it. It may occur to a person that by taking 70 years from 89, the length of the twenty-third dynasty in Africanus, we get 19, its length according to the Old Chronicle; but this number 19 is a very doubtful one, being one of three among which there exists two errors (§ 32). And the division of Africanus's duration of the entire dynasty 89 into the four separate reigns  $40 + 8 + 10 + 31$  ( $\Delta\Delta$  for  $\Delta\Delta$ ) seems to me to have strong internal evidence of its genuineness. But what seems to me to settle the question is this. Suppose that 65 was the reading of the early Christians and of A in this place, it accounts for the numbers in C. Eusebius in compiling this list had before him A and B. The four dynasties as to which there is now a doubt would, on the last supposition, stand thus in A, B, and C; all of which agree as to their entire duration being 404.

	A	B	C
Twentieth .....	65	178	178
Twenty-first .....	130	226	130
Twenty-second .....	120		49
Twenty-third.....	89		47

Eusebius seems to have preferred B's duration of the twentieth dynasty, and to have taken A's durations as the more likely to be correct for the three following ones. He retained A's number for the twenty-first dynasty, and he had then to subtract from the two following the 113 which he had added to A's duration of the twentieth. He took from the twenty-second so many as reduced the entire duration according to A to 49, the number in the three reigns expressed separately (see § 27); that is, he took 71 from this dynasty, and the remaining 42 he took from the twenty-third, reducing its duration from 89 to 47.

36. I now proceed to compare the lists A and B. Both of these are imperfect; the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty being wanting in the former, so far as respects the units, by which it exceeded 150, and the durations of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third being uncertain in the latter. We only know that they were the three numbers, 121, 48, and 19, one of them increased by 50, and one of them diminished by 12, the third being unaltered; or possibly, though not probably, one of them being increased by 38, and the other two unaltered. I will now assume what cannot be considered absolutely certain, but what has a great deal of plausibility about it. It is not the only hypothesis that is admissible; but I find that it gives the duration of the eighteenth dynasty according to Manetho, when all corruptions have been weeded away, such as can be divided into separate reigns in a more satisfactory manner than the other hypothesis does. It will be observed that, according to B, the accession of the twentieth dynasty synchronizes with the fall of Troy, according to Eratosthenes. According to A, it was at least eight years later; for 159 is the greatest length that we can assign to the twenty-sixth dynasty. I assume that it was nine years later; that the number 121 is according to B the duration of the twenty-first dynasty, and that it was increased in A to 130, with a view to throw back the accession of the twentieth dynasty to 1184 B.C. The two lists A and B would then stand as follows, as proved, and on the hypothesis just assumed.

	A (as proved)		(as assumed)	B (as proved)		(as assumed)	
Eighteenth	393	393		348	348	348	348
Nineteenth	149	542		194	542	194	542
Twentieth	65	607		178	720	178	720

	A (as proved)		(as assumed)		B (as proved)		(as assumed)	
Twenty-first	130	737					121	841
Twenty-second	120	857			226		105	946
Twenty-third	89	946				946		
Twenty-fourth	44	990			44	990	44	990
Twenty-fifth	44	1034			44	1034	44	1034
Twenty-sixth	150 + X	1184 + X	158	1192	167	1201	167	1201

37. Now, assuming what I have here assumed, it is easy to trace back these lists to two earlier lists, which may be called D and E. The latter will be obtained by merely reducing the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty from 167 to 158. The former will be obtained by substituting 74 + 121 for 65 + 130, as the duration of the twentieth and twenty-first combined. A corruptor first added nine years to the 121, in order to bring the accession of the twentieth dynasty to 1184 B.C.; and then, observing that the sum of the seven dynasties had become 999 in place of 990, some other corruptor struck the nine years in excess from the twentieth dynasty. We have thus

	D			E		
Eighteenth	393	393	1717	348	348	1717
Nineteenth	149	542	1324	194	542	1349
Twentieth	74	616	1175	178	720	1175
Twenty-first	121	737	1101	121	841	997
Twenty-second	120	857	990	48?	?	876
Twenty-third	89	946	860	19?	946	?
Twenty-fourth	44	990	771	44	990	771
Twenty-fifth	44	1034	727	44	1034	727
Twenty-sixth	158	1192	683	158	1192	683

I add a third column under each letter giving the year B.C. when the dynasty began.

38. There is still a material difference between the two lists; but it will be possible to produce an earlier list F from which both these lists were derived, and a still earlier one, Manetho's own, of which this is a corruption. The lists D and E differ, it will be perceived, only as to three dynasties, the twentieth, twenty-second, and twenty-third; and the differences are of such a nature as can only be explained by supposing that two of these dynasties overlapped the following ones, so as to have two durations;—that each list gives the longer duration of one of the dynasties, that is, the time from its commencement to its extinction, and the shorter duration of the other, that is, the time from its commencement to the commencement of the following one;—and that the third of the dynasties, manifestly the twenty-second, was shortened by the difference between the longer and the shorter duration of that dynasty of which the full length was given. To give the correct chronology the shorter duration ought to have been given in both instances, and it is

so in F; but the framers of D and E each gave one dynasty its full length, and to maintain the total 990, they had to shorten the twenty-second dynasty.

The two durations of the twentieth dynasty are both given, 74 and 178; where, therefore, 178 is allowed for the twentieth, as in E, the twenty-second is diminished by 104. Let the shorter duration of the twenty-third be called Y, the longer is 89; and in D, where we have 89, the twenty-second dynasty is shortened by  $82 - Y$ ; its length is  $209 - Y$ . Of course its length in E is  $105 - Y$ ; and the list F must have been as follows:—

Eighteenth .....	348	348	1717
Additional .....	45	393	1369
Nineteenth .....	149	542	1324
Twentieth .....	74 + 104	616	1175
Twenty-first ....	121	737	1101
Twenty-second ..	209—Y	946—Y	980
Twenty-third ....	Y + (89—Y)	946	771 + Y
Twenty-fourth ..	44	990	771
Twenty-fifth ....	44	1034	727
Twenty-sixth ....	158	1192	683

39. The second column in this table gives the interval from Ahmô's to the accession of the following dynasty, according to the view of the composer of the list F; but if we wished to have the sum of the durations of all the dynasties, we must add to the total in this list  $104 + 89 - Y = 193 - Y$ ; and the mistake of the composer of this list F, which affected all the other lists that we have been considering, was that he supposed 990 to be the interval between the accession of the eighteenth and the twenty-third dynasty, when it was really the sum of the duration of the seven dynasties. Manetho's duration of the eighteenth dynasty was  $193 - Y$  years less than 348 or  $155 + Y$ . His durations of all the subsequent ones were the same. In order then to have the list as originally constructed by Manetho, we have only to determine Y the length of the twenty-third dynasty in E. The twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties are in the Old Chronicle made to have lasted 48 and 19 years; and we have seen that 50 years were deducted and 12 years added, so that the sum of the two was 105. It is far more likely that the two changes mentioned were made in different dynasties, than that a single deduction of 38 was made from one of them. In this more probable case, Y would be 69 or 7; on the less probable supposition it might be 19 or 57, but no other value is admissible. Now, the twenty-third dynasty began by the table  $771 + Y$  b.c., and it lasted 89 years, or to  $682 + Y$  b.c. The last king of the dynasty was, according to Manetho, Zet, who is evidently the Sethos of Herodotus, who reigned at and after the time of Senacherib's disastrous invasion. Now, it is quite certain from

the Assyrian inscriptions that Sennacherib's first or successful invasion was in 701 B.C., which would be the first year of the successor of Zet, if Y were 19. As Zet reigned beyond a later invasion, this is impossible; and consequently no other value of Y is admissible than 7. This gives for the accession of the dynasty 778 B.C., and accords with the statement of Manetho, following the name of the first king, *ἐφ' οὗ ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη πρώτη*. This remark, though it would have been true if the dynasty had commenced in 790 B.C., would not have been likely to be made. Its appositeness arises from the accession of Petubastes being almost immediately followed by the celebration of the first Olympiad. If Y were 69, or were 57, it is manifest that the remark would not be true at all.

40. We are now in a position to see the object of the division of the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho stated that it lasted 162 years to the death of Amenophis, and 45 years afterwards. Lepsius and others admit that the duration of the eighteenth dynasty after the death of Amenophis was 45 years; and there was good reason for distinguishing this unhappy period of civil war, inflamed by religious fanaticism, during which the foreign conquests of Egypt were lost, from the prosperous and glorious period which preceded this event. It is remarkable too, that the lists of Josephus and Eusebius, which were composed after 186 years had been added to the duration of this dynasty, carried it down to a king whom they called Amenophis, namely, Menepthah, the son of Ramasse II. They made the period, which according to Manetho's genuine list extended to the death of Amenhotep III., extend to the death of Menepthah.

41. The original list of Manetho was therefore as follows. I give the durations, and the first and last years of each dynasty in years of the new kingdom, and in years before Christ.

		YEARS OF AHMÔS.	YEARS B.C.
Eighteenth dynasty to the death of Amenophis	} 162	1—162	1531—1370
Later reigns thereof		163—207	1369—1325
Nineteenth dynasty	149	208—356	1324—1176
Twentieth dynasty	74 or 178	357—534	1175—998
Twenty-first dynasty	121	431—551	1101—981
Twenty-second dynasty	202	552—753	980—779
Twenty-third dynasty	7 or 89	754—842	778—690
Twenty-fourth dynasty	44	761—804	771—728
Sum of the dynasties	990		
Twenty-fifth dynasty	44	805—848	727 — 684
Twenty-sixth dynasty	158	849—1006	683 — 526

In the recovery of this list, no use whatever has been made of any monumental evidence. It is obtained exclusively from the numbers transmitted to us by the Syncellus, as those which

he found in the Old Chronicle and in the works of Africanus and Eusebius. And in the mode of procedure by which this original list has been recovered, there is scarcely anything which is at all arbitrary. The only doubts that can be entertained are whether 158, rather than 157 or 159, was the duration assigned to the twenty-sixth dynasty, and whether 121 or 130 was that of the twenty-first. The effect of supposing it to be 130 might be to bring down the date of the accession of Ahmô's nine years; for in that case, in order to maintain the summation of 990, we must subtract nine years either from the twenty-second dynasty, which would bring down the date of Shishonk's accession to 971 B.C., leaving the earlier and later dates as they stand; or from the twentieth, which would require that 65 be substituted for 74 as the interval between the accessions of the twentieth and twenty-first, which change again would require that  $113 + 82 = 195$  years be subtracted from 348, in place of 186, and would thus bring down the accession of the eighteenth dynasty by nine years. The monumental eclipse of the twenty-second dynasty appears to me to furnish conclusive evidence in favour of the date 980 B.C.; and the consideration of Manetho's lengths of the several reigns has led me to prefer the earlier to the later date of the accession of Ahmô's, and therefore to prefer 121 to 130. Besides, I have given a plausible reason for corrupting the former of these numbers into the latter, and I can see no reason for a change in the opposite direction.

42. Assuming then that these doubtful points, which very slightly affect the result of my criticism, have been correctly decided, I proceed to test the correctness of my restoration by monumental evidence. There are three points to be specially considered, *viz.*, the Ethiopian synchronisms with Biblical history, the monumental eclipse of the twenty-second dynasty, and the Sothic date of Thothmô's III. I will consider these in the order in which I have named them, and first:—My position respecting the portion of Manetho's list which relates to the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties is, that while it is chronologically true, it is for a period of 41 years historically false. He omitted to distinguish the government of Tirhakah as ruler of Ethiopia from his reign as king of Egypt; and he introduced into his list the names of three kings at the head of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who were not kings of Egypt in any sense.

43. To make this matter plain, I will give a detailed chronology of the period which intervened between the close of the twenty-second dynasty and the accession of Psamitik I., distinguishing by brackets those portions in which Manetho deviated from the truth:—

B.C.	DYN. XXIII.	DYN. XXIV.
778	Petubastes..... 40	
	First Olympiad.	
771	_____	Bocchoris, 44.
738	Osorkon..... 8	
730	Psamût ..... 10	DYN. XXV.
727	_____	Sabacón, the Ethiopian, conquered Egypt
720	Zet..... 31	and burned to death Bocchoris, 12.
715	_____	Sebikos, 12.
703	_____	Tarakos came with an army out of Ethi-
		opia and slew Sebikos, [20].
690	Last year of Zet.	

	DYN. XXVI.
[683	Stephínates..... 7
676	Nechapsos ..... 6
670	Nekao..... 8]
662	Psamitik I.

*Chronologically* there is no error here, because the interval between Tahraka's overthrow of the first Ethiopian dynasty and the accession of Psamitik I. is correctly given as 41 years, but *historically* there is a great error. When Tahraka overthrew Shebetok, he did not succeed him as king of Egypt, but contented himself with the crown of Ethiopia, which he assumed, restoring Zet, or Seti III., to the throne from which his ancestor had been expelled by Bocchoris, during whose reign, and the reigns of Shebek and Shebetok, they were confined to the marshes of the Delta. Probably his reason for adopting this course was that an oracle had limited the rule of the Ethiopian kings over Egypt to fifty years, and that twenty-four of these had already expired when he obtained the Ethiopian kingdom. Accordingly he allowed Seti to reign to his death, on which event he assumed the double crown of Egypt; his first year as king being fourteen years after his conquest of Shebetok, or 689 B.C. He reigned twenty-six years, completing the fifty allowed by the oracle, and then withdrew to Ethiopia. One year of dodecarchy or interregnum intervened, and then Psametik assumed the royal title; but some years probably elapsed before he was generally recognized. As respects actual sovereignty, therefore, as recognized in Memphis, the succession stood thus:—

- 778 B.C. Petubastes.
- 771 " Bocchoris, who drove Petubastes to the marshes, and was himself taken prisoner and burned by
- 727 " Shebek the Ethiopian.
- 715 " Shebetok his son.
- 703 " Zet restored by Tahraka, an Ethiopian chief, who slew Shebetok. He would, however, reckon his regnal years from the death of his father, calling that which was really his first his eighteenth.
- 689 " Tahraka, king of Ethiopia, becomes king on the death of Zet.
- 663 " Interregnum, Tahraka having retired to Ethiopia.
- 662 " Psamitik I.

Here everything is consistent with the Second Book of

Kings, and with the cuneiform inscriptions. The embassy of Hoshea to So (Shebek) falls in his second year, and the invasions of Sennacherib, the first of which was in 701 B.C., find a king of Egypt, "a bruised reed," weak and unable to protect himself, and a king of Ethiopia his powerful protector. This king, the cotemporary of Sennacherib, is called by Herodotus Sethos, evidently the same name as Zet, and as Seti, a well-known name in the nineteenth dynasty.

44. Thus far I believe to be certain ; and to disprove it would be to overthrow my arrangement of the chronology. I am now going to state what I believe to be true, but what I do not consider quite so certain, and what may be disproved without affecting the truth of my arrangement. I believe that this Seti III. is the king whose titles are given in the *Königsbuch*, No. 618, from a stèle in the Louvre (C 100) where he is commemorated along with his daughter Mûtiritis (No. 620). So far as I can judge from the description given by others, the former part of the king's name is obliterated precisely in the same manner as the first element in the name of Seti I. and II. The defacement was not intended as a dishonour to the king but to the god, and was probably in every instance where it occurs the work of the Persians. Lepsius identifies this Mûtiritis with a princess of that name, who became the wife of a man named Petamon, and from whom one of the wives of Ahmô's the Saite was descended in the fourth generation. This accords well enough with his view as to the name of her father being Pankhi, and as to the time when he lived. It does not, however, agree with my view ; as it is scarcely probable that only six generations intervened between Seti III., who became king in 720 B.C., and Psamitik III., son of Ahmô's, who became king in 525 B.C. It is my belief that Lepsius confounds two princesses, of whom one was the granddaughter of the other. Mûtiritis, of the stèle in the Louvre, daughter of Seti III., I suppose to have married Kashto, who may have received the title of king in the lifetime of his father-in-law, and been the second of the "kings of Egypt" mentioned by Sennacherib as existing at the time of his invasion. Their daughter Amuniritis was the wife of Pankhi, who was an Ethiopian, perhaps the son of Tahraka ; and this couple had two daughters, Shapenap, wife of Psamitik I., and Mûtiritis, wife of Petamun, whose son and grandson were both born in the reign of, and called after, their maternal uncle by marriage. The great-granddaughter of the one sister, and the granddaughter of the grandson of the other, were both married to Ahmô's, who thus acquired a title, in their right, to the throne which he usurped.



45. Although genealogies do not furnish evidence of dates that can be depended on for accuracy, they often afford good approximations. It so happens that in connexion with the royal pedigrees of this period, there are two personages, the dates of whose births are determined within a year, or at most two years, by the evidence of their names; and from these we may, by allowing twenty-five years to a generation (see § 3), approximate to the reigns of others who are genealogically connected with them. The two persons whose births are thus known were king Apries and his half-sister, the wife of Ahmôs, whose coffin is in the British Museum. The former must have been born in the reign of his great-grandfather, Psamitik I., whose throne-name was given to him as his family name; and he could not have been born long before its close, because his grandfather made a campaign the year after his accession, which it cannot be supposed that a very old man would do. If we say 610 B.C., we cannot be above two years astray in the time of his birth. His half-sister was born, as her name indicates, during the reign of Psamitik II., which only lasted five years. Placing her birth in the middle of the reign in 591 B.C., we cannot be above two years astray. We have thus approximately the dates of the births of the Saitic kings, and of the descendants of the elder dynasty, as follows:—

K. Psamitik I. . . . .	b. c. 685	a. c. lived to c. 76.	
K. Nekau . . . . .	b. c. 660	„ lived to c. 67.	
K. Psamitik II. . . . .	b. c. 635	„ lived to c. 47.	
K. Wah-het-Phrâ. . . . .	b. c. 610	„ dethroned c. 41.	
Seti III. . . . .	b. c. 741	a. c. lived to c. 52.	
Mûtiritis . . . . .	b. c. 716	m. K. Kashto.	
Amuniritis . . . . .	b. c. 691	m. K. Pankhi.	
Shapenap. . . . .	b. c. 666	m. K. Psamitik I.	Mûtiritis m. Petamun.
Nitokrit, sen. . . . .	b. c. 641	m. K. Nekau	Wah-het-Phrâ.
Nitokrit, jun. . . . .	b. c. 616	m. K. Psamitik II.	Psamitik.
Ankh-nes-nofer-het-Phrâ. . . . .	b. c. 591	m. K. Ahmôs	Petenit.
	b. c. 566		Tentkheta m. K. Ahmôs.
			K. Psamitik III.

The birth of Psamitik was, probably, considerably less than twenty-five years after 566 B.C. We may be sure that Ahmôs would marry his mother as soon as she had attained a sufficient age; and Psamitik had children when Egypt was conquered in 525 B.C. (Herod., iii., 14), who must have been five or six years old at least. We can readily suppose that the descendants of Mûtiritis were some years older than those of Shapenap, on the same line with them.

The above pedigrees are fully established from Kashto downwards. The point in which I differ from Lepsius, De Rougé,

and others, is, that they consider the king with the partly defaced name, mentioned with his daughter on the Louvre stèle, c. 110, to be Pankhi, the son-in-law of Kashto, while I consider him to be Seti III., his father-in-law.

46. The genealogy and chronology, as I have given them, are evidently in perfect harmony; and this harmony will continue if we trace back the twenty-third dynasty; Psammus being born c. 766 B.C., Osorkon, c. 791, and Petubastes, c. 816. This last would thus be about twenty-eight years of age when he came to the throne, and would have lived till he was seventy-eight. I see no reason to doubt that he was the son of Shishonk IV., the last king of the twenty-second dynasty. Here, and in several other instances, I conceive that Manetho made a new dynasty, when there was a change of the dimensions of the kingdom, though there was no change in the reigning family. Petubastes was driven out of the capitals and the principal part of Egypt by Bocchoris, and could not, therefore, be regarded as continuing the prosperous twenty-second dynasty, which held the whole kingdom. Perhaps he had the misfortune to be blind, and that this fact contributed to the success of the usurpation. At any rate, I think there can be little doubt that his retreat to the marshes of the Delta, and the subsequent restoration of his great-grandson on the overthrow of Shebetok, were the facts which, distorted and embellished by the informants of Herodotus, were the basis of his fabulous history of Anysis (ii., 137, 140). Herodotus represents Anysis himself as restored, and Sethos as his successor; but in reality, his Sethos was the restored prince, and was the third in descent from the exiled one.

47. I will now proceed to consider the eclipse which is recorded in an inscription of a king Takelut, of the twenty-second dynasty, to have taken place on the 24th Mesore, in the fifteenth year of his father. This eclipse seems to have been first noticed by Brugsch. I am not aware that any Egyptologist has disputed his interpretation of the passage, but its importance as settling the chronology of the period has not been generally recognized. This record of an eclipse has been ignored or pooh-poohed by almost all who have had occasion to notice it; and for this I can assign no other reason than that its having happened according to the inscription is inconsistent with all the chronological systems that are current among Egyptologists. The following propositions are indisputable:—

1. On the 24th Mesore of the Egyptian civil year which began 17th April, 916 B.C., that is, on the 4th April, 945 B.C., the moon was totally eclipsed.

2. On no other 24th Mesore than this, could the recorded eclipse have taken place.

3. Takelut I. was son of Osorkon I., who was son of Shishonk I., the founder of the dynasty, who, according to Africanus and Eusebius, reigned twenty-one years.

From the first and second of these propositions, it follows that, if the record be *true*, the eclipse must have been that of the 4th April, 945 B.C. No other eclipse can be put forward, except on the hypothesis, that the sculptor of the inscription was careless, and wrote the 24th Mesore by mistake for some other date.

48. This hypothesis has been put forward by Mr. Basil H. Cooper, in the *Athenæum*; he would read the 28th Mesore, on which day in the year which began 24th March, 852 B.C., namely, on the 16th March, 851 B.C., there was an eclipse of the moon visible in Egypt. Mr. Cooper felt himself constrained to make this correction of the Egyptian text, through his dependence on Lepsius's arrangement of the kings in the twenty-second dynasty, according to which the Takelut who recorded this eclipse was Takelut II. Of the correctness of that arrangement, however, Lepsius offers no positive proof. Mr. Cooper ought to have recollected his own arguments against the *correction*—rather the *corruption*—of the date of the rising of Sothis, in the inscription of Thothmô's III. at Elephantine, which Lepsius and Bunsen had advocated. It is to me utterly inconceivable, that in the record of any event of which the date is given, the writer of the inscription should put down the date incorrectly. The case of the error committed by the sculptor of the Rosetta stone in respect to the month in which the king came to the throne, is by no means a parallel case. The Rosetta stone was one of many hundred copies of a decree which would only be in force during the life of the king, in whose honour it was made. The general fate of these copies would be, that after the king's death they would be thrown aside as useless, if they could not have the inscriptions cut away so that they might receive new ones. The natural consequence of this would be, that the execution of these stèles would be committed to inferior workmen, and that those employed would be careless as to mistakes. If one of them saw that he had put down a wrong word, he would not take the trouble to correct it. On the other hand, the Karnak inscription which we are now considering was the single record of what it commemorated; the account of what had occurred was inscribed on the walls of the temple in *perpetuum rei memoriam*; and if there had been a mistake in the date, it would have been immediately observed and corrected. I

should observe also that the mistaken date on the Rosetta stone is not in the decree itself, but in a recital, and that it relates to a point in the recital which is absolutely *immaterial*; whereas, when a date is given in a historical inscription, it is probably the most material information in it. Mr. Cooper saw clearly the absurdity of supposing that the sculptor of the inscription at Elephantine had given a false date, and he ought not to have admitted so readily as he does that there was a false date in the inscription of Takelut at Karnak.

49. Unless, therefore, there can be positive proof produced that the eclipse of the 4th April, 945, *could not possibly* have been the eclipse of the inscription, I contend that we are bound in common honesty to admit that it was so; and that all presumptions to the contrary, drawn from doubtful hypotheses which are inconsistent with it, ought to fall down before this distinct record. I have already discussed this matter in § 10, to which I refer; and I now remark that there are three distinct pretended impossibilities,—in reality, inconsistencies with received theories, which are appealed to, as proving that this eclipse of 945 B.C. could not be that intended. First, it is alleged that this eclipse could not have been seen by the Egyptians. If the moon's acceleration be so great as the Astronomer Royal, Hansen, and others imagine, the moon must have been completely disengaged from the earth's shadow before she rose in Egypt. Secondly, it is alleged by Lepsius, and by Egyptologists generally after him, that the writer of this inscription was Takelut II., and not Takelut I., as I contend. If this were true, the date of 945 B.C. is, of course, inadmissible. Thirdly, it is alleged that the Biblical date of Rehoboam's accession, 975 B.C., is too early, and that Shishonk's accession, which preceded his, could not have taken place till the latter half of the tenth century before Christ. Now, the fifteenth year of Osorkon I., the father of Takelut I., must be thirty-five or thirty-six years after the accession of Shishonk; consequently, the eclipse could not have been in that regnal year of his, unless the accession of the twenty-second dynasty was in 980 B.C. or 981 B.C. My reasons for preferring the date 980 B.C. must be deferred till I come to consider the chronology of the separate reigns. Now, I deny that any one of these three alleged impossibilities is a real one. I contend that not one of the hypotheses, with which the supposition that the eclipse occurred as it is recorded that it did is inconsistent, is sufficiently established to cause us to reject a testimony like that of this inscription. I hold that the record ought to be received as it stands; and that, *consequently*, the coefficient of the moon's acceleration must be diminished, so

as to admit of this eclipse having been seen by the Egyptians; the Takelut of the inscription must have been the first king of that name; and all the schemes that have been proposed for bringing down the building of the temple, or the accession of any of the kings of Judah below the dates given in the margin of the English Bible, must be rejected. The Astronomer Royal and his numerous followers, Lepsius and other Egyptologists, as well as Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Bosanquet, must all abandon their respective theories, which are inconsistent with a well-attested astronomical record. As to the two latter gentlemen, what I have said in § 10 will suffice; but I have something to add in reply to the Astronomer Royal and Lepsius.

50. The supposition that the moon's acceleration has been greatly exaggerated by Hansen in his tables is by no means a new one, adopted by me in order to maintain the credit of this eclipse. I have held this opinion, and advocated it whenever I have had an opportunity, for the last six years and upwards. At the Manchester meeting of the British Association, I brought forward what appeared then, and still appears to me, to be conclusive evidence of this fact. I refer to pages 22—24 of the Report for 1861, where I refer to two lunar eclipses, recorded by Ptolemy as having taken place in 720 B.C., in both of which the eclipse is recorded to have taken place considerably after the time when it should have happened, according to Hansen's tables; the interval between the calculated and the recorded time being, in one instance, a full hour. I stated in the paper that I did not wish the calculations to be taken on my authority; I wished that others should make similar calculations. I am now enabled to state that such calculations have been made, and that those which I made have been found to be perfectly correct. The Astronomer Royal (whose paper read at the same meeting, entitled "Remarks on" mine, p. 12, is not a *reply* to mine, which the Astronomer Royal had not heard) referred me to a paper of Dr. Hartwig, in No. 1241 of the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, in which he gives a calculation from Hansen's tables of the different eclipses mentioned by Ptolemy. With respect to the eclipse of —719 March 8, he agrees with my calculation to a minute. He places the middle of the eclipse at 11h. 13m., and the end at 12h. 7m. *mean* Babylonian time. The equation of time was then 14m., which would give 10h. 59m., and 11h. 53m. for the middle and end of the eclipse. Ptolemy's statement is, that the middle of the eclipse was ἐπ'ἄκρῳ τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ, at the very instant of midnight, at that marked period when the sixth of the two-hour clepsydras had run out, and the seventh was set a-going; the first of the clepsydras

having been set a-going at apparent noon. This is, in its nature, an observation on the accuracy of which very great dependence can be placed. It could not have been more than a few minutes astray, and it is evident that it was recognized both by Hipparchus and by Ptolemy as the very best observation that they had. It was that which they both compared with eclipses observed in their own times, in order to determine the mean motion of the moon. And yet Dr. Hartwig, when he should produce Ptolemy's statement of what was observed, for comparison with what he had calculated, says that the middle of this eclipse was, according to Ptolemy, "unbestimmt, um mitternacht,"—*undetermined, about midnight!* I question if a more reckless misstatement of adverse testimony was ever made by the advocate of a desperate cause. In reality, the time when the eclipse was stated to have been, and must have been within a mere trifle, *greatest*, was 61*m.*, according to Dr. Hartwig's own calculation after the eclipse ought, according to the tables, to have been *greatest*, and 7*m.* after it ought to have emerged from the shadow. Here we have, as I contend, *conclusive* evidence that the co-efficient of  $T^2$  in the moon's mean elongation is *much* less than Hansen supposes. If the whole error were due to this cause, it would amount to 2''·9; but we may well suppose that there was a considerable error also in the place of the perigee, and this may have produced a change in the time of opposition, either in the same direction as the change caused by the error in the acceleration or in the opposite direction. In the former case, a less error than 2''·9 would suffice; in the latter, we must admit a greater error than this.

51. Having made these preliminary observations, I now proceed to speak of the eclipse of —944 April 4. The tables of Hansen do not extend beyond —800; but by the formulæ given in the preface, I have calculated the moon's place for this eclipse, and also that of the sun, on the supposition that the eccentricity was then ·017915, which is, I believe, what Hansen would make it to be. According to these data, the opposition of the sun and moon would take place on the 4th April —944 at 0*h.* 41·8*m.* G. M. T.; adding 2*h.* 5*m.* for difference of longitude, and subtracting 6·5*m.* for equation of time, the opposition would fall at 2*h.* 40*m.* apparent time at Memphis, or about, as I calculate, 3*h.* 23*m.* before the moon would rise. The eclipse would continue 1*h.* 40*m.*, or thereabouts, after the opposition, so that it would be over, *according to Hansen*, 1*h.* 43*m.* before the moon rose. The question to be considered is—can we admit such an error in the tables, consistently with the record, as to the eclipse of 8th March —719, when the error was only 1*h.* 1*m.*? It must

certainly be acknowledged, that we cannot, if the mean longitude of the moon herself be the only thing in which the tables are at fault. In the eclipse of —719, an error of a second in the co-efficient of  $T^2$  in the moon's mean longitude would produce an error of about 21*m.* 3*s.* in the time of opposition; while in that of —944, it would only produce an error of 22*m.* 57*s.*; so that 61*m.* in the former eclipse, which is the proved error of the tables, supposing the observation to be *accurate*, would correspond to an error of only 66·5*m.* in the latter. There may have been a slight error of observation in the eclipse of —719; the middle of the eclipse may not have been reached for some 5*m.* after apparent midnight; but about 72*m.* is the outside that can be allowed for the error in —944, corresponding to the observed error in —719. Let us suppose, however, that, as I suggested in § 50, there was an error in the place of the moon's perigee, which would retard the time of opposition by about 10*m.*, this would require that the error in the mean place of the moon, which is in the opposite direction, was greater than I have supposed. It will be convenient to assume the co-efficient of  $T^2$  in the moon's mean elongation to be 8''·5. This supposes an error in the time of opposition of 77*m.* 43*s.*, which is about 11*m.* 43*s.* greater than the observation admits. Now, in the eclipse of —944, the error of 77*m.* 43*s.* would be increased to 84*m.* 44*s.*; while the error caused by the perigee would have its direction changed, the moon being in the opposite part of its orbit; and instead of being —11*m.* 43*s.*, would be + 11*m.* 7*s.*, so that an error of 96*m.* is admissible. The error of the tables should, however, as we have seen, be at least 103*m.*, supposing the observation to have been in the longitude of Memphis; but is it quite certain that it was so?

52. We know that Shishonk, the founder of the twenty-second dynasty, overran the kingdom of Judah; and we may naturally suppose that he retained some frontier fortress, which might serve as a point of support to the Egyptians in future wars. Any such fortress must be 14*m.* of time eastward of Memphis, and it might very well be 15*m.* The moon might have risen *there* 7 or 8*m.* before the termination of the eclipse; and for aught that we know to the contrary, the record may have referred to this point. Indeed, we have direct evidence that about the time of this eclipse, the king of Egypt was at the head of an army in Palestine. It is stated in 2 Chron. xiv. 9, that Zerah, the Ethiopian, who has been pretty generally identified by Egyptologists with Osorkon I., father of Takelut I., was defeated by king Asa at Marisha, about 15*m.* eastward of Memphis. In the following chapter, it is stated that after pur-

suings the invaders, and collecting an immense spoil, Asa effected a religious reformation, and gathered the people together at Jerusalem, in the third month of his fifteenth year. According to the canon of kings of Judah, as given in the Books of Kings, and as generally received by the early Christians (when corrected by eleven years, falsely inserted at the end of the canon to make up the seventy years' captivity, according to the misinterpreted prophecy), the first year of Asa was that which began in the spring of 959 B.C. (see § 16), and his fifteenth was that which began in the spring of 955 B.C., fifteen days after the eclipse. The assembly at Jerusalem was, in all probability, at the new moon, seventy-four days after the eclipse; and the interval between the battle and the assembly could not be much less, if at all less, than two months. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the eclipse happened when the king of Egypt was in Palestine, marching eastward, not many days before the battle; and if so, the eclipse must have been observed there. The record by no means implies that the eclipse was total. Possibly, it implies no more than that the moon was obscured, as it might be by the penumbra, just after it had emerged from the dark shadow; and if the moon rose, thus darkened, to the army in Palestine, it might appear worthy of notice, more especially when it was found that this phenomenon had not been seen in Egypt. Unfortunately, the text of the inscription at Karnak is in a very mutilated state, so that while the date and the record of the moon being obscured at that date are well preserved, the connexion in which this fact was recorded is wholly lost.

53. I now dismiss this discussion of the eclipse, which professed astronomers may take up if they like. I have considered it merely in a chronological point of view. I have, I think, shewn (as I sought to do) that there is no *absolute impossibility* in the eclipse of 4th April —944, having been observed as stated in the inscription of Takelut; its having been observed is not inconsistent with Ptolemy's record of the eclipse of 8th March —719, nor, I may add, with his record of that of 1 Sept. —719, nor with the record of the eclipse of Agathorles. All these records are consistent with the eclipse of —944, having been observed in Palestine. The only supposed records which I know to be inconsistent with it, are the pretended eclipse of Larissa and the eclipse of the Lydian war, if it were that of —585. Both of these records, however, I hold to be fanciful, and of no authority. The latter involves a decided anachronism. Now, there being no *absolute impossibility* in this eclipse having taken place as it is recorded that did, I contend that the record ought to be accepted as evidence that it did take place. It would in my



opinion be contrary to sound criticism to suppose that an obscuration of the moon, recorded to have been observed, did not really take place, or had some other cause than the earth's shadow.

54. I now come to the objection that is grounded on Lepsius's arrangement of the kings of the twenty-second dynasty. I admit that if, as Lepsius supposes, the Takelut under whose father the obscuration of the moon is said to have happened, were Takelut II., an eclipse could not have happened at the time indicated; but I maintain that Lepsius's arrangement is an arbitrary one, and is incorrect. In order that it may be seen in what respect my arrangement differs from his, I will give in the first place so much of the arrangement as I adopt.

First king.....	Shishonk I. (Ra-hut-h'eper, sotep-en-Ra).
Second king, his son ....	Osorkon I. ?
Third king, his son.....	Takelut I. ?
Fourth king, his son ....	Osorkon II. ?
Fifth king .....	Shishonk II. (Ra-hut-h'eper, sotep-en-Amun).
Sixth king .....	Takelut II. ?
Seventh king .....	Shishonk III. (Ra-t'user-mâ, sotep-en-Ra).
Eighth king.....	Pemai (Ra-t'user-mâ, sotep-en-Amun).
Ninth king, his son .....	Shishonk IV. (Ra-âa-h'eper).

Four kings are known by direct monumental evidence to be sons of their predecessors; Lepsius supposes that all were so; and I am disposed to agree with him. Twelve generations, averaging twenty-four years, would bring us from Shishonk I., born about 1029 B.C., down to Seti III., born about 741 B.C. The age of Shishonk I. at his accession may be estimated pretty closely. He was not too old to make a warlike expedition in his sixth year, and to reign for twenty-one years; and yet he was sufficiently old to have a son grown to man's estate, to whom he preferred giving the daughter of Psusennes in marriage, to marrying her himself. We cannot suppose him to have been much over or under fifty. Possibly he was somewhat older, as he had a son older than Osorkon, who died before his father.

55. Now, the question at issue between Lepsius and his followers and me relates to the throne name of the two Osorkons and the two Takeluts. There is a representation of a king accompanied by a prince, his son, at Karnak (Leps., *Auswahl*, 15), who is certainly the same Takelut in whose reign the inscription recording the eclipse is dated, because he has the same throne name Ra-hut-h'eper, sotep-en-Ra. The question at issue is,—Was this Takelut I. or II.? The inscription speaks of the prince (who was dead, and apparently not long dead, when the inscription is dated, the eleventh year of Takelut, first of Tobi), as “first prophet of Amun (with other titles): Osorkon deceased,

born of the king's principal wife Karamama-merit-Mût (may she live'), daughter of the first prophet of Amun (with other titles Nameret, royal son of Osorkon, son of Bast (may he live) Takelut himself is called son of Hisit: and in another inscription in the same plate of the *Answah*, that from the Nile statue in the British Museum, Osorkon I. is named without any such designation as son of a goddess. It is by the contents of these two inscriptions that the question is mainly to be decided. Lepsius and I each draw a conclusion which would settle the question at issue, if the premise which we respectively assume were true: but I deny the truth of his; and he would probably deny the truth of mine, which he does not notice. Other arguments only tend to shew that one hypothesis is more probable than the other; but these two lead to a certain conclusion. Of course, one at least of the premises adduced by Lepsius and me must be false.

56. Lepsius assumes that the addition to a family name of Sa-Hisit, Sa-Bast or Sa-Nit, i.e., "son of Isis, Bast or Nith," was made with a view to distinguish the king so designated from a previous king who bore the same family name. Granting this to be the case, the Takelut and Osorkon of this inscription must be respectively the second of their name: I meet this argument by denying the truth of the proposition assumed by Lepsius. He admits himself, that the title which he supposes to be distinctive is often omitted, and that the names of the two goddesses are indiscriminately used. All that he can rest on is, then, the supposed fact that this addition is never made to the first king with any family name. It is curious, however, that he has himself furnished evidence contradicting this assertion. In the *Königsbuch*, No. 576, he gives the family name of Takelut I., with the addition "son of Isis." This is taken, I believe, from some leathern fragments at Berlin. Here, then, is an instance, given by himself, in which the two kings who alone bore the family name of Takelut are alike called "son of Isis" in their family name; the two different throne names accompanying the very same family name. Again, in the twenty-sixth dynasty, Ahmôis is always called son of Nit; and I can scarcely think that this was to distinguish him from a king who reigned about a thousand years before him. I also find the same addition to the name of Psamitik I. (Sharpe, i., 114.) In this plate we have the funeral vases of a general named Wah-het-Phrá em em (or em tiam-en-Ra, as it was formerly read), whose name implies, as I conceive, that he was born when the Pharaoh, or king, was so distinguished, whom we know to have been Psamitik I. setting in glory. Now, the father of this general, whose

funeral vases are in the Louvre, is called Psamitik-sa-nit; and it is a matter of necessity that it was Psamitik I., after whom he was called; and consequently that king must have borne this title. It may occur to some that the younger general was called after Apries, in which case the elder might have been called after Psamitik II.; but in the first place, the family name of a king (which Wah-het-Phrá was of Apries), was never used in this connexion; and in the second place, the death of Apries was of such a nature that we cannot suppose it possible that a young courtier should give his name to his son, commemorating a dethroned and murdered king, as if he had died in honour after a prosperous reign. No name could have been more appropriate than this for one who was born in 609 B.C., and it would have been hard to select one less so for a person who was born about 569 B.C. Nor again is it at all likely that if a courtier at the last date should have been foolish enough to give his son this name, both he and his son would have been successively advanced by Ahmós to the rank of general. From all that has been said, I feel fully convinced that the designation of a king as son of a goddess was purely honorary, and by no means intended to distinguish him from a previous king of the same family name.

57. The general principle which I assume is, that the addition of "May he live!" to a king's name implies that he is alive. If so, Osorkon, mentioned in this inscription, must be the father, and not the grandfather of Takelut; and, of course, the Takelut here named must be the first of the name. In order to disprove this it would be necessary to produce an instance in which this addition is made to the name of a deceased king; but I contend that, even if such an instance could be adduced, though this conclusion would not necessarily follow, it would be highly probable that it was true. The only instances in which I have seen this addition made to a king's name, where his being alive was doubtful, are a tablet of the reign of Amen-em-hé II., already referred to, where the fact of the king so qualified being alive appears to me certain; the present inscription, where it is not impossible, for Osorkon, had he lived, could not be above eighty years old at the outside; and the inscription on the Nile statue, where Pausannes, the last king of the twenty-first dynasty, whose daughter was married to Osorkon I., is thus qualified. This inscription may very well have been made in the third or fourth year of Osorkon I., the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of the twenty-second dynasty; and there is no improbability in Pausannes having survived his dethronement twenty-five years, if he had been allowed to die a natural death. I have

seen no other inscription where the phrase occurs, and where there is any ground for doubting that the king was alive. I have read, however, of one of the Apis stèles, in which, if the statement be correctly given, there is a clear instance of the addition being made to the name of a dead king. I allude to the stèle of the twenty-eighth year of Shishonk III., in which this addition is said to be made to the name of a king Osorkon, who, whether he be first or second, must have been long dead.

58. It is safest, under these circumstances, to consider what is *probable*, assuming for argument's sake that there is no such certainty to be had, as I have been speaking of. In the first place, we have some sort of evidence from the Apis tombs. Mariette gives as successive Apises those who died in the twenty-third of Osorkon II., the fourteenth of Takelut I., and the twenty-eighth of Shishonk III. According to Lepsius, his Takelut I. should be II., whereas, according to my views, his Osorkon II. should be I. According to this view, we must suppose that several Apises intervened between the second and third of the above three; while, according to Lepsius, only one could have done so. It seems improbable, however, that we should here have the complete series; and if there be a gap for one, it may have included several. According to Africanus, Takelut II. only reigned thirteen years; but as the duration of the dynasty was shortened from 202 to 120 years, it is likely enough that both the fifteen years of Osorkon and the thirteen of Takelut are too small. I suspect the true numbers were twenty-five and twenty-three. At any rate it is improbable that no Apis should have been buried in the reign of Shishonk III., till his twenty-eighth year. While, then, I admit that the Apis monuments render Lepsius's theory rather more probable than mine, I think that the probability in favour of mine, derived from the argument in the preceding §, very nearly, if not altogether, counterbalances this.

59. The question is then to be decided, as it appears to me, by fitting the several personages mentioned in the inscriptions as connected with the royal family into their places, in the outline already given, and seeing which can be made to fit there in best accordance with the known length of generations. I will give a list of the persons mentioned who have to be placed, with what I suppose to have been their parentages and the approximate times of their births and deaths, and the leading events of their lives. All the dates are B.C. I omit unimportant personages.

1. Shishonk I., b. about 1029, became king 980, took Jerusalem 975, d. 959.
2. Osorkon I., b. about 1005, married daughter of Psusennes in 980, by whom he had two sons, 3 and 5; became king 959; invaded Judæa in 945; reigned alone till 934 [may have lived 10 years or so longer, his son 7 being king.]

3. Namerut, first prophet of Amun, heir of the twenty-first dynasty through his mother; b.c. 979, died soon after his father's becoming king.
4. Karamama, daughter of 3, heiress of the twenty-first dynasty; b. about 959, and was married to her uncle, Takelut I., about 944.
5. Shishonk, born c. 977; became first prophet of Amun on the death of his brother; erected the Nile statue soon after; died before 934.
6. Osorkon (of the Denon papyrus), prophet of Amun, son of 5, born c. 955; died before 934, after his father, but before his grandfather. He was probably murdered.
7. Takelut I., son of 2 by Tamentah'onsu, as Lepsius reads her name, b. about 981; became first prophet of Amun on the death of 5, to the prejudice of the hereditary rights of 6; in 934 became king [alone, or in conjunction with his father]; reigned till 919 at least.
8. Osorkon, son of 7 and 4, born c. 943; was first prophet of Amun, but died in his father's life-time about 924.
9. Osorkon II., son of 7, and a wife, whose name ends in —pes;—the former part has not yet been read,—born c. 957.
10. Shishonk II., son of 9, born c. 933; d. c. 889 or 899.
11. Takelut II., son of 10, born c. 909; reigned c. 889 or 899; d. c. 876.
12. Shishonk III., son of 11, born c. 885; reigned c. 876. Apis died 849; he died c. 824.
13. Shishonk, son of 2, and Karamat, Sam of Phthah, chief priest at Memphis, born c. 970; presided at the burial of an Apis in 937.
14. Takelut, son of 13, was born c. 940, and succeeded his father in all his offices.
15. T'esbast-peru, daughter of 9, and Hisit-em-H'eb, born c. 925.
16. Pet-Hisit, son of 14 and 15, born c. 900, succeeded his father in all his offices. He presided at the burial of an Apis in 851, and was living twenty-six years after, when the next Apis was buried; he was then aged about 75, and had grandchildren grown up.

I need not treat of the descent of Har-pe-son, as it presents no difficulty. He assisted at the burial of an Apis in or about 779, being the sixth in descent from Osorkon II., who was born c. 957. We may suppose him to have been thirty-four years old, and we should have about twenty-four years on an average for a generation.

If any one can point out a flaw in the above arrangement, I will readily acknowledge my error; but at present it appears to me perfectly satisfactory, both as respects monumental evidence, and as respects the ordinary course of human life.

60. I must, however, beg my readers to recollect, that if this arrangement of the dynasty be shewn to be inconsistent with the monuments, or if the grounds on which I have maintained that it was possible for an eclipse to have been seen by the Egyptians in 945 should be proved to be untenable, my restoration of Manetho is not affected by it. I bring forward this eclipse as a confirmation of conclusions at which I have arrived, independently of it. I argue, that as it is almost certain that an eclipse is monumentally recorded to have happened on a specified day, we ought to admit the record to be true unless there be a *certainty*, arising either from astronomical data or from monumental evidence, that the eclipse which appears to be recorded *could not*

have taken place. *Probability* will not do, because the probability that the monumental record was true would outweigh almost any probability that could conflict with it. And be it remembered that if it be proved that the record was *untrue*, its error must be in the *fact* that an eclipse occurred at all; some atmospheric phenomenon may *possibly* (though, I think, *most improbably*) have been mistaken for it: it cannot be in the date; for it is quite certain that, whether what is recorded happened in 945 or not, it could not have happened in any other year. If my eclipse is a good record, my arrangement of the dynasties is verified in the most remarkable manner. If I fail, there is no monumental eclipse at all, and my arrangement is neither verified nor disproved.

61. It is otherwise with the third of the synchronism, which I proposed to consider,—that of the rising of Sothis on the 28th Epipti. It must have risen on that day in four successive years, and there could be no mistake in the observation of the fact. It is certain, too, that the record of the rising on this day belongs to the reign of Thothmôs III. Consequently,—unless we suppose that an Egyptian sculptor inscribed the stone through mistake with a false date; which it is inconceivable that he should do, the stone having been fixed up in a public place, where an error, if it existed, must have been at once observed, and would of course have been immediately corrected,—*consequently*, I say, Thothmôs III. *must* have reigned in the fifteenth century B.C., when only this phenomenon could have occurred. According to my chronology, he would have done so; but not according to Lepsius, Bunsen, and most other Egyptologists.

With this observation I will conclude what I have to say, as respects the dynasties; and unless my system, so far as I have yet exhibited it, shall be proved to be unsound in the interim, I will, D.V., give the dates of the commencement of most of the reigns in the July number of this Journal.

EDWARD HINCKS.

*Killyleagh, 29th Nov., 1862.*





T. 10. 10. 10.



R. S. Poole Esq  
British Museum  
London W.C.



## HIEROGLYPHIC TABLES OF KINGS.

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THE following tables comprise the names of all the Kings whose chronological places I consider certain, from the First Dynasty to the Nineteenth Dynasty inclusive. I have, in these tables, arranged the Dynasties and Kings in their proper relative places, according to the authority of the monuments. The spaces allotted to particular Kings are proportioned to the lengths of their reigns only in some particular and remarkable cases: in other cases I have only indicated the average length deduced from the length of the Dynasty and the number of its Kings. The names in these tables, with few exceptions, are printed from wood-blocks of which the use has been most kindly offered to me, for this purpose, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson.



## HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 1.

*Thinites.*

1ST DYN.



Menee.

*Méne.*Era of Méne,  
B.C. 3717.*Memphites.*

3RD DYN.

*Athôthis.**Necherôphés.*

B.C. cir. 2680.

*Kenkenés.**Tosorthros.**Unephés.**Tyreis.*

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM 1630 TO 1880  
BY  
JOHN H. COOPER  
AND  
JOHN W. COOPER

## HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 2.

*Thinites.*  
1ST DYN.

*Memphites.*  
3RD DYN.










<i>Usaphaidos.</i>	<i>Mesochris.</i>
<i>Miebidos.</i>	 <p>Shufu. <i>Sôphis.</i></p>
<i>Semempôa.</i>	<i>Tonertasia.</i>
<i>Biënechôa.</i>	<i>Archôa.</i>
<p>There was, apparently, another King, in this, or in the next, dyn., before this.</p>	<i>Sênphuria.</i>

WALTON BOWMAN

IEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 3.

*Thinites.*  
2ND DYN.

*Memphites.*  
3RD DYN.

<p><i>Boéthos.</i> B.C. CIR. 2470.</p>	<p><i>Kerpherés.</i> 4TH DYN.</p>  <p>Shura. Sôris. B.C. CIR. 2440.</p>	<p><i>Elephantinites.</i> 5TH DYN.</p>  <p>U-seser-kef. Usercherés. B.C. CIR. 2440.</p>
<p><i>Chaiechôs.</i></p>		
<p><i>Binôthris.</i></p>  <p>... ses-kef. <i>Tias.</i></p>	   <p>Shufu. Sâphis [I.]</p> <p>Num-shufu. Sâphis [II.]</p> <p>A date in their reign, B.C. 2362.</p>	 <p>Shaf-ra. <i>Sephrés.</i></p>
 <p>... neter-ka. <i>Sethés.</i></p>		 <p>Nufr-ar-ka-ra. <i>Nephercherés.</i></p>

THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
ART  
AND  
ARCHITECTURE  
OF  
THE  
CITY OF  
NEW YORK  
AND  
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



EGYPTIAN TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 4.

*Thinites.*  
2ND DYN.

*Memphites.*  
4TH DYN.

*Elephantinites.*  
5TH DYN.



Men-ka-ra.  
*Chairs.*



Men-kau-ra.  
*Mencherés.*



Seser-en-ra.  
*Sisirs.*



Nufre-ka-ra.  
*Nephercherés.*



Nufre-ka-ra.  
Nebee.



Tet-ka-ra. Ma.

*Ratois.*



Nufre-ka-ra.  
Khentub.

*Bicherie.*

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

HEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 5.

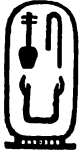
*Thinites.*  
2ND DYN.

*Memphites.*  
4TH DYN.

*Elephantinites.*  
5TH DYN.



Mer-en-hor.



Snofre-ka.  
*Sesôchris?*



Ka-en-ra.  
*Chenerés.*

*Sebercherés.*

*Thamphthis.*

6TH DYN.

*Heracleopolites.*  
9TH DYN.

*Diospolites.*  
11TH DYN.



Nufre-ka-ra.  
Rerer.



Tata.  
*Othods.*  
B.C. CIR. 2300.



Nantef. I.  
*Achihods.*  
B.C. CIR. 2300.

B.C. CIR. 2300.



... nufre-ka.






EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 6.

*Thinites.* *Memphites.* *Elephantinites.* *Heracleopolites.* *Diospolites.*  
 2ND DYN. 6TH DYN. 5TH DYN. 9TH DYN. 11TH DYN.

  
 fre-ka-en-seb.  
 Papa.

  
 Papa.  
 Phiops.

  
 Nantef II. Naâ.



  
 nufre-ka. Annu.

  
 Nantef III.




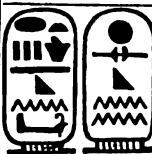








EGYPTIAN GLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 7.

*Thinites.*      *Memphites.*      *Elephantinites.*      *Heracleopolites.*      *Diospolites.*  
 2ND DYN.      6TH DYN.      5TH DYN.      9TH DYN.      11TH DYN.

	 <p><i>Menthesaphis.</i></p>		<p>Nantef IV.</p>	
	 <p><i>Nitobris.</i></p>			
			 <p>Munt-hotp II.</p>	
<p>No MEMPHITE          KINGS: Memphis          being taken by          the Shepherds, B.C.          cir. 2080.</p>				 <p>Amenemha I.  <i>Ammenemha.</i></p>

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HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE

<i>Memphites.</i> NO KINGS.	<i>Elephantinites.</i> 5TH DYN.	<i>Heracleopolites.</i> 9TH DYN.	<i>Diospolites.</i> 12TH DYN.
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Sesertesen I.  
*Sesonchosis.*  
B.C. CIR. 2080.



Amenemha II.  
*Ammamemeh.*  
A date in his reign,  
B.C. 2006.



Sesertesen II.



Sesertesen III.  
*Sesotris (of Manetho).*

Commencement of  
a Phoenix Cycle, B.C.  
1986.

FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 8.

*Xoites.*

*Shepherds.*

14TH DYN.

15TH DYN.

16TH DYN.



*Saites (Salatis).*

**a.c. cir. 2080.**

**B.C. cir. 2080.**

**a.c. cir. 2080.**



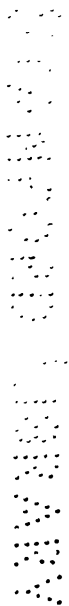
*Pi-ankhec.*

*Bnon (Béon).*



*Ab . . . .*

*Pachnan  
(Apachnas).*



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HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE

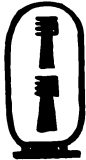
*Memphtes.*  
VI DYN.

*Elephantinis. Heracleopolites.*  
VII DYN. 9TH DYN.

*Diospolita.*  
12TH DYN.



Men-ka-hor.  
Mencheré.



Tet.  
Tancheré.



Unas.  
Onnos.



Amenemha III.  
Lacharé.



Amenemha IV.  
Amench.



13TH DYN.

Skensiopris.

B.C. CIR. 1990.



FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 9.

*Xoites.*

*Shepherds.*

14TH DYN.

15TH DYN.

16TH DYN.



A-an.

*Staan (Iannas).*







Saufre.







**HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE**  
***Memphites.***      ***Heracleopolites.***      ***Diospolites.***  
**NO KINGS.**              **9TH DYN.**              **13TH DYN.**

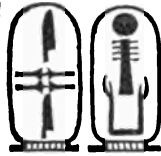
	
	
	
<p><b>7TH DYN.</b></p> <hr/> <p><b>n.c. cir. 1800?</b></p>	

FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 10.

*Xoites.*  
14TH DYN.

*Shepherds.*  
15TH DYN.

16TH DYN.



ASSA.

*Archés (Assis).*

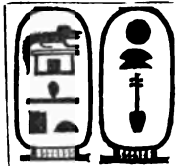
*Aphôbis (Aphôphis)*

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EGYPTIAN GYPTIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART II.

*Memphites.* *Heracleopolites.* *Diospolites.* *Xoites.* *Shepherds.*  
 8TH DYN. 9TH DYN. 13TH DYN. 14TH DYN. 16TH DYN.

B.C. cir. 1800.



Sebak-hotp.



Sebak-hotp.

10TH DYN.



B.C. cir. 1750.



2000



2000





THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM 1630 TO 1880  
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HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DYNASTIES. PART 14.

*Heracleopolites.*  
10TH DYN.

*Diospolites.*  
13TH DYN.

*Xoites.*  
14TH DYN.

*Shepherds.*  
16TH DYN.

*Shepherds.*  
17TH DYN.

 <p>Sebak-hotp.</p>



This dynasty probably ended some years before the end of the 13th.

This dynasty probably ended before the end of the 13th.

This dynasty perhaps ended before the end of the 13th.

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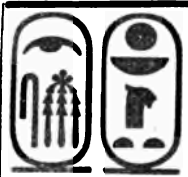


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## HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH &amp; NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

[PART I.]

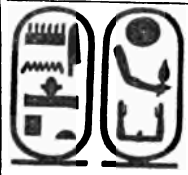
*Diospolites.*  
18TH DYN.



Aah-mes.

*Ams.*

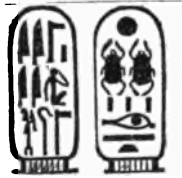
B.C. cir. 1525.



Amenoph I.

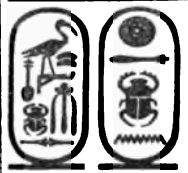
*Amenophis.*

Thothmes I.



Skhee.

A date in his fourth year, B.C. 1472-1.



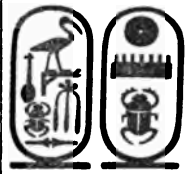
Thothmes II.

*Méphrés.*

Amen-numt.

A date in her reign, B.C. 1450-1.

Another date, in her sixteenth year, B.C. 1442.



Thothmes III.

*Méphramuthôsis.*

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HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH & NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

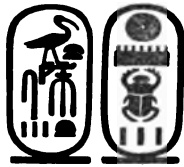
[PART 2.]

*Diospolites.*

18TH DYN.



Amenoph II.



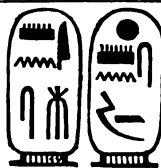
Thothmes IV.

*Tuthmôsis.*



Amenoph III.

*Amenôphis.*



Amen-mes.



Amenoph IV.



[Bekh-en-atenra.

*Akenchêrês ?*



Hak-ka-ra.

*Acherês ?*



Amen-tu-ankh.



Atenra . . . .



Hor-em-heb.

*Ôros.*



Atenra-en-ses . . . .

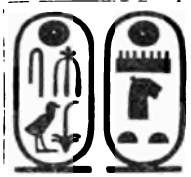


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EGYPTIAN GLYPHIC TABLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH & NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

*Diospolites.*  
18TH DYN.

[PART 3.]



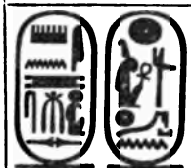
Rameses I.  
*Ramesés.*

19TH DYN.



Sethee I.  
*Sethés.*

s.c. cir. 1340.  
Commencement of Sothic  
Cycle, a.c. 1322.



Rameses II.  
*Rapsés.*



Men-ptah.  
*Amenephthés.*



Amen-mesca.  
*Ammenemés ?*



Men-ptah Si-ptah.  
*Thutris ?*



THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK  
FROM 1609 TO 1898  
BY JOHN B. HOGAN

## SOME NAMES OF UNPLACED KINGS.

AND SOME

## VARIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF PLACED KINGS.

THE following List contains the names of some of those ancient Pharaohs whose places in the first Nineteen Dynasties have not been ascertained, and some variations of names given in the preceding Tables. I subjoin a few particulars respecting these Kings.

1. Name and square title of an ancient Memphite King found in the Great Pyramid of Sakkárah, in the Memphite burial-ground. The name reads Nub-rekhee-ra, "the Sun of pure gold," and resembles the "Χρῦβος Γνευρὸς ὁ ἴσται Χρῦβος Χρῦσου υἱὸς" of the list of Eratosthenes, both in sound and signification. In that list, Chnúbos Gneuros is made the third predecessor of the first Saôphis, the Sûphis I. of Manetho. Χρῦβος, the proper name, doubtless signifies "golden," though the Lexicons only say that it is a derivative of χρῦσός. It must not be supposed, that, in the translation of Nub-rekhee-ra, I have written "sun" inadvertently for "son." It appears to me to be not improbable that the hieroglyphic name in question may be that of Necherôphês (Afr.), or Necherôchis (Eus.), the first King of the Third Dynasty. I may mention the very ancient character of the inscription containing the name; and in particular the fact, that the royal ring (here circular, not elongated,) follows, instead of enclosing, the name; as favouring this opinion. It may be urged against it, that there would be a considerable gap between this inscription and the next that has been found with a royal name.

2. A name found at Wádee Maghárah. It reads "... kau-hor," the sound of one character not being known. Similar names are found in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

3. Name of a King of the Ninth Dynasty, or of the Fourteenth contemporary with Amenemha III. See pp. 162, 3.

4. A name found with that of Amenemha III. From its form we must conclude it to be a prenomen, unless the King who bore it had but one name.

5. A variation of the prenomen of the ninth King of the Thirteenth Dynasty, according to the order of the list of the Chamber of Kings, as explained by me, found with his nomen.

6 & 7. Prenomens resembling those of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and probably of Kings of that Dynasty: the latter is given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Materia Hieroglyphica*, p. 117; and Part II. Plate V. F. & G.), as found with another unplaced King (No. 19), whose prenomen resembles those of Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and of the Sun-worshippers contemporary with them.

8 & 9. Prenomen and nomen of a Nufre-hotp, of the Thirteenth Dynasty: in No. 9 both names are enclosed in one ring.

10 & 11. Prenomens, probably of the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but, perhaps, more ancient.

12. Prenomen and nomen of the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and most probably of a King of that Dynasty, from a tablet in the possession of Mr. A. C. Harris of Alexandria.

13. A very old name found in a grotto at Asyoot, the ancient Lycopolis: whether it be a nomen or prenomen is uncertain: it reads Ka-mee-ra. There is a prenomen resembling it in the List of the Chamber of Kings, that of the sixteenth King of the Thirteenth Dynasty, according to that list, as arranged by me. The difference between the two names is the same as that between Men-ka-ra of the Second Dynasty and Men-kau-ra of the Fourth, and that between the prenomen of Thothmes III. and that of Thothmes IV. Perhaps the Asyoot name is a prenomen of the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty. It is worthy of notice, that an inscription of this King's speaks of the Royal Panegyries, which we do not find mentioned on monuments of the date of which we are certain before the reign of Papa, of the Sixth Dynasty; so that it is possible that this King was not anterior in time to Papa: but in cases of this kind the paucity of monuments prevents our coming to satisfactory conclusions.

14. Perhaps a variation of the prenomen of the fifth King of the Eleventh Dynasty according to the List of the Chamber of Kings.

15, 16, 17. Names of Kings in a series of royal personages, male and female, sculptured in a tomb at Thebes. The only other

King's names, besides the names of Aahmes and Amenoph I., are those of the seventh King of the Eleventh Dynasty, according to the List of the Chamber of Kings. No. 15 is supposed to be the same King as the third King of the Eleventh Dynasty, according to the same list. His nomen, as here written, reads Men-em-hotp.

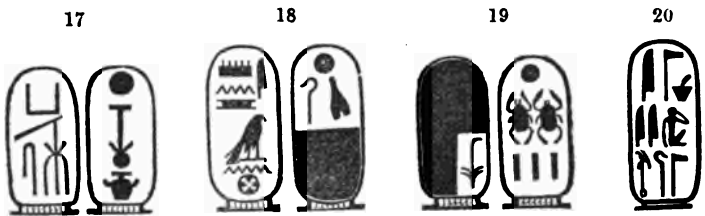
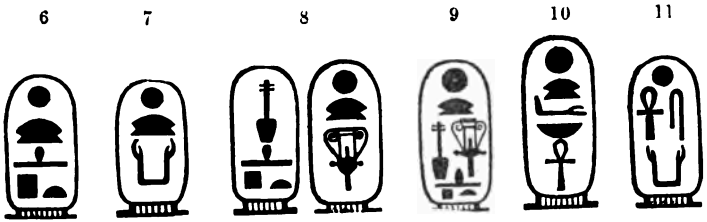
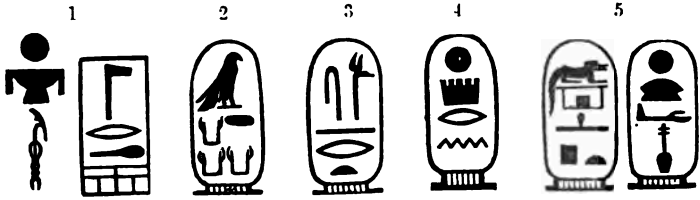
No. 18 was found by Sir Gardner Wilkinson with the name of Amenoph I., in a tomb at Thebes. The nomen resembles the nomens of Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly Horus, and that of the King, commonly held to be Amyrtæus, whose sarcophagus is in the British Museum.

No. 19 has been found with No. 7, as already mentioned.

No. 20. Variation of the nomen of Skhee.

















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