



Baset – Βούβαστις – Tell Basta

Quellensammlung Teil I (1882-1911)

Arcus 7

Baset – Βούβαστις – Tell Basta

Eine Quellensammlung

Herausgegeben von

Christian Tietze

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Vorwort

Die altägyptische Siedlung Bubastis (heute Tell Basta), die im südlichen Teil des östlichen Nildeltas gelegen ist, erlangte bereits im Alten Reich große Bedeutung und entwickelte sich unter den Königen der 22. Dynastie, welche in dieser Stadt residierten und den Tempel der Stadtgöttin Bastet umfassend ausbauten, zur einflussreichsten Stadt des ägyptischen Deltas. Noch zu Herodots Zeiten war Bubastis für seinen großen Tempel und das alljährlich zu Ehren der Göttin stattfindende Fest weithin berühmt.

Die archäologische Erforschung von Tell Basta, die inzwischen mehr als ein Jahrhundert andauert, brachte zahlreiche Bauwerke hervor, die sowohl unter Fachleuten als auch interessierten Laien und Touristen auf großes Interesse stoßen. Allerdings gibt es zum Teil große Schwierigkeiten, an entsprechende Grabungsberichte zu gelangen, die recht verstreut publiziert sind. Der hier vorgelegte Band soll diesem Desiderat entgegenwirken, indem die Berichte und Publikationen über Tell Basta bis zum Jahre 1908 als Nachdruck vorgelegt und somit einem größeren Leserkreis zugänglich gemacht werden.

Mein besonderer Dank gilt Frau Eva Lange M.A., die mit Umsicht und Zähigkeit die Redaktion und den Satz besorgte. Als sehr hilfreich erwies sich auch Christian Winter, der sich der mühevollen Aufgabe, die in den Publikationen abgedruckten Hieroglyphen in das neue Layout digital einzubringen, unterzog. Beide wurde durch Herrn Dr. Günter Faust und Frau Hannelore Michel vom Audio-Visuellen Zentrum der Universität Potsdam in technischen Fragen freundlichst unterstützt.

Es ist geplant, diesem Band weitere folgen zu lassen.

Potsdam, im Januar 2004

Christian Tietze

DAS GESCHICHTSWERK
DES
HERODOTOS VON
HALIKARNASSOS

THEODOR BRAUN

137. (...) In Ägypten gibt es zwar viele hochgelegene Städte, bei keiner aber, glaube ich, wurde das Erdreich so hoch aufgetragen wie bei der Stadt Bubastis, wo ein berühmter Tempel der Bubastis ist. Es gibt zwar größere und kostbarere Tempel, aber etwas Reizenderes als diesen kann man nicht sehen. Die Bubastis aber ist auf griechisch Artemis.

138. Ihr ganzes Heiligtum, soll ich es euch beschreiben, liegt bis auf den Eingang auf einer Insel. Aus dem Nil nämlich führen zwei verschiedene, unter sich nicht weiter in Verbindung stehende Grachten, die eine auf der einen*, die andere auf der anderen Seite, bis an den Eingang, jede hundert Fuß breit und von Bäumen beschattet. Der Vorbau ist zehn Klafter hoch, mit merkwürdigen, sechs Ellen hohen Bildwerken verziert. Das Heiligtum liegt mitten in der Stadt, und auf einem Spaziergange kann man es sich von allen Seiten von oben betrachten. Denn da die Stadt durch das aufgebrachte Erdreich erhöht wurde, der Tempel aber unten an der alten Stelle stehen blieb, kann man die ganze Anlage von oben übersehen. Ringsherum läuft eine Mauer mit Bildwerken daran, und mittendrin, in einem Wäldchen von hohen Bäumen, steht der große Tempel, in dem sich das Bild der Göttin befindet. Das Ganze ist auf allen Seiten ein Stadion lang und breit. Auf den Eingang zu führt eine etwa drei Stadien lange, mit Steinen gepflasterte Straße, welche, vier Plethren breit, in östlicher Richtung über den Markt nach dem Hermes-Tempel führt, und auch an dieser Straße stehen himmelhohe Bäume.*

58. (...) Auch Festversammlungen, Aufzüge und Wallfahrten sind zuerst in Ägypten aufgekommen, und die Griechen haben sie erst von den Ägyptern gelernt. Ein Beweis dafür ist mir, daß sie in Ägypten offenbar schon seit langer Zeit üblich gewesen, in Griechenland aber erst neuerdings aufgekommen sind.

59. Solche Festversammlungen halten die Ägypter nicht nur einmal im Jahre, sondern bei jeder Gelegenheit, besonders aber und mit Vorliebe in der Stadt Bubastis zu Ehren der Artemis, aber auch in Busiris zu Ehren der Isis; denn in dieser Stadt, die mitten im Delta liegt, ist der größte Tempel der Isis. (...)

60. Wenn sie dazu nach Bubastis fahren, so befinden sich in jedem Kahne eine Menge Menschen, Männer und Weiber. Manche unter den Weibern haben Klappern*, mit denen sie klappern, Männer spielen unermüdlich auf der Flöte, die übrigen Weiber und Männer aber singen und klatschen in die Hände. Kommen sie unterwegs an einer anderen Stadt vorbei, so fahren sie nah an Land und treiben allerlei Unfug. Jene klappern immerzu, andere aber schreien und verhöhnen die Frauen in der Stadt, wieder andere tanzen oder stehen auf und heben die Röcke in die Höhe. So machen sie es bei jeder Stadt am Flusse. Wenn sie in Bubastis angekommen sind, feiern sie das Fest und bringen große Opfer, wobei mehr Wein getrunken wird als im ganzen Jahre. Gegen siebenhunderttausend Menschen, bloß die Männer und Weiber, ohne die Kinder, sollen dabei zusammenkommen, wie die Leute dort sagen.

46 (...) Der Perserkönig zog nach der Eroberung von Sidon die Hilfsvölker aus Argos und Theben und aus den griechischen Städten in Asien an sich und rückte, als er die ganze Kriegsmacht beisammen hatte, gegen Ägypten vor. Als er an den großen See kam, wo die sogenannten Abgründe sind, verlor er einen Teil seines Heeres, weil er die Gegend nicht kannte. Von der Beschaffenheit des See's und von den sonderbaren Zufällen, die dabei vorkommen, haben wir schon im ersten Buche ¹⁾ gesprochen und wollen daher nicht dasselbe noch einmal erzählen. Nachdem der König an den Abgründen vorüber war, kam er mit seinem Heer nach Pelusium. Diese Stadt liegt an der ersten Mündung des Nils, gerade bei dem Ausfluß. Die Perser lagerten sich vierzig Stadien von Pelusium, die Griechen aber unmittelbar vor dem Städtchen. Die Ägypter hatten, da ihnen die Perser so lange Zeit zur Rüstung gelassen hatten, alle Mündungen des Nils wohl verschanzt, besonders aber die bei Pelusium, weil diese die erste und am besten gelegen ist. Der Platz hatte eine Besatzung von fünftausend Mann unter dem Befehl des Feldherrn* Philophron. Die Thebaner wollten sich als die Tapfersten unter den griechischen Mitstreitern zeigen und wagten den gefährlichen versuch, zuerst und allein einen schmalen, aber tiefen Kanal zu durchwaten. Als sie hinüber kamen, strömte die Besatzung von Pelusium aus der Stadt und lieferte den Thebanern ein Treffen. Es wurde von beiden Seiten mit großer Anstrengung gekämpft, und das Gefecht dauerte den ganzen Tag, bis die Nacht dazwischen kam.

47. Am folgenden Tag teilte der König das griechische Heer in drei Teile, deren jeder einen griechischen Anführer hatte, so daß diesem ein vorzüglich tapferer und wohlgesinnter Perser als Befehlshaber beigegeben war. Die erste Abteilung bildeten die Böotier, die den Thebaner Lakrates zum Anführer und den Perser Rosaces zum Befehlshaber hatten. Dieser stammte von einem der

sieben Perser ab, welche die Magier gestürzt hatten, und war Statthalter von Ionien und Lydien. Von Fremden hatte er in seinem Gefolge viel Reiterei und nicht wenig Fußvolk. Die zweite Abteilung war die der Argiver, unter der Anführung des Nikostratus, dessen Mitbefehlshaber der Perser Aristazanes war. Dieser war Anmelder² bei dem König und nach Bagoas der Vertrauteste seiner Freunde. Ihm waren fünftausend Mann auserlesener Truppen und achtzig Dreiruder zugeteilt. Die dritte Abteilung führte Mentor an, der Sidon übergeben und noch dieselben Söldner wie zuvor unter sich hatte. Sein Mitfeldherr**³⁾ war Bagoas, dem der König am meisten vertraute, ein äußerst kecker und ruchloser Mann. Er hatte unter sich die Griechen des König⁴⁾ und von Fremden eine beträchtliche Zahl, auch nicht wenig Schiffe. Der König selbst hatte das übrige Heer bei sich und führte die Oberaufsicht über das Ganze. Dies war die Einteilung bei den Persern. Dem König der Ägypter, Nektanebos, machte weder die Menge der Feinde, noch die gute⁵⁾ Schlachtordnung der Perser bange, obgleich die Zahl seiner Truppen viel geringer war. Er hatte zwanzigtausend griechische und ebensoviele libysche Söldner und sechzigtausend Mann Ägypter von dem sogenannten Wehrstand⁴⁾; überdies eine unglaubliche Menge von Flußschiffen, die zu Schlachten und Gefechten auf dem Nil taugen. Ferner hatte er die Seite des Flusses gegen Arabien hin geschützt durch eine dichte Reihe von Städtchen und durch Bollwerke und Gräben, die er überall anlegte. Auch in allem Übrigen war er zum Krieg hinlänglich gerüstet, und doch ließ er durch seine Unbesonnenheit schnell alles verloren gehen.

¹⁾ I, 30.

²⁾ So hieß ein persischer Hofbeamter, durch welchen jeder eingeführt wurde, der vor den König kommen wollte.

³⁾ Συνεστρατήγει für συνεστρατεύετο.

⁴⁾ Die Asiatischen.

⁵⁾ Καλήν für όλην.

⁶⁾ I. 73.

48. Die Ursache seiner Niederlage war hauptsächlich seine Unerfahrenheit in der Kriegskunst und der Umstand, daß die Perser schon einmal von ihm besiegt waren im vorhergehenden Feldzug. Damals hatte er nämlich berühmte Männer zu Feldherrn, die durch Tapferkeit und Einsicht in die Kriegskunst sich auszeichneten, Diophantus von Athen und Lamius von Sparta, und durch sie war ihm Alles* wohl gelungen. Jetzt aber meinte er selbst ein tüchtiger Feldherr zu sein und ließ Niemanden an dem Oberbefehl Teil nehmen; und so konnte er bei seiner Unerfahrenheit keinen Vorteil im Kriege erringen. Die Städtchen übrigens hatte er insgesamt durch ansehnliche Besatzungen gedeckt und er selbst bewachte mit dreißigtausend Ägyptern, fünftausend Griechen und halbsoviel Libyern die Punkte, wo man am leichtesten eindringen konnte. So war man auf beiden Seiten gerüstet, als Nikostratus, der Anführer der Argiver, mit der Flotte durch einen Kanal an einen abgelegenen Ort fuhr, wohin ihm Ägypter den Weg wiesen, deren Weiber und Kinder als Geißel bei den Persern waren. Hier schiffte er die Truppen aus und errichtete ein befestigtes Lager. Als die in der benachbarten Gegend aufgestellten ägyptischen Söldner die Ankunft der Feinde bemerkten, eilten sie sogleich herbei, nicht weniger als siebentausend Mann stark. Ihr Anführer, Klinias von Kos, stellte das Heer in Schlachtordnung. Die Ausgeschifften rückten ihnen entgegen, und es kam zu einem hitzigen Gefecht, in welchem die Griechen auf der Seite der Perser rühmlich kämpften, den Feldherrn Klinias töteten und außerdem mehr als fünftausend Mann niedermachten. Nektanebos, der König der Ägypter, erschrak bei der Nachricht von der Niederlage seiner Leute. Denn er dachte, auch das übrige Heer der Perser werde leicht über den Fluß setzen. Weil er aber erwartete, daß die Feinde mit gesamer Macht gerade auf Memphis losgehen würden, so beschloß er, für diese Stadt hauptsächlich Fürsorge zu treffen. Er zog sich also mit seinem** Heer nach

Memphis zurück und rüstete sich auf den Fall der Belagerung.

49. Der Anführer der ersten Abteilung, Lakrates von Theben, schickte sich zur Belagerung von Pelusium an. Er gab dem Wasser des Kanals eine andere Richtung, verschüttete das trocken gelegte Flußbett und führte Sturmzeug vor die Stadt. Ein großer Teil der Mauern stürzte ein, aber die Besatzung von Pelusium führte schnell andere dafür auf und errichtete ansehnliche hölzerne Türme. Einige Tage währte das Gefecht an den Mauern ununterbrochen. Die Griechen in Pelusium verteidigten sich anfangs standhaft gegen die Belagerer. Als sie aber von dem Rückzug des Königs nach Memphis hörten, wurden sie mutlos und schickten Abgeordnete, um zu unterhandeln. Lakrates gab ihnen die eidliche Versicherung, daß sie, wenn sie Pelusium übergäben, sämtlich nach Griechenland mit Allem, was sie fortbringen könnten, abziehen dürften. Und so übergaben sie die Festung. Darauf schickte Artaxerxes den Bagoas ab, um Pelusium mit fremden Truppen zu besetzen. Dessen Leute nahmen aber, als sie in den Platz einrückten, den abziehenden Griechen Vieles, was sie mit sich trugen, ab. Da nun diese, gekränkt durch das Unrecht, die Götter, die über den Eiden wachen, anriefen, so wurde Lakrates entrüstet und nahm sich ihrer an, indem er die eidbrüchigen Fremden zurückjagte und einige niederstieß. Bagoas floh zu dem König und verklagte den Lakrates. Aber Artaxerxes erklärte, es sei den Leuten des Bagoas Recht geschehen, und ließ diejenigen Perser, die den Raub angestiftet, hinrichten. Auf diese Art wurde Pelusium den Persern übergeben.

Mentor*** aber, der Anführer der dritten Abteilung, gewann Bubastis und viele andere Städte durch dieselbe Kriegslist und machte sie dem König unterwürfig. Da nämlich in allen Städten die Besatzungen aus Leuten von zweierlei Völkern, Griechen und Ägyptern, bestanden, so ließ Mentor die Sage unter den Truppen verbreiten, der König Artaxerxes habe beschlossen, die, welche freiwillig die

Städte übergäben, freundlich zu behandeln, an denen aber, die mit Gewalt bezwungen würden, dieselbe Strafe zu vollziehen, die er den Sidoniern angetan. Auch befahl er den Wachen an den Toren, jeden, der zum Feind übergehen wollte, durchzulassen. Daher gingen die gefangenen Ägypter ungehindert aus dem Lager weg, und so verbreitete sich jene Sage schnell in allen Städten von Ägypten. Nun gerieten sogleich die Söldner mit den Einheimischen überall in Zwist, und die Städte wurden voll Spaltungen. Denn jede Partei war darauf bedacht, ihrerseits den Platz zu übergeben und mit diesem Verdienste die Hoffnung auf eigenen Vorteil zu erkaufen. So geschah es denn zuerst mit Bubastis.

50. Als nämlich die Truppen des Mentor und Bagoas in der Nähe der Stadt sich lagerten, schickten die Ägypter ohne Wissen der Griechen Jemand an Bagoas mit dem Versprechen, die Stadt zu übergeben, wenn man ihnen freien Abzug gewährte. Die Griechen merkten, was vorging, jagten dem Abgeschickten nach und zwangen ihn durch Drohungen, die Wahrheit zu gestehen. Sie wurden darüber so aufgebracht, daß sie die Ägypter angriffen. Einige von diesen wurden teils getötet, teils verwundet, die Übrigen aber in einem Teil der Stadt zusammengedrängt. Die* Besiegten meldeten dem Bagoas, was geschehen war, und begehrten, daß er eilends käme und sich die Stadt von ihnen übergeben ließe. Die Griechen aber hatten unbemerkt Unterhändler an Mentor geschickt und von ihm die geheime Anweisung erhalten, wenn Bagoas in die Stadt einrückte, sollten sie über die Fremden herfallen. Als darauf Bagoas mit den Persern, ohne daß die Griechen an dem Vergleich Teil genommen, einzog, schlossen diese auf einmal die Tore, nachdem ein Teil der Truppen eingerückt war, und überfielen die, welche innerhalb der Stadt waren, so daß Alle umkamen und Bagoas selbst gefangen wurde. Da er sah, daß er nur von Mentor Rettung hoffen konnte, so bat er ihn um Schutz und versprach, in Zukunft

nichts ohne dessen Genehmigung zu tun. Mentor bewog die Griechen, den Bagoas frei zu lassen und ihm selbst die Stadt zu übergeben. So trug er den Ruhm des glücklichen Erfolgs davon, und mit Bagoas, der ihm seine Rettung zu danken hatte, verband er sich zu gemeinschaftlichem Wirken durch einen Vertrag, der von beiden Seiten beschworen wurde, und den er bis ans Ende seines Lebens treulich hielt. Daher hatten nachher bei dem König diese Beiden, weil sie im Einverständnis handelten, am meisten Einfluß unter allen Freunden und Verwandten des Artaxerxes. Mentor nämlich wurde zum Oberstatthalter in den Küstenländern von Asien ernannt und leistete dem König wichtige Dienste, indem er Söldner aus Griechenland zusammenbrachte und dem König schickte und in allen Angelegenheiten Mut und Treue bewies. Bagoas aber, dem der König die ganze Verwaltung in den oberen Statthalterschaften übertragen hatte, gewann, weil** er mit Mentor gemeinschaftlich handelte, so großen Einfluß, daß er Herr des Reichs war und Artaxerxes nichts tat ohne seinen Rat. Er war es auch, der nach dessen Tode immer den Thronfolger bestimmte, und es fehlte ihm, um König zu sein, nichts als der Name. Davon werden wir aber das Nähere zu seiner Zeit erzählen.

51. Nach der Einnahme von Bubastis nun ergaben sich die übrigen Städte aus Furcht an die Perser durch Vergleich. Als der König Nektanebos, der noch in Memphis war, die Fortschritte der Feinde bemerkte, wagte er es nicht, den Kampf um die Herrschaft zu bestehen. Er tat also Verzicht auf die Regierung, nahm den größten Teil des Gelds mit sich und floh nach Äthiopien. Artaxerxes nahm Besitz von ganz Ägypten und ließ die Mauern der bedeutendsten Städte niederreißen. Er plünderte die Tempel und brachte eine Menge Silbers und Goldes zusammen. Auch nahm er aus den alten Tempeln die Urkunden weg, welche nachher die ägyptischen Priester von Bagoas um große Summen wieder einlösten.

***ACTE DE FONDATION
D'UNE CHAPELLE A BAST DANS
LA VILLE DE BUBASTIS**

EUGENE REVILLOUT

L'AN 32 DU ROI AMASIS.

Cette stèle qui porte le n° 3 dans la collection de M. POSNO a avec la stèle n° 2 de la même collection, donnée plus haut, les plus grandes analogies. Seulement la chapelle dont il s'agit ici est construite à Bubastis au lieu de l'être à Pharbaetus. Ces deux villes sont du reste fort peu distantes l'une de l'autre, comme je l'ai montré dans le commentaire du document de Pterpa.

Commençons aussi par la description et la traduction de notre stèle.


§ Ier. DESCRIPTION ET TEXTE DE LA STÈLE.

La stèle dont il s'agit a une hauteur de 38 centimètres et une largeur de 24 centimètres.

Dans le premier registre du document on trouve d'abord le disque ailé.

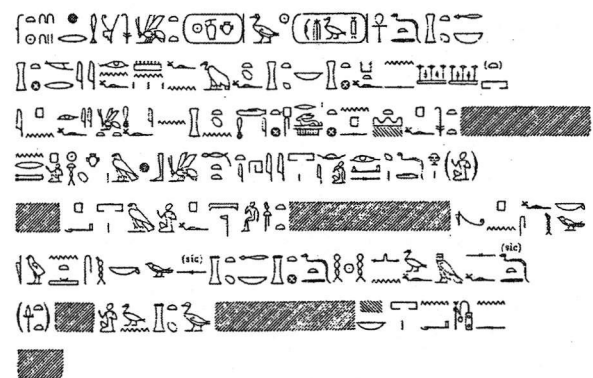
En dessous, le roi Amasis coiffé, paraît-il, de la couronne rouge présente des pains à la déesse Bast à tête de lionne. Une oie est placée debout devant lui sur une table d'offrande.

Derrière la déesse, qui est assise, un dieu à tête d'épervier se tient debout C'est sans doute le dieu *Supt*, qui figure à côté de Bast, dame de Bubastis, sur la stèle de Takelot Ier portant le n° 5 dans la collection Posno. Dans ce dernier monument on lit très nettement à côté

du dieu la légende  «Supt, maître de l'est» ainsi que l'a noté lui-même M. BRUGSCH dans son *Dict. géogr.*, p. 206. Ici la légende du dieu est effacée; mais il est facile de voir qu'on l'a représenté comme un Horus; et M. BRUGSCH a aussi prouvé dans son *Dict. géogr.*, p. 707 que «le nom de *sopt* désigne le dieu Horus comme divinité protectrice » des contrées orientales, surtout du côté de l'est du delta (l'Arabie). »

L'attribution nous semble donc certaine, bien que *Sopt*, le dieu du nome arabe, soit ordinairement représenté avec un* « corps d'épervier accroupi, coiffé de la double plume et parfois tenant l'arc (voir PIERRET, « Panthéon, p. 44) parce que, comme l'a dit M. BRUGSCH: il était le défenseur de l'Égypte « contre ses ennemis venant de ce côté. » Ajoutons qu'après le dieu Horus-Sopt se trouve un personnage vêtu d'une longue robe et portant sur sa tête un panier on une caisse, qu'il retient de ses deux mains. Ce personnage a à côté de lui deux carrés contenant quelques caractères hiéroglyphiques, malheureusement en mauvais état (dans notre estampage tout au moins), sur lesquels nous aurons à revenir dans notre commentaire.

Enfin vient le texte de l'inscription qui, lui aussi, a beaucoup souffert et pour lequel nous suivrons scrupuleusement l'ordre des lignes à cause des lacunes qu'il nous laisse:




« L'an 32 de Sa Majesté le roi du sud et du nord Num-ab-ra, fils du soleil, Ahmès-« se-neit, aimé de Bast, la grande, dame de Bubastis, — il a fait (*sic*) des fondations à sa « mère, Bast, dame de Bubastis. Il lui a

bâti¹ cette chapelle² et il a fait des constructions³ « semblables à Bast de la ville de Pes-ro-oun⁴ dans le district de Peset⁵ ».

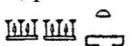
« A son midi (de la chapelle) est [la maison] du rotep⁶ Uah-ab-ra, fils d'Horzeb. Au « nord l'hospice (?) de Ah(?)iritis, fils de Teos (T'et-ho) [et] la maison d'Hor. A son chevet,* « à l'occident [Et la statue divine est⁷] de ce côté! Celui qui détruira cette statue, « Bast, la grande, dame de Bubastis, le⁸ détruira à toujours et dans les siècles! Il n'aura « pas de fils après lui⁹ à jamais! — A l'orient est la maison du¹⁰ Sebast, fils de « [et le chemin du sanctuaire¹¹] de la dame de ce lien, (chemin) indiqué¹² sons le « nom de ».


Nous allons examiner dans le paragraphe suivant les principales données de notre stèle.

(La suite à un prochain numéro.)*

¹ Je crois lire . Mais ce mot est bien fruste.

² Pour ce mot (qui a donné naissance au copte $\omega\sigma\omega\rho$), voir le *Dict.* de BRUGSCH, p. 1430 et le


Dict. géogr., p. 796. Le \triangle final de  paraît avoir été oublié ici comme


dans  la chapelle de la fête (*šaša xa*) cité dans le *Dict. géogr.*, p. 796.

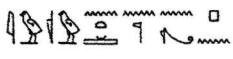
³ Ce mot sert à désigner toute espèce de construction et même de *fondations pieuses* (voir le second numéro de la *Revue* 1880, p. 76).


⁴ Cette localité qui signifie *sa bouche ouverte* n'a pas été relevée par M. BRUGSCH.

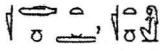
⁵ District inconnu.



⁶ *Rotep* (déterminé par l'homme) est un *nom de métier* non encore noté. $\rho\sigma\tau\pi\epsilon$ (ZOEGA, p. 649, 1. 3) semble signifier *nourrir, sustenter* (la multitude des Juifs — à l'aide de la manne). Peut-être s'agirait-il d'un *nourrisseur* ou *aubergiste*. Mais cela est bien douteux. Notons que le mot  qui se trouve un peu plus loin paraît répondre à la fois, comme l'a fait remarquer M. BRUGSCH (*Dict.*, p. 105), au mot $\lambda\sigma\sigma$ signifiant une *auberge* et un *magasin* et au mot $\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ désignant une *demeure*, un *monastère* et même une *bergerie*.


Dans l'acte de Pterpa  semble désigner un *entrepôt*, un *répositorium*.

⁷ Je remplis ainsi la lacune: 

etc. Le mot  se trouve en effet *avec certitude* un peu plus loin. C'est évidemment une

variante du mot bien connu  ou

 « effigie, similitude, figure, » (voir BRUGSCH, *Dict.*, p. 1479). M. BRUGSCH, qui, dans la *Zeitschrift* de 1871 (p. 60), avait reproduit cette malédiction de notre stèle et la malédiction analogue de la stèle de Pharbaetus, avait lu ici  « cette stèle ». Mais il n'est pas ici question de la stèle mais de la statue de Bast, qui était au chevet de la chapelle. Nous pouvons du reste garantir notre leçon.

⁸ ρ est pour  comme l'a noté M. BRUGSCH.

⁹  m-s-f=s $\pi\sigma\lambda\eta$ comme l'a vu M. BRUGSCH.

¹⁰ Ici il y avait un nom de *métier* déterminé par l'homme comme d'ordinaire.

¹¹ Ma restitution me semble très probable; car, ainsi que nous le prouvons dans le commentaire de la stèle parallèle à celle-ci, la porte des édifices religieux de Memphis était à l'orient et le sanctuaire à l'occident.

¹² Mot à mot *catalogué*. Voir BRUGSCH, *Dict.*, p. 740.

NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES
FROM BUBASTIS
IN THE COLLECTION OF
F.G. HILTON PRICE

HILTON PRICE

A Paper entitled, " Notes on the Antiquities from Bubastis, in the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.," was read by the Author:

It was explained that the collection now described was discovered in or about the large mounds now called Tel Basta, and marking the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Bubastis. The ruins of the capital of the Bubastite Nome are situated to the south west of Tanis, upon the eastern side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, near the modern town of Zagazig.

Bubastis was a city of considerable importance as early as the time of the eighteenth dynasty, but increased in both size and* magnificence under the kings of the twenty-second dynasty, and was at that time probably the most considerable place in the Delta. After the conquest of the Persians (B.C. 352), who dismantled its walls, the town was, as is proved by the antiquities discovered in the ruins, evidently occupied by the Greeks and Romans.

The cat or lion-headed goddess Bast, or Sekhet, was the tutelary deity. To her all cats were sacred, and after death were mummied and deposited in the tombs connected with her temple, which, as Herodotus informs us, was very magnificent, and occupied a prominent position in the centre of the city. The somewhat careful description of Herodotus, including that of the oracle of Bast, as well as the city, were quoted by Mr. Price, and after a few notes on the special worship of the goddess as connected with the mythology of Ancient Egypt, he commenced his description of the antiquities. The arrangement taken by Dr. Birch, in his catalogue of the Alnwick Collection, was that followed. The pantheon first, secondly the animals, followed by the symbolic or mystic eyes, the domestic or civil antiquities, the amulets, the sepulchral

objects, the terra-cotta figures, lamps, vases, &c. The scarabaei, of which a large quantity have been discovered at Tel Basta, were reserved for a future communication.

The figures of the gods most commonly met with are, as may be supposed, principally those bearing some relation to the goddess Bast, as being the great deity of the city-viz., Ptah, Bast, Neferatum, Shu, Thoth, Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Anubis, Bes, and Tauer. After having examined the peculiarities of the statuettes of the gods in the collection, Mr. Price passed on to the animals, of which a large number of figures have been found, the cat naturally occupying a very prominent position, the others being the monkey, ram, and hawk.

Figures of the jackal are very rare, but there was the top of a jackal standard in bronze. A few bulls had been found, represented walking, wearing the disc and uraeus. The oryx was one of the rarest animals from this site, Mr. Price stated that he had never had more than two, one in blue porcelain, and another of bronze. Another rare animal was the hippopotamus, sacred to Bes and Taur; he had only one small figure in white stone, with a ring upon its neck for suspension. One example also in blue porcelain of the crocodile, roughly worked, and one frog.**

The symbolic eyes were next dealt with, one of the commonest objects, as stated by Dr. Birch, of the toilet: supposed to represent the eye of the cow, sacred to Athor; the right eye was the symbol of the sun, and the left of the moon. These objects were used for various purposes, generally in the form of ornaments, such as pendants to necklaces, bracelets, or finger rings, nearly all being either pierced or supplied with a ring for attachment. Many of the coarser, or more flimsy specimens were doubtless employed for the ornamentation of

the outer network of mummies.

Upon examining his series, Mr. Price mentioned that he found nearly all the examples to represent the *right* eye, or emblem of the sun. Thirty-four are double or reversible, possibly a combination of the sun and moon; five only are *left* eyes, or symbols of the moon; whereas ten are combinations of two pairs of eyes, emblematical of the four points of the compass. The greater number are of blue porcelain but some are of granite, lapis-lazuli, and carnelian. The most remarkable example in the collection is a rectangular plate of blue porcelain with a right eye; in the centre of the pupil is a figure of Ptah-Socharis Osiris as the pigmy dwarf; on the right side of the pupil in the tunic of the eye are two hawks, and on the left hand side of it two objects too indistinct to make out; upon the drop of the eye is an ibis in the attitude of walking upwards. The eye-brow is well marked; this plate is imperforate, and has probably been inlaid in some precious metal. Other examples of these plates bearing symbolical figures were described, followed by some elaborate specimens of the double eyes.

Continuing the civil section, Mr. Price described the articles of the toilet in his collection from Tel Basta, which he stated were comparatively few in number. They included beads of various colours, materials, and shapes - scarabaei, heads of animals such as the cow, lion, and cat, pendants in the form of the head of Bes, and the head of Athor, etc., etc. A few finger rings, gold, silver, and bronze, as well as models of finger rings placed upon the wooden hands of mummies; a gold bracelet of twisted wire, spindle whorls, stibium cases, small glass bottles of the Roman period, and an elegant little bowl in blue porcelain, with a lip for pouring, and two couchant lions as ornaments; draughtsmen of various shapes and materials, a sistrum, palettes, bronze hooks, bronze arrow heads, javelins, axes, and hoes, etc., etc. One of the most recent acquisitions was a fine alabastron of alabaster, twelve

inches in height, in a perfect condition, and hence rarely to be obtained from any part.

Attention was next called to some specimens of sculpture, a female head of marvellously fine work carved upon a block of basalt, probably a portrait of some queen; being complete in itself, it could not have formed a portion of any wall sculpture; Mr. Price supposed it to be a sculptor's model. Other examples were referred to and described at length, and Mr. Price then passed on to the objects in the sepulchral section, comparatively few in number.

Commencing with the fine set of Canopic vases exhibited before the Society, and described by Dr. Birch (*Proceedings*, April, 1883), the list included the small rectangular cases in bronze for the mummies of small animals, recumbent figures in terra-cotta (which rarely occur), masks of the same material (Roman period), shabti, of which there were only ten, stelae of stone and wood, with a large number of amulets and emblems probably from the coverings of mummies.

Tel Basta, it was stated, appeared to be rich in terra-cotta figures, those in Mr. Price's collection being chiefly of the Roman period. The greater number represent Harpocrates, but those of Bes or Bessa are also of frequent occurrence; figures of Venus, Anadyomene, Eros, Jupiter Serapis, Minerva. A small temple or naos, only 4 inches in height, was also described, possibly intended for a lantern, or niche for a lamp.

The lamps, like all those found in Egypt, date from the Greek or Roman period; they include examples of various forms, bronze lamps being rarely met with at Bubastis. Mr. Price pointed out the curious degeneration of patterns on the terra-cotta lamps, and the strange forms developed from a simple design.

Moulds, chiefly of terra-cotta, used in casting a variety of objects, have been found, as also jugs, vases, flasks, some of an ornamental character. Bronze coins of the Ptolemies, of different sizes, some silvered, small brass ones of the Lower Roman Empire, and tetradrachms and drachms of Athens, are among the antiquities found at Bubastis.

In concluding the long list of objects, Mr. Price said he hoped that it would give a fair idea of the kind of objects discovered in* this site, which in a general way might be considered to be typical. Large monuments, finer figures, and objects in gold had indeed been found at Bubastis, many of which could be seen in European Museums.

Remarks were added by the Rev. F. A. Walker, D.D. (who exhibited a number of bronze figures of cats and cats' heads which he had obtained from Bubastis), Rev. Canon Beechey, Rev. Dr. Wright, Rev. A. Lowy, Mr. J. Offord, Mr. P. R. Reed, and the President.*

BUBASTIS

(1887-1889.)

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

EIGHTH MEMOIR OF
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

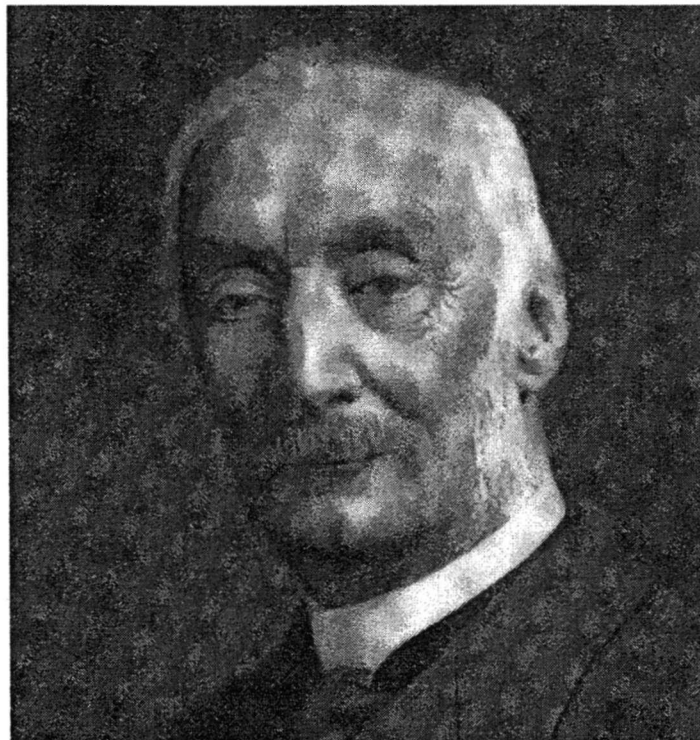
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PREFACE.

THE present volume contains the description of all that has been discovered in the excavations at Bubastis, with one exception. I did not include in it the numerous inscriptions referring to the great festival of Osorkon II., which will be the subject of a supplementary volume. By the great number of plates which it will require, the description of this festival would have been quite out of keeping with the rest of the book; and it would differ also in character from this memoir, which bears chiefly on the historical results of the excavations.

When I settled in 1887, with Mr. Griffith, on the well-known mounds of Tell Basta, where the dealers in antiquities have been working for years—the extent of which has been much reduced by the fellaheen digging for "se-bakh," or by the construction of the railway, and which Mariette had pronounced so little encouraging for scientific explorers—I was far from expecting such a large crop of monuments belonging to various epochs of Egyptian history, during a period of 4000 years.

In 1887, a month's work brought to light the second hall of the temple, the "Festival Hall," where we found, among numerous inscriptions of Rameses II. and Osorkon II., remains of the twelfth dynasty, and cartouches of Pepi, showing that the city went as far back as the sixth dynasty.

In 1888 the Rev. W. MacGregor and Count d' Hulst joined the work. This campaign has been the most productive. Its riches may be appreciated by what is seen in Ghizeh, in the British Museum, at Boston, and in several other museums of Europe, America, and even Australia. During that winter the Hyksos remains were found, as well as the statue of Ian-Ra, both showing that Bubastis had been an important Hyksos settlement. Therefore it was not a purely Egyptian city of high antiquity, reconstructed by Rameses and Osorkon, as might have been concluded from the first excavations. The strangers had *

dwelt in the city, and had left in its temple important traces of their dominion.

In 1889 Mr. Griffith was prevented from going to Egypt by his appointment at the British Museum. Dr. Goddard, from America, took his place. We excavated the cemetery of cats. In the temple, the limits of which had been reached in the preceding year, we had chiefly to roll the blocks of the first hall, where appeared the names of Cheops and Chefren of the fourth dynasty. These names proved that the antiquity of the temple was higher than we thought. Thus, each year modified in certain respects the ideas which I had formed on the age and the nature of the edifice, and therefore it was preferable to wait for the publication of the results until the excavations were completed.

It enabled me to give a general view of the history of the edifice, which, though smaller, is like Karnak, a summary of the history of the country.

I have to express my gratitude to the Director of the Antiquities of Egypt, M. Grébaut, for authorizing me to excavate at Tell Basta, and for the kind help he lent me in my work.

The plates of this volume are of two kinds, phototypes and linear plates. We made a much greater use of photography than in former excavations; and in this respect I have to thank my friend, the Rev. W. MacGregor, for his liberality in letting me make use of his negatives, several of which have been reproduced in this volume. A few photographs are the work of the skilled hand of Brugsch-Bey. The phototypes have been made by the firm of F. Thévoz and Co., in Geneva, and are on the whole very satisfactory. In appreciating them it must be remembered that both the Rev. W. MacGregor and I are amateur

photographers ; neither of us have made a special study of this delicate and difficult art. For this reason several of the negatives were not very good; besides, whenever some natives are included in the picture, it is hardly possible to persuade them to remain motionless.

I am indebted to my countryman, M. E. Cramer, who lives at Cairo, for the architectural drawing of the lotus-bud column, and to Count d'Hulst for one of the photographs and for the plan. As for the linear plates, they have been drawn from paper-casts by Mme. Neville, and printed by the same firm as the phototypes.

I must not forget to thank particularly Prof. Robert Harvey, of the University of Geneva, who kindly fulfilled the ungrateful task of revising the style of the memoir for the press. *

And now I can only express the wish that the future excavations which I may have to undertake for the Egypt Exploration Fund, in the service of which Society I had the honour to work during five winters, may prove as successful as those made at Bubastis. **

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY, near GENEVA,
September, 1890.

BUBASTIS. TELL BASTA

THE most ancient mention of Bubastis which we meet with, apart from the Egyptian texts, exists in the prophet Ezekiel, in the prophesy against Egypt.¹ "The young men of Aven and of Pi-Beseth² shall fall by the sword ; and these cities shall go into captivity." The Septuagint,³ translating the passage, give the Greek names of the two cities ; Avon is Heliopolis, and Pi-Beseth, Bubastis; and they are followed by the Vulgate and the Coptic version.⁴

It is to Herodotus that we are indebted for the most complete description of Bubastis. The Greek writer speaks twice of the city;⁵ first in reference to the great festival which was celebrated there annually, and afterwards when he gives a detailed description of the temple, to which we shall have to revert further. He also states that near Bubastis was the place where the canal to the Red Sea branched off from the Nile. From his account we learn that Bubastis was a large city of Lower Egypt, and his statement is borne out by the narrative of the capture of the town by the generals of Artaxerxes, Mentor, and Bagoas, which is found in Diodorus⁶. At Bubastis occurred for the first time what was to be the cause of the fall of several cities, and especially of the capital, internal warfare between the foreign mercenaries and the Egyptian troops, each party betraying the other to the Persian general. Strabo speaks of the nome or province of Bubastis as being near the head of the Delta in the immediate vicinity of the nome of Heliopolis. Bubastis is one of the eight famous cities mentioned by Pomponius Mela among the twenty thousand said to have existed under Amasis, and of which many were still inhabited in his time. Roman coins of the time of Hadrianus bear the name of the nome of Bubastis. It occurs in Ptolemaeus and Stephanus Byzantinus. Hierocles quotes Bubastis among the cities of the second Augustamnica, and it was one of the bishoprics of Egypt. A Byzantine chronographer, John, Bishop of Nikiou,⁷ quotes the city of Basta in connection with a rebellion which took place under the Emperor Phocas, and the Arab geographer

Macrizy⁸ speaks of it repeatedly. Among the provinces of Egypt was the district of Bastah, which contained thirty-nine hamlets. Bastah was given as allotment to the Arab tribes who had taken part in the conquest. Afterwards it belonged to the province of Kalioub.

We do not know when it was abandoned. Travellers did not direct their attention to the place, and the first to have noticed the ruins seems to be the Frenchman Mains, who took part in the Egyptian campaign at the end of last century. He gives the following description of the place :⁹-

"The ruins of Tell Bastah are seen from a great distance. They are seven leagues distant from the Nile, and half a league from the canal (the Muizz), on its right side. "We saw there *

¹ Ezek. xxx. 17.

² תְּבֵשֶׁת

³ νεανισκοί Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Βουβάστου ἐν μαχαίραι πεσονται.

⁴ ΝΙ ΗΕΛΩΡΙ ΝΤΕ ΩΝ ΤΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕ ΦΡΗ ΝΕΜ ΦΟΥΒΑΣΘΙ ΕΥΕΞΕΙ ΉΗΝ ΤΣΗΦΙ.

⁵ ii. 60, 137.

⁶ xvi. 49.

⁷ Chron. de Jean de Nikiou, ed. Zotenberg, p. 201.

⁸ Quatremère, Mé'm. sur l' Egypte, p. 100.

⁹ Mémoires sur l' Egypte, i. p. 215.

several remains of monuments which may be useful for the history of Egyptian architecture. We noticed in particular part of a cornice of a very vigorous style ; the sculpture of it is fairly preserved. This block, which may be eight feet long and six high, is of a very hard red granite; the work is most elaborate, it is covered with hieroglyphs, of which we made a drawing.

"We saw on other masses of granite, among the hieroglyphs, characters which we had not noticed anywhere else. The face of an obelisk is completely covered with stars, and represents the sky. The stars have five rays of a length of two centimetres, and are joined to each other in an irregular order. Enormous masses of granite, nearly all mutilated, are heaped up in the most wonderful way. It is difficult to conceive what power could break and pile them up in that manner. Several have been cut for making millstones; some of them are completely hewn, but have been left on the spot, probably for want of means of transport.... This city, like all others, was raised on great masses of raw bricks. The extent of Bubastis in all directions is from twelve to fourteen hundred metres. In the interior is a great depression, in the middle of which are the monuments which we noticed."

This description is interesting because it shows that in the time of Malus the part of the temple which was visible was the western hall, the hall of Nekhthorheb, the most extensive, and where at present still exists the greatest heap of blocks. The monuments which struck him have been published in the great work of the French expedition;¹ they are the upper cornice, adorned with large asps, of which we discovered several fragments, and part of the ceiling, which he mistook for the side of an obelisk, and which is, in fact, adorned with stars. Although quarrying has been practised in the whole temple, it has been most active in the western part, judging from the immense number of chips of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, the best material for millstones. Probably more towards the east the temple was covered, for Malus would certainly have mentioned the large columns which would have struck him more than the cornice, had he seen them.

A more complete description has been given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. It appeared first in the transactions of an Egyptian society,² whence it passed into Murray's handbook. Wilkinson seems to have been at Bubastis before 1840. Probably some digging had been done by the fellaheen, either for "sebakh" or for quarrying, for he saw a good deal more than Malus. He speaks of lotus-bud columns, of a palm-tree column which must have been twenty-two feet high, and which was lying near the canal, where it is still now to be seen; and he read on the stones the names of Rameses II., Osorkon I., and of a king whom he calls wrongly Amyrtaeos, and who is Nectanebo I., Nekhthorheb.

Since Wilkinson saw the place more stones have been carried away, and the Nile mud has covered parts of the temple which were visible in his time. I visited the place for the first time in 1882. In the great rectangular depression which marks the site of the temple, a few weather-beaten granite blocks were to be seen, but no column or statue, only two pits which were Mariette's attempts at excavations, very soon given up, as they were without results. The appearance of the place was exactly the same in 1887 when I settled there with Mr. Griffith, and we resolved to excavate the famous sanctuary of Bubastis, described by Herodotus as follows :-³

" Among the many cities which thus attained*

¹ Descr. de l'Egypte, Antiquités, v. pl. 29, 9.

² Miscellanea Aegyptiaca, p. 2.

³ ii. 137, ed. Rawlinson.

to a great elevation, none (I think) was raised so much as the town called Bubastis, where there is a temple of the goddess Bubastis, which well deserves to be described. Other temples may be grander, and may have cost more in the building, but there is none so pleasant to the eye as this of Bubastis. The Bubastis of the Egyptians is the same as the Artemis of the Greeks.

"The following is a description of this edifice: Excepting the entrance, the whole forms an island. Two artificial channels from the Nile, one on either side of the temple, encompass the building, leaving only a narrow passage by which it is approached. These channels are each a hundred feet wide, and are thickly shaded with trees. The gateway is sixty feet in height, and is ornamented with figures cut upon the stone, six cubits high, and well worthy of notice. The temple stands in the middle of the city, and is visible on all sides as one walks round it; for as the city has been raised by embankment, while the temple has been left untouched in its original condition, you look down upon it wheresoever you are. A low wall runs round the enclosure, having figures engraved upon it, and inside there is a grove of beautiful tall trees growing round the shrine, which contains the image of the goddess. The enclosure is a furlong in length, and the same in breadth. The entrance to it is by a road paved with stones for a distance of about three furlongs, which passes straight through the market-place in an easterly direction, and is about four hundred feet in width. Trees of an extraordinary height grow on each side of the road, which conducts from the temple of Bubastis to that of Mercury."

The description of Herodotus does not exactly correspond to what must have been the temple, the ruins of which we excavated, for since the Greek traveller saw it, the King Nekthorheb of the XXXth dynasty added a hall, intended to be the largest, but which never was finished.

As I said before, the site of the temple is a rectangular depression, about nine hundred to a thousand feet long, in the middle of which stood the edifice, running nearly from east to west. At present it is still easy to recognize

the correctness of the statement of Herodotus, when he says that the whole building was an island, for the beds of the canals which surrounded it are still traceable. The sides of the rectangle consist of lofty mounds, which are nothing but layers of decayed brick-houses, which were always rebuilt on the same spot, so that after centuries the ground was considerably raised. It is clear that from them one must have looked down on the stone buildings which had remained at the same level. Here again the statement of Herodotus is that of an eye-witness. When we had unearthed the whole area of the temple, the view extended over a space about five hundred feet long, covered with enormous blocks of granite. It was easy to recognize from the intervals between the various heaps of stones that there had been four different halls varying in their proportions. But the whole was so much ruined; besides, so many stones have been carried away, that it was impossible to make an approximate reconstruction or even a plan of what the temple must have been.

Beginning from the east, the entrance hall was about eighty feet long and one hundred and sixty wide (pl. liv.). The sculptures were chiefly of Rameses II. and Osorkon I., but there were found the two most ancient kings, Cheops and Chefren. The gateway was adorned with two large columns, with palm-leaf capitals, and outside of it stood the two great Hyksos statues. Following the axis of the building, and going towards the west, the next hall was eighty feet long by one hundred and thirty. It had no columns, but a considerable number of statues of different epochs, and was the richest *

in inscriptions of various times. It underwent several changes, especially under Osorkon II and will be designated by the name which the king gave it, "The Festival Hall". It contained a shrine, of which there are a few fragments left, and I should think it was around it that Herodotus saw the beautiful trees which he mentions. Next came the colonnade with two styles of columns and square pillars. It is not possible to know its width, but it was about one hundred and ninety feet long. The temple ended with the hall of Nekhthorheb, one hundred and sixty feet square. Probably there was around the temple an enclosure wall of black Basalt, but traces of it are visible only near the two Western halls. Nearly all the stones left are red granite, no white limestone has remained. In the hall of Nekhthorheb a great part of the building must have been made of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, but as it is the best stone for mills and presses it has disappeared. The immense number of chips show that this part of the temple has been a regular quarry. The destruction is as complete as at Sâh, at Behbeit el Hagar, or generally speaking, in all the temples of the Delta. We have no clue whatever to inform us who was the author of it, or what was the purpose of such wanton ravage. I have dwelt elsewhere⁴ on the idea that the style of construction of the temples made them very apt to be used as fortresses, and that this circumstance may have been the cause of their being destroyed in times of war. This explanation would apply particularly well to Bubastis of which we know that it was besieged by the Persians, and that it was conquered in the wars of the time of Phocas. Besides, Bubastis, like the present city Zagazig, which has taken its place, was the key of the Delta it was on the road of all the invaders from Syria, whether they took the northern road through Pelusium, Daphnae and Sâh, or whether they journeyed more south through Pithom-Heroopolis. It was

an important position to hold, and consequently very much exposed to all the accidents of war. As the temples of Lower Egypt are mere heaps of blocks, whoever wishes to explore them thoroughly is obliged to roll down the stones and to turn them in order to see what may be hidden underneath. This part of the work, which was done by gangs of strong men, called the "shayaleen," took a considerable time and was often most laborious; but it yielded very important results. In the two first halls every single block has been turned, so as to show whether it had any inscription. It has changed considerably the appearance of the place. Instead of forming lofty piles, the stones are strewn over a large space near each other. The place is less picturesque; the appearance of the ruins is far less imposing than when we first unearthed those huge clustered in colossal heaps, but science has gained considerably. Thus we discovered a great number of kings, whose passage and work at Bubastis would otherwise have remained the. ignored.

THE OLD EMPIRE

WE learn from Manetho that under the King Boethos, the first of the second dynasty, a chasm opened itself at Bubastis, which caused the loss of a great many lives. Up to the present day, we have not found in any part of Egypt monuments as old as the second dynasty. Historical monuments, properly speaking, begin only with the fourth; however, the passage of Manetho shows that in the tradition of his time of the foundation of Bubastis went back to a high Antiquity. The fourth dynasty is represented in our excavation by the constructors of the two*

⁴ Goshen, p. 4.

great pyramids, Cheops and Chefren. Their names have been discovered in the first hall, not far from the entrance, on blocks which have evidently been re-used later on ; the inscriptions have escaped because they were hidden in the wall. Of Cheops we have only what is called the standard¹ (pl. viii., xxxii.A.), exactly as we find it on an alabaster vase of the same King.² It is likely that under or near the standard was the cartouche, as in the tablet of Wadi Magharah.³ This interesting inscription is engraved on an enormous block which the direction of the veins of the stone rendered very difficult to split. It is now in the British Museum.

The name of Chefren (pl. xxxii.B) is written like that of Neferkara of Wadi Magharah,⁴ it is a standard containing both name and title, and which was surmounted by Horus. The names of both kings are of large dimensions, the hieroglyphs in Cheops' standard being eight inches high, and of Chefren eleven inches. The style of the engraving is beautiful, and considering the archaic appearance of the sculpture, and its similarity to several inscriptions of the Old Empire,⁶ we have no reason to doubt that those names have been inscribed on the walls of the temple under the reigns of the kings. It is the first instance where a mention of those kings has been found on a contemporaneous edifice which is not a tomb, and situate north of Memphis. This implies a real sovereignty over that part of Lower Egypt, which must have been wielded already by the predecessor of Cheops, Snefru. "We have not discovered Snefru's name at Bubastis, but he must have left some traces in the Delta, which he certainly occupied, for he was the first in making warlike expeditions to the Sinaitic Peninsula, and in order to reach it, he was obliged to follow the Wady Tumilat. His expeditions were continued by Cheops, who appears to have been a powerful king. Apart from the construction of the great pyramid, the tradition attributed to him the foundation of the temple of Denderah, for the plan according to which the

edifice was reconstructed under Thothmes III., had been found " in ancient writings of the time of Cheops." ⁶

Chefren has left no record of any expedition to Sinai. It is to him that we owe the first royal statues, and the beauty of the hieroglyphs with which his name is written at Bubastis is another proof of the high degree of development which Egyptian art had reached in his time. After the fourth dynasty, there seems to

have been a period of weakness in the monarchy, which revives again with the first king of the sixth dynasty, Pepi I.

This king has also been discovered at Bubastis. He was already known in the Delta by the famous stone of San, found by Burton, and containing his name and titles.⁷ This stone has for a long time attracted the attention of Egyptologists. Mr. Flinders Petrie, who republished it, and who discovered at San a second fragment till now unknown, has suggested that the stone might have been brought by Rameses II. from a building of Upper Egypt, and that it could not be inferred from its presence at San that Pepi had really made some construction so far north. But every doubt in this respect seems to be removed since Pepi's name has been found at Bubastis, in company with other kings of the Old Empire. Pepi has certainly built at Tanis as well as at Bubastis.

The cartouche of Pepi occurs twice at *

¹ I employ here the usual name, without prejudging in the least Messrs. Maspero and Petrie's opinion that the so-called standard is the name of the Ka.

² Leps. Denkm. ii. pl. 2 d.

³ Leps. 1.1. pl 2 b.

⁴ Leps. 1.1. pl. 116.

⁵ Leps. 1. 1. pl. 26, pl. 39 d, e, pl. 116, etc.


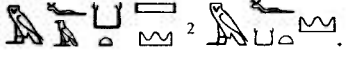
⁶ Mariette, Dendérah, p. 55, vol. iii. pl. 78 k.

⁷ Rougé, Etudes sur les mon. des six premières dyn., p. 116; id; Inscr. Hier. pl. lxxv. Flinders Petrie, Tanis, i. pl. i. 2.

Bubastis. In one case it was at the end of a vertical column (pl. xxxii. c), in the other it is above the standard which surmounted the first cartouche (pl. xxxii. u). The name is unfortunately damaged in the upper part, but can be easily restored. It is not identical to that of Tanis. There Pepi calls himself simply the son of Hathor, the goddess of Denderah. Here he comes forward as the son of Tum, the god of Heliopolis, and of Hathor, the goddess of Denderah. It is a way of indicating that his sovereignty extends over both parts of Egypt. For the names of Heliopolis and Denderah must not be taken in a literal way as referring to those two cities; they are the emblems of the two divisions of the realm in which they were situated.

Pliny informs us that Pepi raised an obelisk at Heliopolis. Thus he was a worshipper of Tum. But he seems to have been a more fervent adorer of Hathor. The same crypt of the temple of Denderah in which occurs the name of Cheops, mentions also Pepi in the following text: "The great foundation in Denderah was found on decayed rolls of skins of kids of the time of the followers of Horus. It was found in a brick wall on the south side, in the reign of the king, beloved of the Sun, son of the Sun, Lord of diadems, Pepi, living established and well, like the Sun for ever."⁸ Thus a temple, which in its present form is one of the most modern of Egypt, has succeeded to much more ancient buildings which the tradition attributed to Cheops and Pepi.

It would not be extraordinary if the construction of Denderah was connected in some way with the expeditions of those two kings to the Sinaitic Peninsula. Like Cheops, Pepi made war with the tribes of Sicai, and the records of his campaigns are engraved in the same place as those of Cheops, in the Wadi Magharah.⁹

The chief attraction of the Egyptians towards that region were the mines of a mineral, on the true nature of which there has been much discussion, but which, according to the latest researches of Lepsius,¹ seems to have been emerald or malachite. It was called *mafek* or *mafkat* , and from it the whole region where it was found, and of which Hathor was the goddess, derived its name of *Mafkat*, . It is quite possible that as a token of gratitude for successful campaigns in Sinai, Cheops and Pepi founded or enlarged the sanctuary of the goddess at Denderah. A proof of it lies in the fact that among the sacred objects which Thothmes III. executed according to the prescriptions of the documents, appears an emblem of the goddess under the form of a sistrum of mafkat, four palms high.³

I do not believe, however, that the mines of *mafek* were the only inducement which attracted the Pharaohs towards the Sinaitic Peninsula. Undoubtedly, mafek was a precious stone which was valuable either as an ornament, or for sacred uses, or as a means of exchange at a time when there was no coin, but the kings must have had other purposes in view. They had to defend themselves against the invasions of the nomads of the east, such as are described in the campaign of the general Una against the Amu and the Heruscha; besides, it seems to me likely that one of the objects of their conquests was the possession of quarries which have not been found again, but which must exist somewhere in the peninsula.

This brings me to a question which has not yet received a satisfactory answer. Where did the Egyptians get all the stones of which they made such a considerable use? The quarries of some *

⁸ Cf. Bunsen, Egypt, v. p. 723. Mariette, Dendérah, p. 55, vol. iii. pl. 78.

⁹ Lepsius, Denkm. ii. pl. 116.

¹ Lepsius, Metalle, p. 79, ff.

² Lepsius, Denkm. ii. 137.

³ Mariette, Denderah, i. pl. 55.

of the stones are known. The red granite came from Syene, from the very banks of the Nile, and could be transported by water on the river or on the canals with a relative facility. But where did the black granite come from, the material out of which so many statues have been carved? The opinion which is still now prevalent is that of Lepsius,⁴ who believes that it was dug out of the rocks of Hamamat, between Keneh and Kosseir, in the desert. In fact, the quarries which have been found there were already worked under the sixth dynasty, and by Pepi himself. This opinion seems very plausible in the case of kings who ruled over the whole of Egypt, but is very different with those who reigned only over the Delta. Wherefrom did the Hyksos draw the stones of their statues? Undoubtedly not from Hamamat.

This question has grown in interest lately by the remark that the old Chaldaean monuments discovered at Telloh by M. de Sarzec were made of a stone quite similar to several statues of Egypt.⁵ M. Oppert read in the inscriptions the name of *Maggan*, which applies to the Sinaitic peninsula, and which, according to the illustrious Assyriologist, would be the place where the stone of those statues was obtained.⁶ Others, on the contrary, maintain that the material was close at hand, and that it came from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Thorough explorations made by geologists are required to solve the question whether or not there are quarries in the Sinaitic peninsula.

It is impossible to form even an approximate idea of what a temple of the Old Empire was like. That there were temples at that remote epoch is beyond any doubt, but until now we have only discovered one, the temple of the Sphinx. And it is easily comprehensible. No buildings have been so much altered, reconstructed, transformed as temples. The sacred character

attached to a place lasts through ages; generally, it even outlives a complete change of religion; but it is not so with the sanctuary. In the long succession of dynasties, in proportion as art and taste changed, as religious ideas were modified, as the empire was growing in power and riches, the primitive building underwent such complete alterations, that nothing remained of its original state except names as at Tanis and Bubastis, or mere traditions as at Denderah. It is likely also that one of the reasons why we find so few traces of the temples of Pepi and Cheops, is that they were without any ornamentation or sculpture. They were built of blocks of polished stone, with monolithic pillars as in the temple of the Sphinx, but it is very doubtful whether the walls bore anything else than the name of the king. The cartouches of Pepi were along the door-posts; we do not know where those of Cheops and Chefren were engraved. Among the numerous blocks which are heaped up at Bubastis, there may be some which go up to such a high antiquity, but which, having no sculptures or ornaments of any kind, are not discernible, especially as they were re-used in the numerous alterations which the building went through.

There is, however, a sculpture which undoubtedly goes back to the Old Empire, and which struck us from the first by its unusual character (pl. xxii. D). On the top of the blocks of the first hall there was a false door, such as occurs nearly in all the tombs of the Old Empire, and which consists of two posts bound together by a cylindrical drum, where the name of the deceased is frequently engraved. I cannot account for a monument of this kind, which has nearly always a funereal character, being in a temple which never seems to have been used as a tomb. Nothing remains of the inscriptions which might have solved the difficulty. Everywhere they have been carefully erased, as well on a rectangular tablet above the door, as on the posts, each of which had a royal name, for on the left, in spite *

4 Lepsius. Briefe, p. 319.

5 Eev. Arch. 42, pp. 264-272.

6 Taylor, in Perrot, Hist. de l'Art, Assyrie, p. 588.

of the erasure, it is easy to discern the upper curve of a cartouche, and a disk, probably Ra.

Thus the inscriptions of Cheops, Chefren, Pepi, and the false door are all we can with certainty attribute to the Old Empire, and to the original building which was at Bubastis. in those remote ages. It is natural to believe that it occupied part of the area of the two first halls where we found its remains. As for its form we can speak of it only hypothetically; nothing can guide us except the analogy with the tombs; for as the tomb was the eternal abode of the deceased, so the temple was considered as the abode of the divinity; we may therefore suppose that originally they were built on a similar principle. I should think that the old temple was a single stone chamber without ornamental sculpture, containing somewhere, probably opposite the entrance, the false door on which stood the name of the king and the dedication. Perhaps the single chamber was preceded by a vestibule with square pillars, such as in the temple of the Sphinx or in the tombs. All we know of the Old Empire shows us that the architecture of the temples was marked by a great simplicity; the desire for ornamentation and embellishment came only with the Middle Empire. It is probable

that this first temple lasted through the reign of the dynasties, the history of which is unknown to us, and that the first great changes it went through took place under the twelfth dynasty.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

WITH the twelfth dynasty we enter on a period when the temple of Bubastis went through great alterations. They are easily traceable by a careful study of the sculptured blocks, which shows that the temple is nothing but a palimpsest, and that nearly all the larger inscriptions engraved either by Rameses II. or by Osorkon II. are usurpations occupying the place of older dedications which have not always been carefully expunged.

No work of great importance seems to have been made in the temple before the last king, Usertesens III. The first of the powerful kings of the twelfth dynasty we meet with, is Ame-

nenha I. (pl. xxxiii. A). His name, or rather his standard, occurs on a block which has been displaced, for it is in the hall of Nekhthorheb, who must have taken it in one of the neighbouring halls. The inscription, which is fragmentary, has two lines; in the second the king says that

"he erected his statue to his mother Bast: he made a door or a room in . . ." In other words, he dedicated his statues to the goddess, so there must have been statues of Amenemha I. in the temple; they possibly are still extant now, but with another name.

His son and successor, Usertesens I., has left his name in a small inscription accompanying a procession of Nile-gods carrying offerings (pl. xxxiv. D, E). It is under the twelfth dynasty that we meet for the first time with the androgyne figure of the river, which is found afterwards at nearly all epochs. It was of common use under the kings whose work we are now describing, especially on their statues. In order to indicate that they ruled over both parts of Egypt they did not, like Chefren, engrave on the side of their thrones merely the sign ∇ *sam*, the sign of union binding together the plants of the North and the South; they had the two Nile gods engraved with one foot on the base of the sign ∇ and holding each of them in their hand the plant which is the special emblem of the North or of the South. Representations of this kind are found on the statues of Amenemha I.,¹ Usertesens I.,² Amenemha II.,³ Usertesens *

¹ F. Petrie, Tanis i. pl. i. 3 b.

² id. pl. i. 4 b.

³ id. pl. xiii. 4.

III.⁴ On the statue of Mermashu⁵ the Nile gods are kneeling. We have a good example on the statue of black granite (pl. xxv. C), the head of which is at Sydney, and which has all the characteristics of a statue of the twelfth dynasty. It occurs also on the two Hyksos statues, where the representation has been usurped twice (pl. xxiv. D). It seems that the Amenemhas and the Usertesens were fervent worshippers of the god Nile, for images of the god are met with on other monuments than statues, especially on the temples of Semneh and Kummeh, which, having been built by Usertesens III., were completed and repaired by Thothmes III.⁶ The picture of the Nile gods with one foot on the ∇ is not so common on the monuments of the first dynasties of the New Empire, at least of those the date of which is certain, but it occurs frequently under the first Ethiopians, especially Tahraka.⁷ It is impossible not to recognize in the sculptures and in the royal standards of the Ethiopians a striking likeness with the twelfth dynasty, probably because they had before their eyes constructions raised by those kings, and above all by the conqueror of Nubia, Usertesens III.

The inscription of Usertesens I. indicates that the king did not wish to do more than engrave his name on the wall of the temple. We may conclude from this fact that in his time the venerable building of Cheops and Chefnen was still extant in its primitive simplicity and with its small proportions. But Usertesens III., the greatest king of the dynasty, evidently desired to adorn Bubastis with a temple which might compete with his constructions in other parts of Egypt. Among the heaps of blocks which are all that remains of the temple, there are a great many fragments, varying in length, of archi-

4 F. Petrie, Tanis ii. Nebesheh, pl. ix.

5 Tanis i. pl. iii. 17 b.

6 Leps. Denkm. iii. 47, 67.

7 Leps. 1.1. v. 13.

traves bearing hieroglyphical inscriptions with signs more than two feet high, and having all of them the name of Rameses II.

Looking at them carefully, we notice that the signs are engraved in a concavity, that the polish which is well preserved on the edges of the stone has been destroyed near the inscription, that here and there an old sign comes out quite distinctly below the new ones : there is no doubt that Rameses II. erased an older name and an older dedication in order to inscribe his own. In other places there are stones with deeply cut hieroglyphs bearing all the characteristics of the twelfth dynasty, and where the place of the cartouche is rough and uneven, and keeps traces of having been worked over again several times (pl. xxiv. A). The usurpations of Rameses II. appear on every stone with hardly an exception: the question is whose name he expunged in order to replace it by his cartouche and titles. This interesting problem received an unexpected and satisfactory solution. On one of the architraves which in the reconstructed temple must have been in the angle so that the end of the stone was hidden, the hammering out could not be done on the whole length, and close to the cartouche of Rameses II. appears the beginning of the first cartouche of Usertesens III. (pl. xxvi. C, xxxiii. E). The same cartouche appears on a block where it is complete, and followed by the name of the god Sokaris (pl. xxxiii. F), also in a procession of nome-gods carrying offerings (pl. xxxiv. C) ; besides, it stood on two doorposts, where it has been partially erased (pl. xxxiii. B, D, C.) The circumstance that the name of Usertesens is found on architraves of such large dimensions, proves that this king must have enlarged the building considerably.

Usertesens III., as well as the other sovereigns of the twelfth dynasty, made war against the Ethiopians and the negroes of Nubia. Two well known inscriptions relate the expeditions which he made in their country, and the regu-

*

lations which he enforced for the Nubian boats going down the river. His two great campaigns took place in the years eight and sixteen of his reign. I should think that it is one of these campaigns which is alluded to in an inscription very incomplete, but the style and sculpture of which leave no doubt as to its being a work of the twelfth dynasty (pl. xxxiv. A). It is a block of red granite three feet square, of which this fragment only has been preserved, the others have been destroyed in the reconstruction of the temple, or they have disappeared more recently, when the temple was used as a quarry. There is no royal name in the text, but both the form and the context induce me to attribute it to Usertesen III.

In the thirteen lines of which it consists occur several geographical names. The most frequent is *the height or the mountain of Hua*,



Hua is one of the localities quoted among the southern countries conquered by Rameses III., together with Punt.⁸ Another region is *Khaset or Khaskhet of the West*

Khaskhet is frequently met with in the inscriptions of the twelfth dynasty.⁹ Brugsch¹ translates it *country, foreign country*. It is difficult to determine the site referred to from such a fragmentary inscription, however, it is natural to consider it as a southern locality according to the list of Thothmes III. engraved on the walls of Karnak.

The king seems to be speaking. 1. 4 . . . of beaten negroes, in order that may be known what you are doing ...

1. 5. ... the king struck them himself with his mass

1. 8 mentions veteran soldiers of former times; . . . they are brought to the palace. His Majesty provided

⁸ Leps. Denkm. iii. 209.

⁹ Petrie, Tanis ii. Nebesheh, pl. ix.

¹ Dict. Geog. p. 629.

1. 9. ... His Majesty ordered to pass 323 soldiers going out towards the fountain which is

1. 10. . . . sailing up in order to see the height of Hua, and in order to know the way of navigating....

1. 11. ... taken alive, they found there 203 cows and 11 she asses ; in the month of

1. 12. . . . (rejoicings) very great in leaving the height of Hua; the departure from this height was in peace This is an allusion to the happy issue of the campaign.

1. 13. ... nehek. South of the mount of Hua ...

It is only a fragment left from the middle of a text entirely destroyed, the loss of which, judging from what remains, is much to be regretted.

The great architraves hammered out, the numerous usurped stones the style of which clearly belongs to the twelfth dynasty, are evidences showing that the constructions raised by these kings at Bubastis were considerable. Undoubtedly they transformed the old building raised by Cheops and Chefren, traces of which were found in the two first halls. But they were not satisfied with it; and I believe that we must attribute to Usertesen III. the foundation of what was the finest part of the temple, the hypostyle hall.

West of the second hall, on a length of sixty yards and a breadth of twenty-five, are scattered the ruins of this beautiful construction, shafts and capitals of columns, colossal architraves, Hathor heads (pl. v., vi., vii.) It is by far the part of the temple which has suffered most. It may be that it remained exposed when the other parts were already buried under Nile mud ; besides, the shafts of columns have always been much sought after, as they are easy to saw for making mill-stones. What has escaped is only a small part of the materials which composed the edifice ; the number of stones destroyed or carried away must have been considerable, and *

thus a reconstruction of the hall is hardly possible except by conjecture. Judging from the remains discovered in the excavations, the structure contained the following elements.

In the middle of the hall "were four huge monolithic columns in red granite with capitals in the form of a lotus-bud (pl. vii.).

This type, which figures a bundle of lotus-plants, appears for the first time in a tomb at Beni Hassan, in a more simple form; there are only four plants. The more complex form, identical to that of Bubastis, may be seen in the Labyrinth of Howara,² which is the work of the twelfth dynasty. It is described thus by MM. Perrofc and Chipiez in their "History of Art in Ancient Egypt."³

" Their shafts are composed of eight vertical ribs which are triangular or plain, like stalks of papyrus. The lower part of the shaft has a bold swell. It springs from a corona of leaves and tapers as it rises. The stalks are tied at the top with from three to five bands, the ends hanging down between the ribs. The buds which form the capital are also surrounded with leaves at their base."

Of the four columns which stood in the centre of the hall, the bases have been preserved, on which the monolithic shafts were fixed so strongly that when one of the columns was thrown down, its fall raised the base on its side. None of the columns are intact; they are all four broken in several pieces. One capital only is complete; it has been carried away with the piece fitting immediately underneath, and stands now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Apart from the beauty and the vigour of the workmanship, it is remarkable by its fine polish, which has remained undamaged through many centuries, and which is a characteristic feature of the work of the twelfth dynasty.⁴

² Leps. Denkm. i. 47.

³ English ed. vol. ii. p. 99.

⁴ Plate liii. gives the exact drawing and the dimensions of that beautiful monument.

Close to these four columns stood four others, not quite so high, also of red granite and monolithic, but with more slender shafts ending in a capital of palm-leaves. The top of the leaves, with the surmounting abacus, forms a separate piece which could not be part of the monolith, as it has a much larger diameter than the rest of the column. Otherwise it would have been necessary for making the column to have a much thicker stone, and to thin it considerably on its whole length. A curious fact is that the leaves which form the capital are not of the same width. While the large columns have hardly any writing, except on the lower part, these have inscriptions from the top to the bottom. The oldest belong to Rameses II., but they have been usurped more or less completely by Osorkon II. On the specimen which has been brought to the British Museum all the degrees of usurpation may be followed. Although it bears the name of Rameses II., the older date of the column is proved by the fact that the inscription of the king is cut across an ornament of the capital, a circumstance which would not occur if the column had been raised by his order and in his time.

As there were four columns of two different species, the proportions and type of which were not the same, there occur also two groups of four Hathor capitals, the dimensions of which differ in the same ratio as the columns. The two groups have one point of similarity. The goddess is represented only on two opposite sides of the capital, and not on all four, as may be seen in later epochs. The great Hathors are a little above seven feet high. One of them had one side quite perfect because it rested on the ground; it is now in the Boston Museum. The other three, more or less damaged, are at the Louvre, in the British Museum, and at Berlin. The head (pl. ix., xxiii. A, xxiv. B) has the usual type of the goddess: a broad face, with ears of a heifer, the thick hair *

instead of falling vertically, curls up outwards. Here and there, in the eyeballs and on the lips, traces of colour were still visible, and were even quite vivid, but faded away after a few hours of exposure in the air. Above the head, the little shrine which is commonly seen in that kind of capital, and which is particularly noticeable in the temple of Denderah, is reduced to a cornice adorned with asps bearing a solar disk. On the other sides are the emblems either of Northern or Southern Egypt, viz., the plant which belongs to each of these regions. It stands between two asps, wearing the corresponding head-dress and placed in such a way that their heads are tucked along the hair of the goddess. There were two capitals with Northern emblems, and two with Southern emblems. The one in Boston is one of the North capitals. Below this representation was a blank space on which Osorkon II. engraved his cartouche. On the surface which rested on the pillar, Osorkon I. had a dedication engraved.

The other group of four Hathor capitals is smaller and more simple (pl. xxiii. B). The cornice which is above the hair has no asps; the sides had no representations of North and South; they were a blank, and Osorkon II. engraved on them his cartouche. The best specimen has been sent to the Museum of Sydney. When we raised it, the lips were still covered with a vivid red paint.

These two varieties of Hathor capitals are at present unique in their kind, especially the larger ones. The only capital which may be said to have some similarity, is found in Upper Nubia at Sedeinga.⁵ It crowns a column the single remnant of an extensive colonnade. As at Bubastis the head of the goddess is only on two sides, and there seems to be an attempt to figure the plant of the North on the other faces. The workmanship of the

capitals of Bubastis is admirable; but in order that it may be rightly appreciated the capitals must be seen some way off. Looking at them close by, they seem flat, and destitute of expression; whereas at a distance, the features come out with a striking liveliness. In fact, they were meant to be placed at a height equal to that of the neighbouring columns. We are in a complete uncertainty as to the exact distribution of the hall and to the manner in which the capitals were disposed. But I cannot help thinking that the Hathors were on the top of square pillars, standing alternately with the columns, so that the arrangement was quite analogous to the small temple in Deir el Medineh.⁶

As to the inequality in height of the two groups of columns, we often see in Egyptian temples contiguous colonnades differing in height, and following each other either in the length of the edifice as at Luxor, or in its width as at Karnak, in the great hall. Judging from the bases of the large columns, I believe that close to each of them, on the outside, stood a square pillar bearing a Hathor capital, on the top of which, lay the architrave. Right and left of the eight huge fulcrums probably stood two columns with palm-leaf capitals, and two smaller Hathors, so that the central construction being the highest, had two lower wings, as may be seen at Karnak.⁷ Or the lower construction was put as a prolongation to the higher, to which it might serve as a western entrance, and the whole had an appearance similar to that of the Ramesseum or that of the temple of Luxor.⁸ I must add that north of the temple, and quite outside, at a distance of about fifty yards, we met with the two same styles of columns, lotus-bud and palm-leaf, but on a much smaller scale. They seem to have belonged to *

⁶ Leps. Briefe, p. 257. Denkm. i. 114, 115.

⁶ Leps. Denkm. i. 88.

⁷ Maspero, L'archéol. égypt. vign. 70.

⁸ Maspero, l. i. vign. 77. Perrot et Chipiez, Egypte, vign. 213.

a doorway giving access to a road which led to the western entrance of the temple.⁹

The reader will ask for the grounds which induce me to attribute these columns and Hathor capitals to the twelfth dynasty. I admit that there is not absolute certainty, and that this attribution may be questioned, particularly as regards the Hathors and the palm-leaf columns. But if these be not the work of the twelfth dynasty, they are that of the eighteenth. It is certain that the two styles of columns above described were the favourite types of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Thothmes III. used the lotus-bud at Karnak ; a large column of the same style lying on the ground at the entrance of the temple of Phthah in Memphis belongs also to him. Amenophis III. seems to have had a special liking for it, as we may see at Thebes, at Elephantine, and especially in the temple of Soleb in Nubia. For him were made the palm-leaf columns which were considered as the oldest, at least, if we can trust the inscriptions engraved upon them. They are also in Soleb, where both styles are found together as at Bubastis. Besides, it cannot be denied that the Hathor capital with two faces of the goddess is met with in temples of the eighteenth dynasty, at Deir el Bahari, where it dates probably from Hashepsu or Thothmes III., at El Kab and Sedeinga, where it dates from Amenophis III. In the last two instances there is another similarity with the Hathors of Bubastis, the two sides which have not the face of the goddess bear the emblematic plants of North and South. Under such circumstances it may well be asked whether the colonnade of Bubastis is not the work of the eighteenth dynasty, and of Amenophis III., whose name is preserved on several statues discovered in the excavations.

In answering this question, a difference must be made between the great lotus-bud columns and

⁹ One of the lotus-bud columns is now in the Louvre.

the others. In reference to the first, the column of the Labyrinth, absolutely similar to that of Bubastis, seems to me convincing evidence. The Labyrinth belongs to the twelfth dynasty. Both columns must be contemporaneous; in both of them there is the same simplicity and elegance of workmanship ; besides, the column of Bubastis has preserved the beautiful polish which appears also on the architraves of Usertesen III., wherever they have not been erased by Rameses II. The architraves belonging to Usertesen III. must have had something to rest upon; I believe therefore that there can be no doubt as to the age of the larger columns. If these only are the work of the twelfth dynasty, they must have formed the entrance to the two halls which existed before. But I see also a great difficulty in attributing the palm-leaf capitals and the Hathors to the eighteenth dynasty, as one might be tempted to do at first sight. There is absolutely no inscription of those kings mentioning constructions of that kind, there are no traces of the great architraves which should have been on these pillars, and on which undoubtedly Amenophis III. would have recorded his high and pious deeds. His inscriptions would less likely have been usurped by Rameses II. than those of the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, which, nevertheless, have been preserved. All the monuments bearing the name of Amenophis III. at Bubastis are statues of priests and priestesses, the inscriptions of which do not speak of constructions, and which are no integrant part of the building. These are the reasons why I attribute to the twelfth dynasty the Hathor heads and the palm-leaf columns which, as we saw before, are older than Rameses II. If excavations are made in Egypt, the better we shall know the twelfth dynasty—one of the most powerful which occupied the throne. Usurpation has been practised in the New Empire on a much larger scale than was supposed. Every temple is like a roll of velum *



on which several successive texts have been written, one over the other. In the Delta, where the distance from the quarries was considerable, the temptation must have been very great. As the temples of the twelfth dynasty had inscriptions only on the architraves and the doorposts, but not on the walls or the columns, it was easy for Amenophis or Rameses to use these flat and well polished surfaces for celebrating his own glory, and thus attributing to himself the work of former generations.

The statues have not fared better. They have not been spared more than the temples. It is evident that we shall have to change the names of a great many statues exhibited in our museums where they have been labelled from the last name inscribed upon them. The history of Egyptian sculpture has been thrown into a great confusion. It is at present a field which has hardly been cleared. If most of the royal statues, or at least their casts, could once be put together, and a careful study be made of them, it would be astonishing to see how many statues engraved with the cartouche of Rameses II. were never made for him, and are older works of which he took possession. In so doing, he followed the example which Thothmes III. and Amenophis III. had given him, as we may ascertain in collections like that of Turin. If now it be asked who was chiefly set aside by such usurpations, I have no doubt that this comparative study will show that it was chiefly the thirteenth dynasty, especially in all cases when Rameses did not leave any name except his own.

I have no hesitation in putting among the monuments of the twelfth dynasty the statue the head of which is in the museum of Sydney, while the base has been left on the spot, being too much damaged to be carried away (pl. xxv. C). The head, which has the flat type of the Middle Empire, wears the white diadem of Upper Egypt, like Amenemha I. and Usertesen I. at Tanis.

There was thereon a smaller figure, probably a woman, standing on the throne, and holding the headdress of the king with her hands. The two inscriptions, which are generally engra-

ved on the edges of the throne, along the legs, are destroyed. If they were the name of a king of the twelfth dynasty, Rameses II. may have preserved them. It is possible also that we must assign the same date to two standing colossi, the fragments of which are scattered here and there. They both wear the southern headdress, and one of them had the eyes hollowed out like the Hyksos statues.

No monuments of this epoch give us the name of the locality. However, the goddess Bast is mentioned in the inscription of Amenemha (pl. xxxiii. A). With the name of Usertesen is quoted the god Sokaris, a divinity of Memphis, and one of the forms of Phthah (pl. xxxii. F). It is to be noticed that at Tanis,¹ where the statues of the kings of the twelfth dynasty are numerous, the gods whose worshippers they call themselves, are the gods of Memphis, and they frequently mention the sanctuary of that city,   *ankh toui*. The small number of inscriptions preserved at Bubastis does not allow us to ascertain to what god the sanctuary was dedicated; whether it was to the local divinity. Bast, or to the great gods of Egypt as in the time of Rameses II. I should think it was to the last, and that the worship of Bast became prevalent only much later. One of the sculptures of Usertesen III. represented a procession of nome gods (pl. xxxiv. C). Only one emblem remains, and the sign is not very distinct, it looks like a different reading of the nome of Heliopolis, to which Bubastis then belonged, as under Seti I., and even much later, it was not yet a separate nome. The Ptolemaic name of the province does not occur anywhere in all the inscriptions discovered. *

¹ Petrie, Tanis i. pl. 1, 3a, 3c, 3d, iii. 16a, 16b, 17b.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

WITH the thirteenth dynasty we enter one of the most obscure periods of Egyptian history. The monuments become more and more scarce, and the obscurity lasts as far as the beginning of the New Empire. We do not know the transition from the thirteenth to the fourteenth dynasty, nor can we fix exactly the epoch when the invasion of the Hyksos took place. Nevertheless, it remains a well established fact that in the thirteenth dynasty, the Sebek-hoteps and Neferhoteps ruled over the whole of Egypt, not only of Egypt proper, north of the first cataract, but much farther south, as far as Upper Nubia.

Professor Wiedemann has given a list of one hundred and thirty-six kings quoted by the Turin papyrus between the twelfth dynasty and the Hyksos. It agrees nearly with the number given by Manetho for the thirteenth and the fourteenth put together. The Sebenyte priest assigns Thebes as the native place for the thirteenth dynasty, and Xoïs for the fourteenth, while the anonymous writer called Barbarus Scaligeri calls them Bubastites and Tanites. It is not impossible that both may be right in so far as both dynasties came out of the Delta, and that we have to interpret the name of Diospolites, given by Manetho to the thirteenth dynasty, as signifying natives not from Thebes, but from one of the cities of the Delta dedicated to Amon, whether it be the city called later Diospolis Parva or another.

In the list of the papyrus of Turin we find as the sixteenth the cartouche given on pl. xxxiii. I, G. In other texts it accompanies the prenomen of Sebekhotep. It occurs twice at Bubastis, in one case it is complete, in the other, two-thirds of it have been erased. I found also other fragments of the architrave, which gave part of the titles of the king



The inscription must have been hidden in the wall in the reconstruction of the temple, but the size of the characters and of the architrave on which they are engraved, indicates that it must have rested on pillars of large dimensions, another proof that the great columns already existed at that remote epoch. This cartouche has generally been considered as belonging to Sebekhotep I., a king known

to us through the inscriptions which he left on the rocks of Semneh in Nubia, and which record the height of the Nile in the three first years of his reign. Until now his name had never been discovered on a temple, nor even on a monument of large size. Judging from what was found at Bubastis, he must have been a builder.

It seems that the kings of the thirteenth dynasty, far from being Hyksos as Lepsius believed, at first endeavoured to follow the traditions of their glorious predecessors of the twelfth. They gave a great value to the possession of Nubia, and probably they made military expeditions into that country, since monuments of one of them have been found not far from Mount Barkal, in the island of Argo.² They belong to Sebekhotep III., who seems to have been the most powerful, and of whom there are several statues. One of them is at the Louvre ; it is nearly certain that it comes from Tanis, where its duplicate still exists,³ and one was discovered by Lepsius in the island of Argo. Looking at those monuments, one is struck at first sight by their great resemblance with the works of the twelfth dynasty. This likeness appears in the whole attitude, in the manner in which the hands are stretched quite flat on the legs, and chiefly in the style in which the lower part of the body, and especially the knees, have been worked. The sculptor has applied all his skill to the head, which was to be a portrait; but the legs are coarse, made with a kind of clumsiness, as it were, by a second-rate artist; the knee-pan is rudely indicated, the ankle is *

² Leps. Denkm. ii. 120-151. Rougé, Notice des monuments, pp. 15 et 16.

³ Rougé, Inscr. pi. 76. Petrie, Tanis i. pl. iii. p. 8

thick and roughly marked. These characteristics remind us not only of works of the twelfth dynasty, but also of statues several of which have been preserved, bearing the name of Rameses II. I shall mention only two. One is at Boston, and was discovered by Mr. Petrie at Nebesheh ; the other comes from Bubastis, and is now in the museum of Geneva (pl. xiv.).⁴ It is evident that this last one is not Rameses II.; the type of the face is quite different from the Ramessides, and in addition to other erasures, the sides of the throne have been diminished in order to engrave the name of the king. The head-dress is the same as on the Sebekhotep of the Louvre. The statue is in a remarkable state of preservation, there is only a slight piece of the nose which is wanting. It was broken in two at the waist. The base appeared already in my first excavations in 1887; but it was sunk deep in water, and I left it until I should have discovered the upper

part. The inundation of the following summer carried off the earth which covered the head; it had fallen forward close to the base, with the face in the soil. When it was raised and turned, the colours were seen quite fresh. The stripes of the diadem were painted alternately blue and yellow, and there were traces of red on the face. The colours soon vanished after they had been exposed to the air two or three days; but we had here a good example of the use which the Egyptians made of polychromy. They painted their statues even when they were made of black granite.

Thus I should attribute the Rameses of Geneva to a king of the thirteenth dynasty. The statue has a curious peculiarity. Seen from the side, in profile, the head seems disproportionate, and much too large for the torso, while the chest is somewhat hollow. This singularity may be seen also in a statue

which has the greatest likeness to the Rameses of Geneva ; it is at the British Museum, where it has been labelled Amenophis III., though it bears no hieroglyphical name.

If the kings of the thirteenth dynasty have been so powerful, and if they have carried their conquests so far as Upper Nubia, it is astonishing that they left so few monuments, and that their cartouches occur much more seldom than those of the twelfth. The reason of it seems to me that the thirteenth dynasty has been the object of a peculiar malevolence from the kings of the nineteenth. For a cause which we do not know, neither Seti I. nor his son Rameses considered the Sebekhoteps as legitimate kings, and they did not admit them in the royal lists which were engraved at Abydos and Sakkarah, no more than the Hyksos. The eighteenth dynasty, and especially Thothmes III., did not share the same feeling, as he mentions them in his list of Karnak. The hatred of Rameses and his family against the thirteenth dynasty may explain why its monuments are so scarce. From the destruction practised by the Ramessides, we possess only what has been saved either because the island of Argo was very far off, or because the inscription was hidden in a wall as in Bubastis, or because the old name had been thoroughly expunged. We must attribute to a fortunate neglect the good preservation of the statues of the Louvre and of Tanis. The result is that the thirteenth dynasty, which has played an important part in the history of Egypt, is among the least known. But we can hope to derive more information about it from careful researches among the materials with which the later temples were built, especially those of the nineteenth dynasty.

THE HYKSOS.

JOSEPHUS, quoting Manetho, gives the following version of the invasion of the Shepherds and of *

⁴ Another monument of the same kind is the Rameses of the Louvre, vid. Rougé, Notice des monuments, p. 19 and 20.

their conquest of Egypt:-" The so-called *Ti-maos* 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 Lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. He fortified more especially the eastern frontier, foreseeing, as he did, that the Assyrians, whose power was then at its height, would make an attempt to force their way into the Empire from that quarter. He found in the Sethroite nome a city particularly well adapted for that purpose, lying to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, called Avaris, after an old mythological fable. This he repaired and fortified with strong walls, and placed in it a garrison of 240,000 heavy-armed soldiers. In summer he visited it in person, for the purpose of recruiting them with a fresh supply of provisions, paying their salaries, and practising military exercises, by which to strike terror into the foreigners.

" He died after a reign of nineteen years, and was succeeded by another king, *Beon* by name, who reigned forty-four years. After him *Apachnas* reigned thirty-six years and seven months; then Apophis, sixty-one years; then *Ianias*, fifty years and one month; and lastly *Assis* forty-nine years and two months.

"These six "were their first rulers. They were continually at war, with a view of utterly exhausting the strength of Egypt. The general name of their people was Hyksos, which means "Shepherd Kings"; for Hyk signifies, in the sacred language, a king, and *Sos*, in the de

motiv, is *Shepherd* and *Shepherds*. Some say they were Arabs."

This is all that Manetho states, but Josephus adds :-" It is mentioned in another work that the word *Hyk* does not signify kings, but shepherd prisoners. *Hyk* or *Hak*, signifies in Egyptian, prisoners, and this seems to me more likely, and more in conformity with ancient history."

It is useless to repeat here all the opinions which have been expressed on this important and much controverted passage. Few texts have been the object of so much discussion. I shall only state what seems to be most plausible in the conflict of diverging views to which this part of the history of Egypt has given rise.

We do not know when the inroad took place; it is certain, however, that under the thirteenth dynasty, Egypt was still her own master; if the strangers had already entered the land, it was not as invaders nor as conquerors. In the obscure period of the fourteenth dynasty, when, according to the papyrus of Turin and Manetho, the kings succeeded each other at short intervals, after reigns which had not even the duration of one year, these "men from the east country, of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land." The contemptuous qualification applied by Manetho to the strangers, shows that they were not a distinct nation, whose name and original settlement were well known. They were more or less barbarous hordes driven from their native country, and over-running Egypt as the barbarians over-ran the Roman Empire. Their name has not been preserved; neither the Egyptian inscriptions nor the Greek writers mention it, although the Egyptian texts are most minute when they describe the adversaries of Rameses II. mustering at Kadesh, or the invaders who threatened the empire under Merenphthah or Rameses III. *

Whenever the Hyksos are spoken of it not by their name, they are described in vague words or even abusive epithets. They are the




Asiatic shepherds, or



the Aamu, the nomads of the

East,  *the shepherds,* or

even  *the plague or the pestilence.*

If therefore they had been a distinct nation or a confederacy such as Rameses II. had to fight, it would be strange that no specific name should be applied to them, and that nothing should connect them with a definite country known to the Egyptians. We are compelled to admit that they were an uncivilised multitude, under the command of chiefs, called in Egyptian $\begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \Delta \end{matrix}$ *hik*. They did not belong to the Semitic or to the Turanian stock alone ; to class them exclusively in one of these two races seems to me an error; they must be considered as a crowd of mixed origin, in which the two elements may be recognized. Their inroad into Egypt was probably not spontaneous, they were driven to the valley of the Nile by great events which took place in eastern Asia and led to the conquest of Egypt. It is in eastern Asia that we must look for the cause of the invasion of the Hyksos, and on this obscure point an unexpected light has been thrown by Assyriology.

The Assyriologists agree in stating that, from a remote epoch, Chaldaea received in succession and retained on her productive soil ethnical elements of various origins,⁶ which in the end were mingled together. Semites, Kuschites or Kossaeans have met in this region; they quarrelled for the dominion; each in turn reigned over the other; and at last they formed a population of a mixed character. It is a matter of discussion which of the races has been the oldest, and which has brought the civilization to the other. The question has

not yet been solved ; but the fact is undisputed that Chaldsea is one of the countries where the different races have been fused together at the earliest epoch.

There is a remarkable coincidence between the events which took place in Mesopotamia and the invasion of the Hyksos. In the year 2280, the King of the Elamites, Khudur Nakhunta, over-ran Chaldsea, which he conquered and pillaged. As a trophy of his victory, he carried to his capital the statue of Nana, the goddess of the city of Unikh. To this act of sacrilegious robbery we are indebted

for the knowledge of the campaign of Khudur Nakhunta. For, 1635 years later, Assurbanipal conquered Susa, and restored the statue to the temple from which it had been taken. It must have been one of the high deeds of the campaign in which Assurbanipal took pride, for in the inscription which relates the defeat of Elam, he twice refers to the sacrilege of Khudur Nakhunta, "who did not worship the great gods, and who in his wickedness trusted to his own strength."⁷ We see here, what we shall notice also in reference to the Hyksos, that the chief cause of hatred and antipathy between the two nations was diversity of religion. They did not worship the same gods ; it was enough to make them enemies, and more than 1600 years afterwards, the people of Accad had not lost the tradition of the misdeeds of the Elamites against their gods.

If Mesopotamia was twenty-two centuries B.C. the scene of great wars and bloody invasions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the effect was felt as far as the banks of the Nile. The waves raised by the storm which came from Elam overflowed Egypt. In Mesopotamia there have always been nomad as well as a settled population. From there a multitude, not much advanced in civilization, and of mixed origin, thus justifying to a certain degree the predicate of " ignoble " given them by *



⁶ Perrot et Chipiez, Assyrie, p. 17


⁷ Lenormant, Hist. anc. iv. 93.


Manetho, was driven out by the mountaineers of Elam, and it pushed on as far as Egypt. It is evident that here we launch out into conjecture ; but this hypothesis seems to me to account in the best way for the few facts on which we can argue. "Phoenicians" or "Arabs" are the geographical names assigned to the Hyksos by Manetho and Josephus ; " Phoenicians " meaning, in my opinion, invaders coming through Palestine, which was the natural way; as for the term " Arabs," it may be synonymous with that of " nomads." One fact remains, the absence in the Egyptian inscrip-



tions of a specific name connecting the Hyksos with a definite country, while they are always mentioned by vague and general epithets-*the eastern shepherds*, the nomads, and the like. Such qualifications may very well apply to a wandering crowd without fixed residence, which, after having perhaps made several intermediate stations, came down upon Egypt and conquered it without great difficulty.


The name Hyksos, given them by Manefcho, is of recent formation, and certainly later than the campaigns of Seti I. and Rameses II. in Syria. It does not occur in this form in the Egyptian inscriptions; but it is certain that it is formed in a regular way, and it reminds one of other words of the same kind. Egyptologists are divided with respect to the interpretation to be given to the name. Some, like Prof. Krall,⁸ adopt the translation of Josephus,


and derive it from the word  *hak*, meaning a *prisoner*. It would thus be a term of contempt, such as we often meet with. 

hak n Shasu, the *Shasu prisoners*, or *bound with chains*, αἰχμάλωτοι ποιμένες would be like the *vile Kheta*, and other expressions of the same nature. It may be objected that the word  *hak* employed as an epithet, but always applies to actual prisoners. Once, for instance when it precedes the name of the Shasu, we see on the sculpture the captives tied by the elbows and brought to Egypt. I believe, with the majority of Egyptologists, that the other interpretation is the best, and


that the first syllable of the word Hyksos must be derived from the Egyptian  a *prince* or a *chief*. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the whole nation is called the *chiefs of the Shasu*. We have an expression quite parallel in a papyrus of the twelfth dynasty. The wanderer Saneha, after having settled in the land of Tenu, is obliged to repel the chiefs of the mountains


 *hiku setu*. There the word *chief* evidently refers to the whole tribe of highbinders. Let us replace the word 

setu,  by *Shasu*, and we have the expression Hyksos. As for the second part of the word, it clearly comes from

the word  the best translation of which is *nomad* or *shepherd*, and which became the Coptic $\Omega\Omega\Gamma$, a *shepherd*.

The Shasu were vagrants, the Bedouins of the present day, wandering over the eastern portion of Egypt, in the desert, the crossing of which they endangered. If the word


 is not very ancient in Egypt, as Prof. Krall observes, it is because of its Semitic origin. It is connected with the word $\eta\sigma\psi$, to *pillage*, and it was introduced into Egypt under the New Empire, when the Semitic words were adopted in abundance.

Thus in the 23rd century B.C. nomad tribes coming from Mesopotamia, and ruled by  chiefs, overran Egypt, and took possession of the Delta. The conquest was facilitated, if not by anarchy, at least by the instability and the *

8 Aeg. Studien, ii. p. 69 et seq. De Cara, Gli Hyksos, p. 212 et seq.

9 Pap. de Berlin, i. 1. 98. Leps. Koenigsb. pl. 2G.

weakness of the royal power. They advanced probably as far as Memphis. Undoubtedly the invasion was marked by the acts of savagery and the depredations with which Manetho reproaches the Hyksos. It has always been the case in eastern wars, especially when an uncivilized nation fell upon a land like Egypt, the wealth and fertility of which contrasted with the neighbouring countries, and still more with the desert. But the superiority of the

civilized race was not long before becoming prevalent. The Egyptians compelled their conquerors to submit to their habits and customs. The invaders adopted the civilization of their subjects in all but the religion. "We may even suppose that when they settled in the land, the Hyksos maintained the Egyptian administration. The officials, who were always very numerous in Egypt, and who in their inscriptions take as first title  *scribe* or *writer*, must necessarily have been natives, as they alone knew the language, the writing, and the customs of the country. It was so at the time of the Arab conquest; the officials remained the same as before, they were Copts.¹ But we have a more striking example, which proves that it was usual with Oriental conquerors to do so. The cuneiform tablets newly discovered at Tell el Amarna, contain reports directed to the King of Egypt by the governors of the cities of Syria and Palestine, which had been subdued by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and which were thus under Egyptian dominion. These reports are written

in Babylonian, a language then current in Eastern Asia, and which the King of Egypt understood but imperfectly, as he was obliged to have recourse to a dragoman who interpreted the letters of the kings of Mesopotamia. It is clear that the governors who wrote the reports were not Egyptians, they were natives to whom Thothmes or Amenophis had left their appointment.

In the same way we see that the Assyrian kings, who conquered Egypt, gave native princes as governors to the great cities. It was not different at the time of the Hyksos invasion. After a time of warfare and disturbance, the length of which we cannot appreciate, the country settled down and resumed an appearance very similar to what it had been before. The worship alone was different. Thus the continuity was preserved in the progress of Egyptian civilization. There is only a slight difference between the New Empire and the Middle, for the Hyksos had not put an end to the former state of things. Under their rule there was a weakening in the life of the nation, a kind of temporary pause in its artistic and intellectual growth; but as the root of the tree had not been cut off, it very soon shot forth new branches. At the same time, as the chief discrepancy between the Hyksos and their subjects lay in religion, it explains the persisting hatred of the Egyptians against the invaders, who were always considered as impure and barbarians, because they were hostile to the gods of the land.

Manetho, quoted by Josephus, informs us that the Hyksos reigned over Egypt 511 years, and that their kings formed the fifteenth and sixteenth dynasties. Africanus² assigns to their dominion a duration of 518 years. It is hardly possible to reconcile the dates supplied by the various chronographers at this obscure period. The two sources from which we derive the most extensive information are Josephus and Africanus, who establish in the following way the list of the kings.

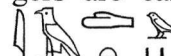
JOSEPHUS.	AFRICANUS.
Salatis.	Saites.
Beon.	Bnon.
Apachnas.	Pachnan.
Apophis.	Staan.
Ianias or Annas	Archles.
Assis.	Aphobis. *

¹Petrie, Tanis ii. p. 16.


²Erman, Zeitschr. 1880, p. 125.

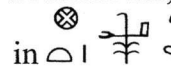
In both authors these kings are indicated as being the first; they are called by Africanus the fifteenth dynasty, to which another, the sixteenth, is said to have followed. But, not to speak of the fact that other authors, like Eusebius or the Old Chronicle, do not mention this subsequent dynasty, the statement of the two chronographers is contradicted by the Egyptian texts ; for we shall see that the king called here Apophis or Aphobis is one of the last, perhaps even the very last Hyksos king, who had to fight the native princes of the seventeenth dynasty. We are thus compelled to admit that there is an inversion in the statement of the chronographers, and we consider the kings of whom they give a list as the sixteenth dynasty.

It is in a papyrus of the British Museum, called Saltier I., that the mention of a Hyksos king has first been discovered. This document, which was translated by Brugsch, E. de Rougé, Goodwin, Chabas, has been the object of much discussion. Quite recently it has been translated anew by Maspero, who denies to the narrative it contains, a historical character, and considers it as a tale or a legend, the end of which has unfortunately been lost. It probably related the beginning of the war between the Hyksos king and his native rival, the prince of Thebes. In spite of its legendary appearance we gather from the document important information. We see that the strangers are called by the offensive epithet of

 *the impure, or the plague* ; they are governed by the king, *Apepi*, who resides

in Avaris,  and who adopted for his god  *Sutekh*,

exclusive of all others. His adversary is King *Sekenen-Ra*,  who resides

in  *the city of the south*, Thebes.

A further step in the knowledge of the Hyksos was made by the discoveries of Mariette in his excavations at San (Tanis) in 1860. On the arms of two colossi representing a king of the thirteenth or fourteenth dynasty, he found engraved the cartouches of Apepi,

which he at first deciphered incorrectly, but which must be read as follows :-





the good god, Raakenen, the son of Ha, Apepi.

This inscription alone is sufficient to show that in his time the Hyksos were no more the fierce conquerors described by Manetho. They did not destroy the temples, since they wrote their names on the statues made for their native predecessors, and dedicated to the native gods. Besides, though they were worshippers of Set or Sutekh, they considered themselves as sons of Ra, the solar god.

At the same time as the cartouches, Mariette discovered other monuments to which the name of Hyksos has since been applied. They consist of four sphinxes, originally placed on both sides of the avenue leading to the centre of the temple. These sphinxes have a human head surrounded by a very thick and tufted mane. As for the face it has a type quite different from the Egyptian. The nose is wide and aquiline, the cheek-bones are high and strongly marked, the mouth projecting, with stout lips and fleshy corners. At first sight it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that we have here the image of a foreign race, and an art which is not purely Egyptian. No doubt the artist who sculptured them was Egyptian, the workmanship has all the characteristics of native art; but on the faces, which are portraits, we see that the originals belonged to another race, and they clearly betray a foreign element.


Mariette from the first attributed them to the Hyksos, and he was confirmed in his opinion by the fact that on the right shoulder of each sphinx is an inscription hammered out, but

where he could decipher the sign of *



the god *Set*, and the words , the good god. The whole was so like the inscriptions of Apepi that he did not hesitate in reading his name on the sphinxes, and even in attributing their execution to his reign. Since then these monuments have always been called Hyksos. Several others of the same style have been added to the sphinxes ; viz. at San a group of two standing figures with long hair, and holding offerings of fishes and lotus-flowers; the bust of a king discovered in the Fayoom, and another which Lenormant found in a collection at Rome.

The opinion of Mariette which was admitted at first with great favour, has not remained uncontradicted. It is beyond dispute that these monuments are at least as old as the Hyksos, in spite of the numerous usurpations which they have undergone, even as late as the twenty-first dynasty, and of which they still bear traces. But are they really Hyksos? The question is very much debated, and we shall revert to it presently. It is nearly certain that Apepi was not the author, but the first usurper of the sphinxes. The king who dedicated the monuments would not have engraved his name on the shoulder; the inscription would not be in lightly cut characters at a place where it more or less defaces the statue. However, the usurpation may have been made on the work of another Hyksos. The fact that it was not for Apepi that the sphinxes were sculptured does not imply that it was not for another king of the same race.


Ra aa Kenen is not the only Hyksos ruler who had the premen of Apepi. There is another Apepi whose coronation name is


 *Ra aa user*, and who is known through the mathematical papyrus of the British Museum.³ We are compelled to admit that there are two Apepis, unless this last coronation name be only a variant of the first, which would not be

³ Eisenlohr. Proc. Bibl. Arch. 1881, p. 97.

impossible, since they differ only by the last word  instead of  *power* instead of *strength*, the sense of both words is nearly identical.

In order to complete the list of Hyksos kings, known or supposed to be so, before the excavation of Bubastis, I have to mention the king

 *Set Nubti* of the famous tablet of the year 400 ; and the name which Dévéria read on the Bagdad lion now

at the British Museum,  *Ra Set noub*. The first is probably not a historical king, but only the god Set; as for the second name, it is a false reading, and we shall see further that this sovereign must be struck out of the list of the Egyptian rulers.

Until now the city which was pre-eminently called Hyksos, was Tanis, There the name of Apepi had been discovered as well as the sphinxes, there also we know that Rameses II. dedicated monuments to Set or Sutekh, the god of the foreign invaders. Thus we could justly consider Tanis as their capital. E. de Rougé even suggested that Tanis was another name for Avaris, the fortified city mentioned by Manetho in his narrative. We did not expect that the result of our excavations would be to reveal the greatest likeness between Tanis and Bubastis. This last city has also been an important settlement of the stranger kings; they raised there constructions at least as large as in the northern city ; there also Rameses II. preserved the worship of the alien divinity.

On the way from the second hall to the hypostyle, close to the place of the first columns, I discovered a fragment of a doorpost in red granite, on which originally stood an inscription in two columns. Pl. xxii. A gives an idea of the size of the inscription, which is in quite different proportions from that of Tanis. It has been hammered out; nevertheless, it is quite legible. Close by was a second fragment, which *

evidently was the coronation name, but the erasure is so complete, that there is only a part of the line left which, surrounded the cartouche. On one side of the inscription we read (pl. xxxv. c), the son of Ra, Apepi, and on the other, he raised pillars⁴ in great numbers, and bronze doors to this god. We do not know who is meant by this god; we cannot even assert that it is Set. On another stone walled in the first hall we found the beginning of the titles of Apepi (pl. xxxv. B), such as they are indicated on an altar in the museum of Ghizeh.⁵ We learn from these two texts that Apepi made constructions in his reign. It is not a mere usurpation as we found on the monument of Tanis; it is a document inscribed with his name and recording that he increased the temple of Bubastis. The size of the inscription which relates it shows that his work must have been of importance. Once more we recognize the entirely Egyptian form of the work made by the foreign rulers. They have quite assumed the garb of the native Pharaohs. They are called sons of Ra; the epithet of $\Delta \uparrow$ giving life or everlasting follows their cartouches, and the titles of Apepi are similar to those of the twelfth dynasty.

Close to the doorpost, and nearly touching it, stood, a little lower, the base of a statue in black granite, of natural size (pl. xii.). The statue, which is sitting, is broken at the waist; the two hands are stretched on the knees as in the statues of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties; a narrow baud falls between the legs. The style is vigorous; the muscles of the knee are

strongly marked, but worked with care; the workmanship reminds us either of the great statues of which we shall speak further, or of the statues of Turin bearing the name of

⁴ Brugsch, Dict. hier. p. 1068, gives the word $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \rightarrow$ which; he translates *masts*. I give here to the word $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ a wider sense- *pillars*. There was in the temples of

Panopolis and Memphis a hall called $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \otimes$
⁵ Mar. Mon. divers, pl. 38.

Thothmes III., which undoubtedly are usurped. The feet rest on the nine bows. In spite of the most active and persevering researches we could not find the upper part of the statue. If it has not been destroyed it may be in some European collection. Fortunately both sides of the throne, along the legs, are nearly intact, and have preserved the name of a king at present unknown (pl. xxxv. A). This king, who styles himself the Horus crowned with the schent, does not take the title of, $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, like the kings of the twelfth dynasty. He is simply $\uparrow \uparrow$ the good god, and $\uparrow \uparrow$ the son of Ra. The standard is $\downarrow \Delta \uparrow \uparrow$ he who embraces territories. It is followed by the two cartouches.




The first must be read *User en Ra*.








The sign, which is usually written \uparrow has here a peculiar form. Its reading is assured, because it occurs as a variant in the first cartouche of Rameses II.⁶



The second must in my opinion be read *Ra-ian* or rather *Ian-Ra*. Mr. Petrie⁷ has proposed the reading *Khyan*, taking the upper disk as a \ominus and not as a solar disk, and laying stress upon the fact that in this cartouche the disk is entirely hollowed out, which it is not in the other, and in the expression $\uparrow \uparrow$. It may be answered that on the same side, just above the second cartouche, the solar disk which accompanies the hawk is also hollowed out, and made exactly like that of the cartouche. Moreover, there is a manifest intention of making the solar disk conspicuous at the top *

⁶ Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. ii. pl. 2. Leps. Koenigsb. pl. 33.

⁷ Mr. Petrie quotes two cylinders, one of which is in Athens, the other belongs to Prof. Lanzone. The paper impressions of the cylinder of Athens, which Mr. Griffith kindly sent to me, show a flattened disk, or even an \ominus , but not a \ominus . As for the cylinder of Prof. Lanzone, I have seen it and examined it carefully with the owner. It bears a totally different name, much longer, in which occurs an \ominus besides several indistinct signs.

of the cartouche, as is always the case, so that there may be a perfect symmetry between both cartouches as in the name of Apries. The sign  is clearly too short, the sculptor was obliged to put it in as he could. It seems that the artist began to engrave the cartouche in the lower part, with the eagle, to which he allowed too large a space, so that there was


not sufficient room left for the signs  in regular proportions. If he had not been bound to put  at the top of the cartouche, isolated as must be done for the name of Ra-in other words, if the disk had been a  *kh* instead of *Ra*  nothing prevented him from writing the  on the side of the , and beginning the cartouche  with as is always the case with the cartouche of Xerxes.

Another curious peculiarity to be noticed is the dedication of the statue. Ian-Ra has dedicated it to himself, to his *double* or to his *image*. He is himself his own worshipper. Where is the place of king Ian-Ra? In which dynasty are we to classify him? Is he a Hyksos, or does he belong to a native family? The first cartouche is very like a well-known one, if we do not take into consideration a graphic detail. The letter  *s*, which we should take as a complement of the sign  is written before, as if we had here an intensive verb, and that the word should be read *suser*. We might take it as a mere caprice of the artist, if the same peculiarity did not occur on the other monument where this cartouche is written, the Bagdad lion. I believe, therefore, that we cannot identify it with the cartouche








User en Ra, which belonged to two kings of an very different epochs. It is found in the list of Karnak, the exact order of which is difficult to establish, among kings extending from the eleventh to the eighteenth dynasty.⁸ It is also the coronation name of

⁸ Lepsius classified it in the eleventh.

king An,  of the fifth dynasty,⁹ who seems to have had special titles to the reverence of posterity, since, many centuries after his reign, the king Usertesen I. of the twelfth dynasty dedicated to him a statue now in the British Museum. In both cases the graphic variant of the cartouche of Bubastis does not exist, and we cannot identify our king with any of those two, especially not with the king of the fifth dynasty.

As it has been pointed out, first by Mr. Griffith, it is impossible not to recognize the cartouche of Bubastis in the inscription engraved on the chest of the small lion from Bagdad, now at the British Museum.¹ It has been slightly hammered out, but since we can compare the cartouche to another which is quite legible, the identity of both is striking.

The  is easily recognizable, as well as the head, and the lower part of the  equally. As the form of the sign is unusual, one could suppose it was the god Set , though the head is not that of the god. The  below has been widened by the erasure, and was interpreted as  *nub*. The result is that the king *Ra Set nub*, whom Dévéria believed he had discovered on the lion, rests only on an erroneous reading, and as I said must be struck out of the lists of the kings.

The cartouche of the Bagdad lion is not engraved on the shoulder as with the sphinxes of Tanis, but on the chest, in the place where according to all probabilities the king for whom the monument was made would have had his name written. We may therefore safely conclude that it was under Ian-Ra's reign, and for him that the lion was sculptured. This lion is particularly interesting to us,


because it is a monument of the Hyksos style. The head is not human, it is that of the animal, but the mane is exactly similar to the sphinxes *



⁹ Lepsius, Answahl, pl. ix.

¹ Vid. Dévéria, Rev. Arch. 1861, ii. p. 256. Tomkins Abraham, p. 160. Maspero, Introd. aux mon. divers de Mariette, p. 21.



of Tanis. Thus we have at last a Hyksos monument, the author and dedicator of which is well established. Ian-Ra had monuments made for him in the foreign style which has been considered as the work of the Hyksos. This very important fact induces us to make a step farther. Is Ian-Ra not the author of the sphinxes of Tanis, which Mariette contended to have belonged to Apepi, but which existed before this king? Apepi inscribed his name on the shoulder, in a place indicating that the monument had on the chest another name which he did not wish to erase, and which we do not see now, because a later king, of the twenty-first dynasty, Psusennes, destroyed it altogether and replaced it by his own. It is natural to suppose that the name which Apepi respected was Ian-Ra, since we have another monument of the same style as the sphinxes bearing it at the regular place.

Another curious feature of this important inscription is the dedication. It is well known that on statues or obelisks the name of the god in honour of whom the monument is made, is found at the end, after the name of the dedica-

tor, and followed by the word  *who loves, who worships*. It is useless to quote here instances of which there are hundreds. But here occurs the extraordinary circumstance that Ian-Ra is worshipper of his own person:

 *he loves, he worships his double, his own image*. It reminds us of what is related in several texts, of the ungodliness of the Hyksos. The inscription of Stabl Antar says (1.3.),  *they reigned, ignoring Ra*, meaning hereby in hostility against Ra, although the god appears in their names and titles. The Sallier papyrus is still more explicit in its statement. It relates that with the exception of Sutekh, none of the gods of Egypt received the worship which was due to them, while the king Apepi was a fervent adorer of the foreign divinity. Clearly there was a great difference as to religion between the Hyksos and the Egyptians, who considered the strangers as impious and as enemies of their own gods. Since Set or Sutekh was the divinity of

the foreign dynasty, it is extraordinary that his name does not appear on the statue of Ian-Ra, who seems to have had no other god than himself. This circumstance corroborates the idea recently put forward by the Rev. Father De Cara. The learned Jesuit suggests that the worship of Set was instituted by Apepi, and that from this important event of his reign dates the era mentioned on the famous tablet of the year 400, dedicated by Rameses II. It would explain why the name of Set is absent from the statue of Ian-Ra while it exists in the inscriptions of the sphinxes of Tanis. Perhaps Apepi had not yet achieved his great religious reform when he erected at Bubastis the great constructions, the mention of which has been preserved. They were made in honour of

 *this god*, we do not know which, for it would be rash to draw any conclusion from the spot where the stones have been unearthed. In a temple which has been overthrown so often and so completely as Bubastis, no conclusive evidence may be derived from the vicinity of two stones. Because the doorpost with the name of Apepi and dedicated to  *this god*, was close to the statue of Ian-Ra, the worshipper of himself, we cannot infer that the divinity which Apepi had in mind was the same Ian-Ra, whom he might have worshipped as his ancestor or as a deified predecessor. This hypothesis, without being impossible, is not very probable. Nevertheless, in this strange dedication of the statue of Ian-Ra, there is a characteristic feature which is not in conformity with what we usually see in the truly Egyptian statues; and in my opinion it is another proof that Ian-Ra was a Hyksos. I believe even that Ian-Ra is one of the kings mentioned by Josephus as *Ἰανιάς* *

or Ἀννάς which, must perhaps be read Ἰαννάς.



To the epoch of the Hyksos belong the two finest monuments discovered at Bubastis—one of which is at the museum of Ghizeh, and the other at the British Museum—I mean the two colossal sitting statues in black granite—which were placed near each other on the east side of the temple at the entrance of the first hall, and both on the same side of the great columns which adorned the doorway. Unfortunately they are in pieces. It has been impossible to find even one of them complete. The first fragment which appeared was the top of a headdress, wearing the royal asp; the forehead was attached to the diadem, and the head had been broken horizontally, at the height of the eyes, which were hollowed out. A few strokes on the eye lids look like lashes, and they may have produced the illusion when seen from below, for it is not certain that the hollow of the eyes was inlaid with other material. A few days afterwards the lower part of the head was unearthed (pl. xi.), and we recognized directly the type of the sphinxes of Tanis—the same high and strongly marked cheek-bone, while the cheeks are rather hollow, the projecting mouth with stout lips and the fleshy protuberances at the corners. The nose, which has been preserved nearly in its whole length, is wide, strong at its origin, and aquiline. This time it was not a sphinx which had been found, it was a royal head, dressed as we often see the kings of the twelfth or the thirteenth dynasty.

At a few feet distance we came across the lower part of the legs of a colossal statue in black granite, which evidently was part of the same monument (pl. iv. and xxv. D). But when, the infiltration water having receded, we were able to excavate, we quite unexpectedly came upon the lower part of the torso and the knees which belonged to this base, besides another base of the same size and of the same workmanship, lying on its side (pl. xxvi. B). It was clear that there were two twin statues, and as we had the head of one, we could reasonably hope to find the other. It happened two days afterwards. The second head was discovered in a much better state of preservation than the first; it is now in the

British Museum (pl. i. and x.) Thus the entrance of the temple of Bubastis was adorned with two colossal statues of the same size exactly, which had been most wantonly destroyed, so that it was not possible to reconstitute one of them, in spite of the most careful researches. Pl. xxvi. B exhibits the manner in which the fragments were placed when they were first exposed to light. It shows two fragments of the statue of the British Museum, the lower part of the torso and the knees, which are one block, and the extremity of the legs, which had been seen first. The head was a little deeper, close to the knees, and deeper still the toes; but the statue could not be completed, the upper part of the torso from the waist to the neck has disappeared. The other base was lying on its side. "When it was dragged out of the mud, we found that it had been split in two from top to bottom, so that there is only one leg left. The fragment has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh, with the head first discovered; it is all that remains of that statue. Pl. xxiv. D shows the base after it had been raised. There is the greatest likeness in the workmanship between this base and the statue of Ian-Ra. Unfortunately on neither of the two colossi have we been able to discover the name of the king whom they represent.

Looking at the two heads together one notices that the type is the same; the foreign characteristics which belong to the Hyksos face are marked as much in one as in the other; but there is not identity between the two faces. The head of the British Museum is the image of a younger man. It is not so full as that of Ghizeh; on the whole it has a more juvenile appearance. It may be that they are *

the portraits of two different men, for instance a father and a son ; but it is possible also that it is the same man at two epochs of his life, one young, perhaps, when he had but shortly ascended the throne, the other when he was more advanced in years. Notwithstanding minute examinations of the two statues, we could not find out the name of the king or the kings whose likenesses they are. The photograph of the base of Ghizeh shows two successive erasures (pl. xxiv. D). The group of the two Niles is of the style of the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, and such as we recognized before on monuments of that time. Above it Rameses II. had engraved his name. His standard is still extant; it was adopted later by Osorkon II. The part which was hammered out most deeply was the place of the cartouches, which were transformed or engraved with the name of Osorkon II. This king usurped both statues. His name and his titles may be seen on the base of the one at the British Museum. The place where the name of the king who erected the statues must have stood, is the edge of the throne, along the legs on both sides. There the base of the British Museum shows a very deep erasure, where we

can still distinguish at" the top  and  between the cartouches. At Ghizeh the signs of the coronation name of Rameses II. are nearly all discernible, but so deep that it cannot have been the original inscription.

It is only conjecturally that we can assign a name to these statues; and what seems most natural is to give them the same as to the Sphinxes of Tanis. It may be either Apepi or Ian-Ra. Apepi, we know through his inscription, made such large constructions at Bubastis that he may well have desired to leave his portrait in the temple. As for Ian-Ra we have no proof that he built much, but we know that he had monuments of the same kind sculptured for him.

Thus after having much hesitated myself, I am brought back by my excavations to the opinion of Mariette, and I believe that the monuments which he assigned to the Hyksos

are really the work of the foreign kings. It seems well established that they are later than the twelfth dynasty, with which they have no likeness in the type. The same may be said of the thirteenth; neither the Sebekhoteps, nor Neferhotep, nor one of the least known Mer-mashu of Tanis have the strange features of the sphinxes or of the two statues of Bubastis. There remains the fourteenth dynasty, the history of which is nearly unknown, and the Hyksos. But if the fourteenth is a dynasty of native princes, as we hear from Manetho, why should they have given to their statues and sphinxes a decidedly strange character ? Is it not more natural to suppose that the Asiatic type was introduced into Egypt by the Asiatics themselves ? Is the coincidence not sufficiently striking that we may conclude that it proceeded from a common origin ? Now the limits of the problem have been very much narrowed. We have the choice only between the fourteenth dynasty and the Hyksos. We do not know when the fourteenth dynasty began, nor can we tell when the thirteenth ended; but the scanty information which we possess does not point between the two to an abrupt and sudden change, such as would have been produced by a foreign invasion. Admitting even with Manetho that the first was Diospolite, and the second Xoie, this circumstance does not account for such a deep alteration in the type, nor for such an obviously foreign character in the features of the face. Therefore the conclusion to which Mariette had arrived seems to me by far the most satisfactory, and I consider that the group of monuments to which he gave the name of Hyksos really belongs to them.

However, the share which they have contributed in works such as the great statues, is merely the type, the character of the face. All that regards the execution, the technical side,

*

is essentially Egyptian, even the attitude. The Shepherd kings employed native artists for making their portraits. They had submitted to the Egyptian civilization. They had yielded to the ascendancy which a superior race will always exert on less civilized invaders; but we may understand their desire that their foreign origin should be recorded somewhere, and nothing could show it as well as a good portrait. It is obvious that the artist endeavoured to give an exact likeness of the king; it is shown by the great difference which exists between the head and the lower part of the body, where the hand of a less clever sculptor is easily traceable. Certainly under the Hyksos Egyptian art had not degenerated. The two heads of Bubastis are among the most beautiful monuments which have been preserved. It is impossible not to admire the vigour of the work as well as the perfection with which the features are modelled. There is something harder, even perhaps more brutal than in the type of the Ramessides, whose features are more refined and gracious; but it comes from the difference in the originals, which did not belong to the same race.

After a long circuit we thus return to our starting point, and we inquire again, where was the native of country the Hyksos? consulting instead of historical documents, the ethnological characters which may appear on the monuments. On this point we find a nearly complete agreement between two of the most eminent ethnologists of the present day—Prof. Flower in England, and Prof. Virchow in Germany. The illustrious German saw the head now belonging to the British Museum on the spot, a few days after it had been discovered, and he published a drawing of it in a paper read at the Berlin Academy. Prof. Virchow was struck at first sight by the foreign character of the features, but he added that it was very difficult to give their precise ethnological definition. "It may be," says he, "that the models of these heads were Turanians, but I should not be able to say which." Prof. Flower expresses himself in a more positive way on the Mongoloid affinities of the

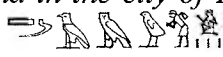
Hyksos. There is nothing in these statements which is not in perfect harmony with the historical facts which are mentioned above, as having been the cause of the invasion of the Hyksos. The presence of a Turanian race in Mesopotamia at a remote epoch is no more questioned by most Assyriologists. It does not mean that the whole bulk of the invaders, the entire population which settled in Egypt, was of Turanian origin. It would be contrary to well-established historical facts. It is certain that all that remained in Egypt of the Hyksos, in the language, in the worship, in the name of Aamu, by which they were called, everything points to a decidedly Semitic influence. But the kings may very well not have been Semites. How often do we see in eastern monarchies and even in European states a difference of origin between the ruling class, to which the royal family belongs, and the mass of the people. We need not leave Western Asia and Egypt; we find there Turks ruling over nations to the race of which they do not belong, although they have adopted their religion. In the same way as the Turks of Bagdad, who are Finns, now reign over Semites, Turanian kings may have led into Egypt and governed a population of mixed origin where the Semitic element was prevalent. If we consider the mixing up of races which took place in Mesopotamia in remote ages, the invasions which the country had to suffer, the repeated conflicts of which it was the theatre, there is nothing extraordinary that populations coming out of this land should have presented a variety of races and origins. Therefore I believe that though we cannot derive a direct evidence from ethnological considerations, they do not oppose the opinion stated above that the starting point of the invasion of the Hyksos must be looked for in*

Mesopotamia, and the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds was the consequence of the inroads of the Elamites into the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

IT is undoubtedly to the kings of the eighteenth dynasty that we must give the credit of having begun the war against the Hyksos, and having embarked in a struggle which ended in the deliverance of the country from the yoke of the foreign dynasty. However, notwithstanding their great and persevering efforts, Ahmes and Sekenen-Ra did not succeed in achieving this arduous task. The invaders were finally driven out by the kings who followed, and who were not their immediate successors. The writers who have discussed this subject seem to me to have attached too much importance to the campaign related in the famous inscription of Ahmes. The general tells us that under King Ahmes I. the City of Avaris was besieged and conquered, and that the expedition was pushed as far as Sharohan, on the frontier of Palestine. This narrative, engraved in his tomb, has often been considered as describing the final deliverance of Egypt, which, however, does not seem to have been realized as early as the seventeenth dynasty. It is probable that if the Delta had been occupied in a stable and permanent manner by the kings of the seventeenth dynasty, and by the first sovereign of the eighteenth, some traces of their dominion would have remained in the country, whereas, on the contrary, it is remarkable fact that, before the excavations at the Bubastis, no monument of their time had been discovered in the Delta. In every place where excavations have been made, either by our predecessors or by ourselves, if not statues or larger monuments, at least names have been discovered of the twelfth dynasty, of the thirteenth, or even of much more

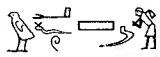
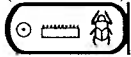
ancient kings belonging to the fourth or the fifth; but nothing lie whatever of the seventeenth or of the eighteenth. Except the serpent of Benha, now in the museum of Ghizeh, and which dates from Amenophis III., before our discoveries at Bubastis no monument of the Delta could be attributed with certainty to those princes. It would be extraordinary, however, that wherever, an excavation has been made, at Tanis, Pithom, Nebesheh, Tell Mokdam, Khataanah, Tell el Yahoodieh, Saft el Henneh, especially in the localities where ancient monuments have been discovered, precisely those of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties should have disappeared. But we have discovered at Bubastis Amenophis II., and two of his successors and at the same time the fellaheen unearthed at Samanood a large tablet bearing, the names of Amenophis IV. and Horemheb.

The explanation of these facts seems to me quite natural. In an inscription at Stabl Antar, which describes her high deeds, the queen Hashepsu, the sister and guardian of the younger brother, Thotmes III., speaks in this way:¹ *I restored what was in ruins, and I built up again what had remained (uncompleted) when the Aamu, were in the midst of Egypt of the North, and in the city of Hauar, and when the Sheperds*  *among them had destroyed the (ancient) works. They reigned ignoring Ra, and disobeying his divine commands, until I sat down on the throne of Ra.* Making allowance for the exaggeration which is usual in an Egyptian inscription, the passage seems to establish that order was far from being restored in the Delta when the queen ascended the throne; edifices ruined by the Aamu, the subjects of Apepi, had not yet been rebuilt, and probably an administrative organization could hardly be said to exist. However, before her reign, Ahmes, Amenophis I., Thothmes I., had carried*

¹ Golénischeff, Recueil de Travaux, vol. iii. p. 2, vol. vi. l. 36 et suiv. De Cara, Hyksos, p. 271.

war into Syria and even as far as Mesopotamia, and could not have done it without marching through the Delta. We must admit that their wars had not been sufficient to overthrow and finally destroy the Asiatics, who may have had a party in Egypt. But it was different with the conquest of Thotmes III., which had a lasting result, since we know from the tablets of Tell el Amarna, that under his successors Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., Syria and part of Mesopotamia were still tributary to Egypt.

The first campaign of Thotmes III. was directed against the hereditary foes of his empire, the Syrians and Asiatic nomads; and in order to assert his triumph over his formidable enemies, and to perpetuate its remembrance, he built in the land of *Remenen* a fort or castle, which he called *Menkheperra* (*Thotmes*) *subdues the nomads*



² This name is very significant when it is connected with the information derived from the inscription of Hashepsu. Moreover, immediately after Thotmes III. the monuments appear again in the Delta, and the most ancient is the stone discovered at Bubastis. These different facts have led me to conclude with Lepsius that it was Thotmes III. who finally delivered Egypt from the Hyksos, and who secured the country against their invasions; for it is certain that a part of the people remained in the land and accepted the dominions of the Pharaohs.

This opinion on the work of Thotmes III. seems to me confirmed by the very corrupt passage in which Manetho, quoted by Josephus, relates the expulsion of the Hyksos. It is said, that under a king whose name must be read *Misphragmuthosis*, the Shepherds were driven out of Egypt, and took refuge in the city of Avaris.³ I have suggested

² Brugsch, Rec. pl. xliii. Aegypt. p. 328

³ Ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέων ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι Ἰμισφραγμούθωσις ἡττωνοὺς φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον... Ἀβαριν. Muller, Fragm. ii. p. 567.

elsewhere⁴ that the word *Misphragmuthosis* consists in two different names fused in one – *Misaphris* or *Mesphres* and *Thouthmosis*. *Misaphris* or *Mesphres* is a Greek transcription, easily explained, of *Menkheperra*, the coronation name of Thotmes III. The name quoted by Josephus and Eusebius is only the two cartouches of Thotmes III. combined in one word.

The stone of Amenophis II. (pl. xxxv. D) is a slab in red granite with two panels. It was at the entrance of the hall of Nekhtorheb, the most western in the temple. It was brought from another part of the edifice; for though we rolled many of the neighbouring blocks we did not find anything else of that epoch. In turning over the slab itself we saw the reason why it has been preserved. It was put in later times as a threshold, or rather as an upper lintel to a door, and the slot-holes are still visible, in which the hinges were inserted (pl. xxvi. A).

On the slab are two sculptured panels in opposite directions to each other. In both of them, the king Amenophis II. is seen standing and making offerings to the god Amon, who sits on his throne. The king promises him as a reward, health, strength, happiness, courage, according to the usual formulas. It is strange that we find no mention of Bast, who at that time seems not to have been the chief local divinity; whereas the god whose worship was prevalent was *Amon-Ra, the king of gods, the great king, the lord of the sky*. After his name, comes the mention of the place where he is worshipped, and where he is considered as residing. We should expect to find here *Bast*, the usual name of Bubastis. But that is not the case, and we come across a totally different name, *he who dwells in Perunefer*. This name has only been met with once, by Brugsch,⁵ who discovered it on a tablet of the museum of Ghizeh, which speaks of a controller of the workshops, *in the city of Perunefer*. We must infer*

⁴ Zeitschr. 1883, p. 9.

⁵ Dict. Geog. p. 221.

from the inscription of Amenophis II., that Perunefer is the oldest name of Bubastis. Though we found a dedication to Bast as early as Amenemha I., it is clear that under the eighteenth dynasty, the worship of the goddess was not the most important in the city, the sanctuary of which was the abode of the Theban god Amon.

We do not know in what consisted the constructions of Amenophis II., but they must have had a certain importance, since a following king thought it necessary to renew them. Between the two panels is a vertical inscription in two columns, which contains the following text:- *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt made the renovation of the buildings of ... The son of Ra, Seti meri en Phthah caused to prosper the house of his father like Ra.* Thus Seti I. renewed the construction which had been raised by his predecessor. The same fact occurs at Thebes,⁶ on the south pylon of the temple of Karnak. There, a large sculpture represents Amenophis II. striking a group of enemies, whom he holds bound together by their hair, before the God Amon. The god makes the usual promise of victory over his enemies, and before the god is an inscription nearly identical to that of Bubastis,



the renovation of the monuments was made by the King Ramenna, everlasting.

It may be asked what reason induced Seti I. to build up again or to restore the works of his predecessor. I believe that when he renewed the monuments of Amenophis II. he was actuated by a religious motive, by the desire to propitiate Amon, perhaps at the moment when he entered on his Asiatic campaigns, for which Bubastis must have been the starting point. It was an offering which he made to the god in order to court his favour, or as fulfilment for a vow. It would be easy to quote kings or

generals acting in a similar way during the Middle Ages or even in modern times. Seti I. had to fight the *Shasu* on the frontiers of his empire. In passing through Bubastis he promised to Amon to repair the constructions erected there by Amenophis II., and which had perhaps suffered during the reign of the heretical King Amenophis IV. ; nothing is more in accordance with the religious ideas of all times.

Amenophis II. was followed by an obscure king, *Thothmes IV.*, after whom one of the most powerful sovereigns of Egypt, *Amenophis III.*, ascended the throne. He is the only one whose monuments were known in the Delta before our excavations ; these monuments were scarabs which the fellaheen discovered in the mounds of Tell Basta, and a stone serpent deposited in the museum of Ghizeh, which is the local form of Horus, worshipped in the city of Athribis now called Benha. The monuments of the time of *Amenophis III.* which we discovered, are four in number, and are of the following description :


Two headless statues representing the same man, a higher official also called Amenophis. These statues (pl. xiii.), both of black granite, are very unequal as to workmanship. That which is on the left of the plate is in the museum of Ghizeh, the other is in the British Museum. The first was sculptured by a clever and skilled artist: it is a fine piece of work, remarkable in particular for the elaborate modelling of the body, which is covered by a garment of very thin material, a long gown tied at the neck by two braces. The man is sitting cross-legged, in a position which is frequent with Orientals; the legs, folded under the garment, are not detached. He holds in the left hand a papyrus which he unrolls with the right on his lap; from the left hand hangs also a kind of purse or bag, the use of which I cannot tell. On the papyrus is an inscription to which we shall have to revert. The date of the monument was*

⁶ Leps. Denkm. iii. 61.

furnished by a part of the garment (pl.xxv. B). The two braces by which it is held are tied together on the back by a kind of broach or slide, on which is the following inscription




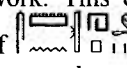
the good god, Neb Ma Ka, beloved of Ma, which is the first cartouche of Amenophis III. The same ornament and inscription are found on the second statue, which in addition has on the chest the cartouche of the king. The other peculiarity of this statue, which to my knowledge has not been met with before, is the manner in which his title of scribe or official is indicated. The

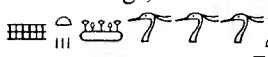

sign  is placed on the left shoulder in such a way that the reed and the inkstand are on the back, while the purse is on the chest. It is to be regretted that the head has disappeared; it must have been slightly bent forward as if it were reading the text of the papyrus.

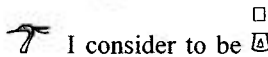

The second statue is not quite so large, it is below natural proportions ; the workmanship is inferior to that of the other; the position is nearly the same, but there is no papyrus, and the titles of the man are inscribed on a vertical column running along the middle of the body. The following text is inscribed on the first statue :-⁷ (pl. xxxv. F)



The making of laws, the establishing of Ma, the giving ordinances to the friends, by the prince, the first friend, who loves his lord, the head of all the works of his king, and of the provinces of pasture marshes, the chancellor, the

 lit. *establish the truth or justice*, indicates legislative work. This expression, and the more frequent one of  which occurs in the titles of several kings, must be translated *legislator*.


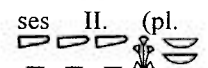
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
 I consider to be , which Goodwin translates *pasture*, and Brugsch (Dict. Suppl. p. 490) *level plain*.



governor of the city, the general Amenophis the beloved. This inscription must be compared with that of the other statue: (Pl. xxxv. E).

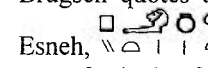
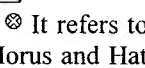


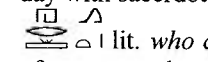
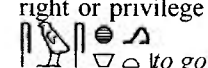
This one is more obscure than the first, though it is clear that it refers to the same man. But as the titles are different, we must admit that he had the two statues sculptured at two different epochs of his life. As the other one is of better workmanship, and as it contains titles which on the whole indicate a higher position than the second, we may conclude that he began with the statue of the British Museum, which was dedicated earlier than the other. As far as we can make them out, the titles of the second statue are merely sacerdotal, while the first shows political and civil employments, besides, here they are not so numerous: the prince who takes care of the domains of the temples, the chief of Nekhen who *

 is to be read *atebu*, and means *cultivated land, domains*. It is met with also in an inscription of Rameses II. (pl. xxxvii. C) in the expression  *the domains of the Ionians* (Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 171 et 765). I do not know of any other instance where it follows the


word  which I translate here, *who takes care of, who looks after*.


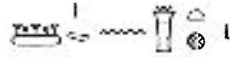
 I cannot interpret this word, the great hall, otherwise than the temple of Bubastis.  lit. *the chief of Nekhen* (Brugsch, Dict. Geog. p. 355). One does not see the reason why the city of Eilithiaspolis, or even Upper Egypt, should be mentioned here. Brugsch quotes the same title from an inscription of



 Esneh,  It refers to an employment in the great festivals of Horus and Hatlior at Edfoo. There, it is natural that the chief of a great neighbouring city should play an important part in the festival. But at Bubastis, in Lower Egypt, it would be extraordinary. In my opinion, the expression must be considered as a mere title, and we must leave aside the literal sense, which may be historically true, but which has lost its original meaning, as is so often the case at the present day with sacerdotal or royal titles.

 lit. *who calms, who quiets his going*, meaning of course, *who stops, who remains*, another priestly right or privilege analogous to what we find elsewhere  *to go in and out*.

stops his march in the holy place, the governor of the city, the general Amenophis who lives again. Nekhen is properly the name of the city of Eilithyiaspolis, now called El Kab, which is often taken as an emblem for Upper Egypt; but I believe that here we must entirely put aside the geographical sense, and take the expression chief of Nekhen as meaning a certain employment in the great religious festivals, as we know from an inscription of labe epoch in the temple of Esneh, and as we may infer from the title which follows.

This priest had important administrative and civil duties.⁹ He had to make laws and ordinances which applied to the friends (φίλοι, ) of the kings, as he was the first in rank among those officials who occur already in very early inscriptions. We have to notice the absence of precise geographical indications; there is no name of a city or of a nome. Where we expect to find Bubastis mentioned

we find only this:  the provinces of the pasture marshes of the North. It is spoken elsewhere of,  the marsh of Bubastis. So there must have been pasture land in the vicinity of Bubastis, and this reminds us of what is said in the great inscription of Merenphthah, of the country around the city of Bailos² (Belbeis), which was only at a short distance, and belonged to the same nome as


⁹ Since this was written the museum of Ghizeh has purchased a statue, the workmanship of which has the greatest likeness with the first statue of Bubastis. It is made of painted sandstone. The attitude is nearly the same, as well as the characteristic ornament , and the statue, is complete. The brooch is not visible, because it is covered by the long and thick hair. The statue comes from Gurnah, one of the villages situate on the site of Thebes. I believe it is the same man who had not yet been promoted to the high dignities which he attained at Bubastis. His name and title are:  writer of the books of holy words of Amon, Amenophis.

¹ Brugsch, Dict. Geog. p. 207.

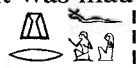
² Vid. Kaville, Goshen, Appendix. The Mound of the Jew, p.22.

Bubastis. It is also close to this city that we have determined the original site of the land of Goshen.³ The expression " nomes of marshes," or " of pasture land," seems to point to a fact which is confirmed by several other inscriptions, that several of the nomes of Lower Egypt were not yet organized as they were under the Ptolemies, and had not yet the names given them at a later epoch. They do not appear on the list of Seti I., where we find in their stead names of water districts. Under Amenophis III. the administrative organization of the country could not be so complete as it was many centuries later, considering that it was not long since the land had been wrested from the hands of the foreign invaders.

Another monument of the time of Amenophis III. was a double group, which must have been very elegant. It represented a man and his wife. The head of the woman alone has been preserved, with a fragment of inscription engraved on the back (pl.xxxv. G). It is the priest who speaks and who describes all the honours with which he has been overwhelmed. He says that he was raised to the

dignity of chief , and that the king put him above all his retinue. He adds that he reached old age, having continually enjoyed the favour of the king. The cartouche of Amenophis III., engraved on the chest, gave us the date of this beautiful fragment.

We must not omit the base of a small statue, of which the feet alone have been preserved, a well as the inscriptions engraved on both sides. It was made for an official of the palace

called  Kherfu (pl. XXXV.H.H'). The Berlin museum⁴ contains a kneeling statue of the same man, with the name of Amenophis III., which has furnished the date for the monument of Bubastis.

Thus our excavations have yielded monuments of several officers of Amenophis III. The state *

³ Goshen, p. 14 and ff.

⁴ Catalogue, p. 61.


of destruction in which they have been found shows that the temple may have contained more of them, which have disappeared. Bubastis was a good starting point for a sovereign like Amenophis III., who made both military and hunting expeditions into Mesopotamia, and who had contracted family ties with the kings of *Naharain*, as we learn from the tablets of Tell el Amama. The same documents show that under Amenophis IV. the kings of Mesopotamia who had been tributary to the father were also vassals to the son. He must therefore have been attracted to Bubastis for the same purposes as Amenophis III. In fact, his presence there has also been recognized. A thick slab of red granite, which probably was the base of a statue or of an altar, bears on its edge the name of the particular god worshipped by Amenophis IV. (pl. xxxv. I) after he had made his religious reform, and adopted himself the name of *Khuenaten*. The name of the god has been preserved, as in many other instances, because the stone was inserted in a wall; for, the other side, where stood the cartouche of the king, has been hammered out. The surface on which lay the statue or the altar dedicated by Amenophis IV. bears two large cartouches of Rameses II. The stone is now in the museum of Ghizeh.



The historical result derived from the inscriptions of Bubastis, has been to show that the eighteenth dynasty had left important traces in the Delta; and this result has been confirmed by the discovery made at Samanood of a great tablet with the cartouches of Amenophis IV. and Horemheb. The eighteenth dynasty has reigned over the Delta; but at present we do not find it earlier than Thothmes III., the great conqueror who subdued Syria, Palestine, and part of Mesopotamia. The conclusion which we are to-day compelled to draw, but which may be upset to-morrow by further explorations, is that the dominion of the Pharaohs over the Delta was re-established only after Thothmes III., and after he had by his successful wars struck down and subjugated his Asiatic neighbours. Before his reign, the consequences of the struggle against the Hyksos were still felt.





Perhaps the foreigners had not yet been completely driven out, in spite of the victories of Ahmes and the capture of Avaris; perhaps, also, the Pharaohs did not feel sufficiently strong to occupy the whole land, and to restore over its whole area the administration and the worship which would have entailed upon them the reconstruction of considerable edifices. Taking Hashepsu's word, it was she who began this difficult task.

Concerning the temple itself, I must recall here what I said before as to the date of the hypostyle hall, consisting of two sorts of columns and two sorts of Hathor-capitals. I believe it must be attributed to the twelfth dynasty, and not to the eighteenth. It is difficult to understand how no traces of the eighteenth should have remained on the architraves where we discovered traces of the twelfth. Surely the columns must be of the same age as the architraves they had to support. Future excavations alone will solve the question of the origin of this style of architecture. It is much to be regretted that two of the most important temples bearing the names of Amenophis III., Soleb and Sedeinga in Nubia, are now inaccessible, owing to the disturbed state of the country. Researches in those localities would show whether it was really Amenophis III. who raised those important buildings, whether it was he who introduced in Egyptian architecture the palm-leaf column and the Hathor-capital, or whether, as I am inclined to believe, he gave Rameses II. the example of attributing to himself the work of the Amenemhas, the Userstesens, and the Sebekhoteps.


I also attribute to the eighteenth dynasty a strange monument of which I know no other specimen, and which is now in the museum of Ghizeh (pl. xxi. B and C). It consists of a large disk against which two figures are leaning. *






One of them is Horus as a child, the other Amon. Eight and left, and in the interval between the figures is sculptured the sign , a prince. Behind the disk is its prop; it is not a pillar as in the statues; it grows thinner from the lower part to the top, so that it presents an oblique surface, and has no thickness at the top; its vertical section is a triangle. The figures and the disk are on a circular pedestal bearing ornaments like hieroglyphs : zigzags

which are the letter *n* , and the  *sh*. They are still visible in front, but on the sides they have been cut off, and the surface has been levelled in order to engrave on it the cartouche of Rameses II., followed by the

words     *Ra of the princes*. The lower surface is concave so as to fit exactly on a convex end, and to be strongly fixed. There can be no doubt that it is older than Rameses II., since this king destroyed part of the inscriptions engraved under the figures. The nature of the monument is obvious; it is the headdress of a gigantic statue of the god Ra. Supposing the headdress to be one-fourth of the whole height, the statue was from 22 to 27 feet high. It was not one of the largest in Egypt; suffice it to mention the colossus of the Ramesseum at Thebes, or the other, traces of which Mr. Petrie discovered at San,⁶ and which was 92 feet in height. The statue which had this curious ornament was a statue of Ra, as we learn from the inscription, *Ra of the princes*. The prop which is behind the disk, corresponded to the top of the square pillar, which is always found behind standing statues. The usual headdress of Ra is a solar disk; on a statue it could not simply be placed on the head when the god is sculptured on a wall; it was fixed to the skull by means of the circular base which is under the disk, and which has the same purpose as the crown of asps which we see in a statue of Rameses II. wearing the *atef* (pl. xv.).

It is not at all extraordinary to find on the disk two figures. Egyptian art did not like extensive level surfaces without any ornament; a disk of such large dimensions and destitute of anything ornamental, would have produced a bad effect, therefore they filled up the blank space with the figures of Horus and Amon, two divinities worshipped in the temple, be-

sides the three signs  which were part of the name of the god. We shall find again the god Ra on the sculptures of Osorkon I. (pl. xxxix. H); there is also a large architrave of early

date bearing the words      *the adorer of the spirits of On (Heliopolis)*, which implies the worship of Ra.

It is probable that the statue had a hawk's head ; there is no fragment which we may with certainty recognize as having belonged to it, except perhaps a shoulder (pl. xxiii. C), which would have the right proportions. We have here a very rare example of a statue made of several pieces, in which the headdress was not part of the monolith out of which the rest had been carved. It is an exception to what has been found till now. But we have another similar instance in the same temple; the four architectural statues with the name of Rameses II. where the top of the skull has been flattened in order to support the headdress. One of those diadems has been preserved, and is now at the Berlin Museum. In the case of the disk, the weight being considerable, and the statue very high, it would not have been safe to put it merely on a flattened surface of smaller diameter; therefore the lower surface of the headdress has been slightly hollowed out so as to fit exactly on the curve of the skull, while the base of the prop crowned the top of the square pillar behind the statue.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

SETI I. restored the constructions of Amemphis II., but he does not seem to have built *

⁵ Petrie, Tanis i. p. 22.

anything at Bubastis. On the contrary, his son Rameses II., as he usually did, covered the whole temple with his name. At first sight it looks as if he alone and the Bubastites had to be credited with the foundation of the beautiful sanctuary, which was the object of the admiration of Herodotus. But it is just the reverse; a careful study of each inscribed stone has revealed that all the great architraves which bear his name had been usurped; and that nearly everywhere his inscriptions were engraved on older texts. Sometimes part of the original name has been preserved (pl. xxvi. C), sometimes the old name has disappeared, but all that surrounded the cartouche has remained untouched (pl. xxiv. A); sometimes nothing is left except indistinct traces of older signs which are distinguished only by a very close observation, so that seen from a distance the inscription seems to belong to Rameses II.

His name is found profusely in the three first halls of the temple, the part of the edifice which existed before his time; on the walls, and on separate monuments, such as tablets or statues. On the walls, unlike the architraves, there are sculptures which undoubtedly were made for him, and must be attributed to his reign. He had every facility for engraving all he desired, for the custom of the Pharaohs to cover the walls of the temples with sculptured figures and inscriptions, is of relatively late epoch. I believe that in this respect the kings of the twelfth and the thirteenth dynasties had preserved the tradition of simplicity of the Old Empire. They had inscriptions, and even sculptured figures on the door-posts and lintels, perhaps also on the basements; but we do not find any great sculptures of those kings on the plain surfaces of the walls, as is the case after the eighteenth dynasty, and we have every reason to believe that there were none.


Rameses II. certainly made some alterations in the building; we recognize the fact from the stones which have been displaced, like the block bearing part of the cartouche of Userthesen III., which was in a corner. He may even have been obliged to build up anew a part of the

temple. We have shown that there were traces of Khuenaten; it is quite possible that either he or the other heretical kings had more or less damaged it out of hatred towards the god Amon who was worshipped there. Perhaps, also, the temple had been ruined from an earlier date. We must imagine that in those remote ages the character of the country and of the people was not very different from what it is now. How many half-ruined mosques are seen in Cairo or elsewhere, which are still used for worship, and which will go on decaying, until they crumble to pieces, or until a pasha takes a fancy to rebuild them. I believe it was much the same three or four thousand years ago. A Pharaoh ascending the throne, and finding in his empire a number of temples more or less ruined in consequence of wars or religious quarrels, did not betake himself at once to reconstruct them all; he had other occupations, especially if, like the princes of the eighteenth dynasty, he had to defend himself, against numerous and formidable enemies. In order to undertake this costly task, it required a time of peace and tranquillity, and a prosperous state. Therefore it necessarily happened that in many localities the sacred buildings remained in the condition in which war or the fury of fanatics had left them. The worship, however, was not given up, it was perhaps restricted to a small part of the temple; and it went on in the same way until an Amenophis, a Rameses, or an Osorkon raised up again the crumbling walls, enlarged the edifice, adorned it with the works of his best artists, and recorded his munificence towards the gods in high-flowing inscriptions. This may be what Rameses II. did for the temple of Bubastis, taking care to avail himself as much as possible of what *


had been done by his predecessors, and endeavouring to give himself the credit of their work. He erected a considerable number of statues with his name, the most important of which were the following.

Beginning with those he usurped, I mentioned already one, the head of which is at Sydney (pl. xxv. C), while the base remained on the spot, being too much damaged to be carried away. Near the king was another figure, the foot of which is still visible, and one of the hands holding the headdress. The cartouches of Rameses are on the back, and on the sides of the Nile gods. I attribute this statue to the twelfth dynasty.

I believe the statue at Geneva (pl. xiv.) to be later, and I classified it in the thirteenth dynasty. A careful examination of the monument shows many traces of the chisel by which older inscriptions were destroyed. The sides of the throne are not so wide as they ought to be; there is an erasure on the back

below the words  and on the slab under the feet. On the sides are the cartouches of Rameses, and also on the back in the two middle lines. Eight and left are the usual

formulas,  . . . while lasts the sky, thy monuments are firm. King

Rameses,  while lasts the earth, thy monuments are prosperous, King Rameses. An older date must be assigned also to two colossal statues, which were erected on the western side of the festival hall. They are both of red granite, wearing the headdress of Upper Egypt; one of them has eyes hollowed out like the Hyksos. They were usurped after Rameses by Osorkon II. The same may be said of the great Hyksos statues which, were described above.

Among the statues which may be attributed to him, a great number are difficult to recognize, because they were broken, and employed by Osorkon II. in the reconstruction of the Festival Hall. Sometimes, before they were used as ordinary building stones, the projecting parts of the statue were more or less obliterated. Sometimes also, the fragments have been walled in as they were; the

number of these was so large, that when we turned the blocks of the Festival Hall, especially those with which the southern wall had been built, behind most of the fragments of the sculpture of Osorkon, representing his great festival, we discovered something which had been part of a statue of Rameses II. Frequently it was a group of two or three figures, where the king was sitting between divinities. Several heads discovered in that way have been carried to European museums.

There were a great number of groups where Rameses was associated to one or two gods; some of them were standing, others sitting; though several of them are of natural size, they, generally speaking, are on larger proportions. Rameses was very fond of putting himself among divinities, and of worshipping his own image, to which he presented offerings at the same time as to Phthah or Amon, near whom he was enthroned. Such groups abound in the temples of Lower Egypt; for instance, there were two at Tell el Maskhutah, and a great number in Tanis, where they are more or less ruined. Sitting groups are often placed outside the temples near the entrance, or on the way leading to it. In localities like Pithom, where the enclosure of the temple was made of bricks and had no stone-wall or pylon where inscriptions might be engraved, such groups are invariably placed as substitutes for a representation which never fails in the large stone temples like Karnak, Edfoo, or Denderah, and which is called *the introduction of the king into the temple*. The texts which are engraved on the backs of the groups are quite similar to those of the temple. There was a group outside of the temple on *

care. The top of the head is quite flat, as if something had been placed over it. We might think that they supported some piece of the architecture, but the regular Caryatid, as we find it in Greek art, is unknown in Egypt. It is probable that this flattening of the head was made in order to lay over it the headdress, the *schent*, which did not form one body with the statue, but was a separate piece. One of the headdresses has been found; it had been used as building stone. It is now in the Berlin museum. These statues must have produced an effect similar to the four sitting colossi placed before the temple of Aboo Simbel.

We must not look for portraits in these statues. The faces are flat, broad and short, without any pretensions to picturing the type of Rameses. There is nothing characteristic in the features, they have neither individuality nor expression. The modelling can hardly be said to exist; and in that respect they are the opposite of the Hyksos statues, where it is admirable. The workmanship is far from being perfect, and, especially when they are seen close by, those heads cannot be called masterpieces; it is second-rate art. In truth, rightly to appreciate them, they should be replaced in conditions analogous to those for which they were intended. Let us suppose that the statues are intact, that the heads are at a height of nine or ten feet, seen from below and at a distance, as when they adorned the entrance, and struck the eyes of the people approaching the temple; and we shall understand that those four colossi produced an imposing effect, of such a nature as suited Egyptian taste. In this case, architecture was their chief purpose; and we are likely to misapprehend the conception of the artist, when we scrutinize those statues individually or from too near a standpoint. I consider this ornamental style, in which sculpture was an integral part of the structure, as being special to the nineteenth dynasty. The successors of Rameses II., and in particular Merenpthah, have preserved it. He liked statues wearing a more or less complicated headdress, and holding a standard. Several such specimens have been found at San and elsewhere.

The conclusion to be derived from this review is that among the numerous statues

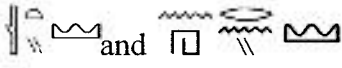
found at Bubastis, inscribed with the name of Rameses II., there is none having his type such as the colossi of Mitrahenny and Luxor, or the statue of Turin, which may be called his image. Nevertheless, if we consider all the broken statues, of which fragments alone remain, we can boldly assert that the temple of Bubastis was one of those containing the greatest number of statues bearing his name.

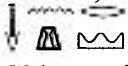
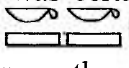
The religious and historical inscriptions of this king are but few in number, and are in a bad state of preservation. In particular there is no complete tablet of Kameses II., or of any other sovereign. The reason of it is obvious. A tablet is a slab which, generally speaking, is not very heavy, and may be employed for many uses. In a building which was so long a quarry, and which was so unmercifully plundered, the tablets could not be spared, and must have soon disappeared with all the white limestone.

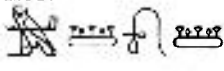
Pl. xxxvi. B reproduces what remains of a great tablet of red granite, discovered near the eastern entrance of the Festival Hall; it was an eulogy of the king, celebrating his high deeds in his wars against his neighbours. 1. 1., it is said that he smote the chiefs of the Ketenmi with his valiant sword. The Retennu are the nations of Northern Syria. 1. 3., *the Thehennu are mentioned: the remembrance of his victories remains among the remote nations, when he trod under his feet all countries, by his valiance and courage.* 1. 4. *speaks of prisoners brought living to Egypt.* 1. 5., *of negroes and Khetas.* 1. 9., he is celebrated as *the valorous bull who knocks down millions of countries.* The nearly complete loss of this tablet is not much to be*



regretted; it was a bombastic praise of the king written in stereotyped sentences, and mentioning victories -which he may never have gained, and nations against whom it is not certain that he ever had to fight.

An interesting text, as regards history, is the list of prisoners, representing conquered nations, two fragments of which have been left, on blocks of red granite (pl. xvii. and xxxvi. B, D). The sculpture is not very distinct, as the stone is much weathered, but we can recognize that the faces have all a Semitic type with pointed beards; there are no negroes among them, although some of the names engraved in the ovals below refer to Africa. Most of the names are well known, and mean countries of a considerable extent.

 *Ketu* and *Naharain*, are often quoted together.⁷ They are frequently met with in the narratives of the campaigns of the Pharaohs in Asia. According to M. Maspero,⁸ *Ketu* is Flat Cilicia, and also Rough Cilicia, a province of which was still designated under the Romans by the name of *Κήτις*. *Naharam* is the country between the Orontes and the Balikh, south and west of the *Khetas*, on each bank of the Orontes.

 *Senker*. Whether or not it be the Shinar of Genesis, it was certainly in Mesopotamia, as well as  *Kehkesh*, which is mentioned in another text of Rameses II. in conjunction with names of Asia Minor.

 the *Mashuash*, are an African population, the *Μάξυες* of Herodotus, who occupied what is now a part of Tunisia.

 *Atar*, written elsewhere,  is an African population mentioned after *Kusch*.⁹ Mariette had compared it to the old *Adulis*. Rev. H. G. Tomkins² recognizes in the name

the region of *Adel*, which extends south of the Gulf of Tadjurra.

Concerning these two nations, as well as the *Thehennu*² quoted by the tablet, we have no information about the wars in which Rameses II. may have subdued them; we do not know of any campaign he made in Libya, or on the Upper Nile against the negroes. And, however, if he had made them, and if they had been successful, he would not have failed to relate them repeatedly and in boastful words on the walls of his temples, as he did for his expedition against the *Khetas*. Such documents warn us to be cautious in dealing with certain official inscriptions which the Pharaohs ordered to be engraved, and which sometimes are our only means for reconstructing their history. When these inscriptions cannot be controlled by documents from neighbouring nations, or by other texts of a different nature, we run the risk of being misled by those official panegyrics. Few kings have dazzled so strongly as Rameses II. the eyes of the first Egyptologists, the pioneers who first entered a field which had remained closed for centuries; there are few also, whose prestige and glory have vanished so rapidly, after their life and character had been studied more closely.

Near the entrance of the temple, on the northern side of the doorway of the first hall, and not far also from the Hyksos statues, was found a fragment of a tablet in black granite, which has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh. It may have served as back-part to a group of figures, for it is very thick, and there are two lines of vertical hieroglyphs on the edge. The text of the tablet itself was horizontal. It must have been erected on the occasion of the dedication of a statue to the goddess Bast, who addresses herself to the king in the second part. It is to be noticed that *



⁷ Chabas, Voyage, p. 109.

⁹ Leps. Denkm. iii. 145.

⁸ Recueil, x. p. 210.

¹ Recueil, x. p. 97.

² Leps. Denkm. iii. 145, 176.

every time the name of the king is mentioned, it is followed by the predicate  he who possesses Egypt. This qualification seems to be an integrant part of the name, since it always precedes the usual  giving life, or everlasting (pl. xxxviii. a).

Vertical lines. Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting. Thou art on the throne of Ra; festivals are made to thee as to him.

Rameses, etc. Thou art like Nefertum, thou art beloved like Phthah.

1.1. ... Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

1.2. ... to be the lord of the foreigners, priest of Bast, born of Sekhet.

1.3. ... possessor of Egypt, everlasting, nursed by Uoti, suckled by Sati, thou hast chosen the city of Bast, their protection is over it.

1.4. ... of Egypt, like Nefertum. His mother, the daughter of Ra, sends life, stability, and purity, into his nostrils; the inhabitants,

1.5. ... joining his limbs, the King Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

1.6. ... well made monuments in front of her; she appears, and is well pleased in all her festivals, magnifying what he has done, for ever.



1.7. ... Rameses, etc. I take the timbrel, and I rejoice at thy coming forth, for thou hast multiplied my sacred things millions of times.

1.8. ... in order to enrich my altar every day, my terrace abounds daily with all the sweet flowers placed before me.

1.9. ... eternally like Ra. I am on thy head, King Rameses, possessor of Egypt, everlasting.

1.10. residing in its interior, with her son; the gods who are accompanying her are in great joy.

This tablet is important in several respects, and especially because of the information we derive from it about the gods of Bast.

All around the first hall ran a basement bearing geographical inscriptions, a list of nomes, of which very little is left. It consists of standing figures bringing an offering of two vases, between which is the sign ; before each figure are two columns of texts containing promises made to the king. The emblems of the nomes have disappeared, except  the nome of Libya, which ranks third in the Ptolemaic lists, and eleventh in the much older lists of Abydos of the time of Seti I.³ The nome of Libya was one of the most anciently organized, long before the Bubastite, the name of which does not occur anywhere in the inscriptions of that epoch. The sentences which accompany the figures are hackneyed promises made to the king (pl. xxxvii.).

"... I send thee all kinds of victories, for thy sword, I overthrow for thee the strangers.

... I give thee the lands of the sea, thou art established as lord of the land, like Ra.


...I bring them to thy house.

... I give thee the festivals of thirty years of Tonen; the land abounds in all kinds of goods.

... all royalty, the territories of the Ionians.

... I give thee all the lands of thy enemies.

... my prisoners; I overthrow for thee the strangers."

On the basement was also a sculpture, which has some likeness with the list of nomes (pl. xxxvii. J). We see there a Nile god holding a kind of table of offerings, over which is the sign  which means to join. Behind the god is the goddess of the east, and opposite, there must have been another Nile god, a hand of whom only is seen. No cartouche indicates to what date the sculpture must be assigned. I am inclined to think that it is a remnant of the twelfth dynasty. It is not unlike a table of *


³ Duem. Geog. Inschr. i. pl. 91, l. 11.

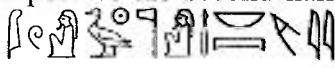
offerings discovered by M. Petrie at Nebesheh,⁴ and which belongs to that dynasty.

There are other representations in which Rameses II. is shown making offerings to various divinities. In reference to those representations we must observe that Rameses is never found worshipping Bast, nor does the name of the goddess appear on the architraves where usually it is said to whom the temple had been dedicated. It is the same with Bubastis as with Tanis. It was dedicated to the great gods of Egypt. Those who occur most frequently are Amon, Phthah, and the Hyksos god, Set. The last one seems to have been the object of a special reverence from Rameses, who gave him the most honourable place in the temples of the Delta. It is he whose representations are most numerous. He is found on the columns with palm-leaf capitals, especially on the specimen of the British Museum; he is on large architraves (pl. xxii. o), and on scenes of worship (pl. xx.). We shall see further that when the Bubastites changed the dedication of the temple, they erased in many places the name of Set, or they transformed it, without destroying it completely.

A peculiarity which occurs at Bubastis, as well as in other edifices of Rameses II., is the habit which he had contracted of attributing to himself a special claim to the protection of the gods, in coupling his name with theirs. Set becomes *Set* or *Sutelkh of Rameses*, and the same with Amon and Phthah (pl. xxxvi. C, G). Set of Rameses is found on a vertical inscription, where the head of the god has been slightly hammered out (pl. xx., xxxvi. I).

On the column of the British Museum also we see *Sutekh of Rameses*; there the lower part of the cartouche has been usurped by Osorkon II. The same habit may be observed in the temple of Tanis.⁵ The son of Rameses, who

was a fervent adorer of Set, remained faithful to the tradition of his father; in his time Set is styled *Set of Merenphthah*.⁹ Phthah of Rameses is met with at Bubastis. This divinity had a large share in the worship celebrated in the temple; he is often represented, and there were statues of him⁷ (pl. xix.). It is quite possible that it was on certain personifications only of the divinity, that Rameses II. claimed a kind of right of property or possession, for the same god may be quoted in the same inscription with his general and his particular form. For instance, at the beginning of the treaty with the Kheta, it is said that the king was in the city of Rameses, making offerings "to his father Amon-Ra, to Harmakhis, to Tum, the lord of the two On, to Amon of Rameses, to Phthah of Rameses, and to Set the very brave, the son of Nut." We have not found Amon of Rameses at Bubastis, but it is probable that his name stood there also. Amon, as we saw before, was the god to whom Amenophis II. had dedicated his constructions; large blocks coming from architraves bear after the name of Rameses the words  who worships Amon-Ra. It is the same for Merenphthah, and even Osorkon I.

Another god whose mention is frequent under Rameses II. and afterwards, is Shu, the son of Ra. On a doorpost of the second hall we read: *Rameses*  worships Shu, the son of Ra, the great god, the lord of the sky. Merenphthah, who in these respects seems to have followed entirely the line of his father, was also a worshipper of Shu (pl. xxxvi. K).

Three of the sons of Rameses have left their names at Bubastis. It is probable there were still more, for fragments of statues of "royal sons of Kush" (pl. xxxvi. N) must have belonged to *


⁴ Petrie, Tanis ii., Hebesheh, pl. ix.

⁵ Ibid. Tanis i., pl. iv. 25A.

⁶ Petrie, l. 1. pl. ii. 5A.



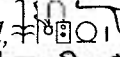
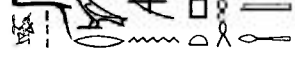

⁷ See pl. xxxviii. F., the inscription of a broken statue of Phthah.

members of his family. The first is the celebrated *Khaemuas*, who inscribed his name on the side of a colossal statue in red granite of his father; the signs which followed his name have disappeared (pl. xxxvi. M). This prince is famous for the religious offices which were conferred upon him, for the great festivals in the celebration of which he took part, for the high sacerdotal dignities with which he was invested. His name, like that of a saint, became legendary, since we find it in the romance of Setna. It would have been extraordinary, if in his frequent journeys through the country in order to inspect the temples, he had forgotten Bubastis. He is called here

 *the priest herseshta in the holy field.* This last word is the usual name of the country around Bubastis, until the Ptolemies made a separate nome of it. The sacerdotal title, which probably was that of the high-priest, was given also to the goddess herself, who is styled in the inscriptions of Osorkon I. and later, the herseshta of Tim (pl. xli. E.).

The two others are military officers. One of them is known, thanks to a crouching statue now in the museum of Boston. It has been usurped, for it had in front an inscription for which that of the prince has been substituted, and on the side is another which has simply been scraped off without anything else being engraved instead. The head has been diminished on one side in order to sculpture the lock of hair which is one of the distinctive marks of the princes of royal blood.

The cartouche of Rameses II. on his shoulder leaves no doubt as to his father; otherwise we might have taken him for the son of Rameses III., who had the same name, and who died when he was heir presumptive.⁸ He is called *Menthuhershepshef* (pl. xxxviii. C, C', C''), which means, *Menthu wields his sword.* His titles are:

the first cavalry officer of his father, who looks after the horses of the king, meaning also the war chariots, for the word used here for horses applies generally to horses drawing the chariots. Mentuhershepshef was the fifth son of Rameses II. Another whom we see in several sculptured representations is Merenphthah, who became king after Rameses II. He wears also the lock of the royal princes, and he makes offerings to Amon and Shu. His titles, which are found also on a statue at San,¹ are: *the prince*  *the protector of Egypt,*  *the royal officer, the lord of the seal,*  *the first general, Merenphthah,*  It is curious to find after his name the qualification of  *justified*, which is usually applied to the deceased, but it is seen also after the name of Rameses in the royal list of Abydos, where Seti I. is followed by his son.


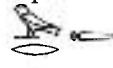
Comparing the titles of these princes with the inscriptions concerning them which were known before, and especially with the lists of the sons of Rameses II. at the Ramesseum at Thebes or at Seba, we can elucidate a few facts concerning the history of the family. When the inscription in the Ramesseum was engraved, it was long before the monuments of Bubastis were dedicated. At that time the family was complete, the eldest sons of Rameses were still living. The firstborn and heir presumptive was *Amonhershepshef, Amon wields his sword*, a name easily to be accounted for after the successes which Rameses had obtained in his wars against the Kheta, the credit of which he desired to give to the god. This name was a favourite with the Ramessides; it was given in succession to two of the sons of Rameses III., who became Rameses V. and Rameses VI. The heir presumptive was *plume-bearer at the right hand of* *



¹ Petrie, Tanis i. pl. i. 4A.

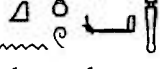
² Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 829. (pl. xxxvi. K, L)

⁸ Zeitschr. 1885, pp. 55 and 125.

the king, which was a common title; the distinctions which were special to him were


 prince, or  first general of the infantry. The second son of Rameses


was only general of infantry, but not  The third,  Phraherunemef, Ra on




his right, was first Kennu,  of the infantry. The Kennu must have been some-




thing like a colonel, a rank which was evidently lower than his brother's, though at the same time he was *chief of the chariots* and *first cavalry officer of His Majesty*. As such he accompanied his father in his expedition against Kadesh. After him came Khaemuas, who begins the series of the sons who have no special title, then Mentuhershepshef. Merenphthah is only the thirteenth.




Let us now go over to Bubastis, and we shall find that great changes have taken place in the family. Khaemuas, the fourth son, has become a priest, and performs the religious and sacerdotal functions which have given him his celebrity. The third son, Phraherunemef, is dead; perhaps he was killed in battle, and he has been replaced in his rank and his command, not by the fourth son, Khaemuas, who is a priest, but by Mentuhershepshef, the fifth, whose statue we discovered at Bubastis. The next changes may be traced in the tablets of Silsilis.³ Amonhershepshef, the heir presumptive, is dead, as well as the new chief of the cavalry; but the second son of Rameses is still alive as well as Khaemuas, who is seen standing between his elder brother Rameses

and the younger,  Merenphthah. The family of Rameses is already much thinned in number, and the inscription of Silsilis must be assigned to a late epoch of his reign. Later still, evidently quite at the end, we come to the inscriptions of Bubastis. Merenphthah has the

titles of the heir presumptive; he is  prince, and *first general of the infantry*, but

he is not  because he is not the first born, he is also  protector of the land, a very high title, since it is given to Amon,⁴ and  lord of the seal, lord chancellor. These two last titles might indicate that he had been associated with the throne,⁵ which is the more probable, since having reigned nearly sixty years, Rameses must have been much weakened and incapable of going to war.

The statue of Mentuhershepshef is dedicated to Bast, called also  Uoti, the goddess of Bubastis. The geographical name  Bast was used at this time, but it may have applied only to the part of the sanctuary specially dedicated to the goddess, for it is certain that though Bast was worshipped in the temple as early as the twelfth dynasty, she was not the chief divinity of the place under the eighteenth dynasty, nor under the Ramesides, who were adorers of the great gods of Egypt, Amon, Phthah, and Set. Here also we find the name  the holy field, for the

territory of Bubastis, and also a city  which undoubtedly must be read  the present city of Belbeis.⁶ This city, as well as Bubastis and its territory, belonged at that time to the nome of Heliopolis. Later, I think under the Ptolemies, when the Bubastite nome was organized, Belbeis was annexed to it; one of the forms of Bast, Sekhet  had a temple there under the thirtieth dynasty.⁷

I attribute also to Rameses II. the statue of Phthah, mentioned above (pl. xxxviii.F), which gives us the usual titles of the god; besides two broken statues of royal sons of Kush, in the *

³ Leps. Denkm. iii. 174.

⁴ Leps. Denkm. iii. 6.

⁵ Wiedemann, Aeg. Gesch. p. 440.

⁶ Brugsch, Dict. Géog. pp. 264 and 546.

⁷ Naville, The Mound of the Jew, p. 22.


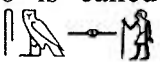
traditional costume, the long dress reaching down to the feet. One of these statues, in a fair state of preservation, has been carried to America; it has on the back the following titles: (pl. xxxvi. N) *the royal son of Kush, the chief of the southern countries, the governor* . . . (the proper name has disappeared). The other, which is only a fragment, contains a dedication to Bast, the lady of Bast (Bubastis), the queen of the gods. Both statues were in black granite. They close the list of the monuments of some importance, or of the inscriptions of Rameses II., to which must be added a considerable number of cartouches left in spite of the usurpations of Osorkon II.

Not far from Bubastis was settled a foreign nation, the Israelites, who from a small tribe had grown to be a large multitude, and who had never amalgamated with the Egyptians. As I stated in another memoir, the land of Goshen was only a few miles distant; 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 Tumilat, the road through which foreign invaders would enter Egypt. One may well conceive that Rameses, who in spite of his great display, must have felt how much his kingdom was weakened, grew 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, Raamses and Pithom, destined to protect the land against invaders. As we may conclude from the discoveries at Bubastis that this large city was a favourite resort of Rameses and his family, it is quite possible that at the time when the events preceding the Exodus took place, the king was at Bubastis, and not at Tanis, as was generally admitted.

We have found Merenphthah as prince royal and heir presumptive, holding an important

military command. He appeared also as king, on a sitting statue in red limestone, of which fragments only remain. They were discovered on the north side, close to the entrance to the hall of Nekhthorheb. Very little of the monument has been left, because red limestone has been broken and carried away for building purposes as much as the white. The statue has on the side the name of Tum, the god of Heliopolis (pl. xxxviii. D). I should think that Set was in the inscription on the back.

On the throne we find also the name of *the prince, the royal officer, Seti Merenphthah.*

This prince, who is called elsewhere  *royal son*, and  *first-born*,⁸ ascended the throne, where he does not seem to have remained long. He is the king usually called Seti II.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

It is in the hypostyle hall, near the entrance of the hall of Nekhthorheb, that we meet with all the monuments of this dynasty. It seems that these kings raised there a chapel or a sanctuary for themselves. Nothing remains of the kings who followed Seti II., and whose legitimacy is doubtful. The state of anarchy into which the country had fallen, and which is described by Rameses III. in the great Harris papyrus, was not favourable to raising large constructions, and must have rather contributed to destroy what existed before. The first king we meet with is Rameses III., on the base of a small statue of which the feet alone have been preserved; they are most elaborately worked, they have sandals with the end turned upwards according to the fashion of the nineteenth dynasty. The monument must have been of very good workmanship. Part of the inscription is left on the back and on the base *

⁸ Leps. Koenigsbuch, No. 476. Brugsch. et Bouriant, Le livre des Rois, No. 499.

(pl. xxxviii. G); it shows that the monument was dedicated to *Bast of the city of Bast*.

Rameses III. raised many monuments in the Delta, which was the theatre of his great wars; but we had not yet discovered north of Memphis one of his successors who was also, his son, and who seems to have been the most powerful of the series of the Ramessides, after Rameses III., his father. No. VI. has been given him, in the list of the Rameses; his prenomen was, like his elder brother, *Amonher hepshef*. We found three statues of this king.

1. A base of a sitting statue in black granite, of natural size, broken at the waist; the upper part is lost (pl. xxv. A). It wears a long dress, and on the sides, as well as on the slab under the feet, are the names of Rameses VI. (pl. xxxviii. I I'). A the engraving is not deep, it may be usurpation. The monument has been left at Tell Basta.

2. Another statue, much smaller, in red limestone, of which also the base alone remains, has the names of Rameses VI. (pl. xxxviii. H-H''). It is now in the museum of Ghizeh.⁹

3. The largest and most important is the upper part of a statue in red granite, now at the museum of Gizeh (pl. xvi.). It is above natural size, standing, and wearing the double crown.. On the back is an inscription, of which we have only the upper half (pl. xxxviii. K), *the good god raised statues to his father Amon, who puts him on his throne; the lord of Upper Lower Egypt, Ra hik Ma . . .* I am inclined to think that this statue is really the portrait of Rameses VI. The type is different from Rameses II., the workmanship alone is the same. The head has not the commonplace and indifferent character of the statues made for an architectural purpose. It is intended to be a likeness. The nose is aquiline, and wider at the end. The eyes are prominent, and the lips rather thick.

A short time before beginning the excavations at Bubastis, I had procured at Benha from a fellah, a slab coming from a tomb, and bearing also the name of Rameses VI. Thus there are two places in the Delta where we found this king.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

THE twenty-first dynasty, which has been the object of so much discussion, has left no trace at Bubastis. In particular, I did not find the name of the King *Si Amen*, whose cartouche is frequent at Tanis, and who was discovered at Khataanah.¹ Therefore we pass without transition from the twentieth to the twenty-second, which, according to Manetho, is pre-eminently the dynasty of the Bubastites.

Dr. Stern has proved that the Bubastites are of Libyan origin, and not Asiatics, as it has been admitted for a long Time. They were hereditary commanders of a foreign guard, one of whom, *Sheshonk*, the *Shishak* of the Bible, succeeded in taking possession of the throne, and legitimated afterwards his usurpation by giving the daughter of his predecessor in marriage to his own son. Sheshonk was the founder of the dynasty; he was a warlike sovereign, and made against Rehoboam, King of Judah, a successful expedition, which he described in an inscription of the great temple of Amon at Thebes, in the part called "the portico of the Bubastites." Bubastis being called his native city, we should have expected that he would have felt bound to adorn and embellish its temple, and to record on its walls his victories. It is just the reverse; no inscription of Shishak has been found except a small fragment of limestone with part of his cartouches.



It is quite possible that when Sheshonk ascended the throne, he, who was of foreign origin and a native of Lower Egypt, found some resistance at

⁹ It is the inscribed block which is seen on the left side of pl. vi.

¹ Goshen, p. 21.

Thebes and in the upper part of the country, and that it was in order to establish firmly his dominion over Upper Egypt that he raised there the greater number of his monuments. With Osorkon I. who return to the sculptures of large proportions, to the great representations accompanying important constructions (pl. xxxix.). It is chiefly in the First hall that they are met with in great number ; they adorned the outward walls, and many fragments of them have been adorned. It is impossible not to be struck at first sight by the beauty of the workmanship(pl. xviii.), which may be observed in the specimens brought to the European museums. The good traditions are not yet lost, it may even be said that more care has been taken with those sculptures those with many works of Rameses II., made rapidly and negligence. The reason of it is that under the Bubastites the centre of political life tends more and more to go over to the Delta; Thebes, is abandoned to the high priests of Amon, while the King lives in Lower Egypt, probably, because of the wars with which he was constantly threatened by the Asiatics or the Libyans. Judging from what Osorkon I. and Osorkon II. made at Bubastis, which is not seen in any other edifice of Egypt I am inclined to think that this City was their capital and their customary residence. The sculptures of Osorkon I. are chiefly in the first hall; but several of his inscriptions are engraved underneath the Hathor capitals, in places where they could not be seen, and where it was not possible to engrave them unless the monument was lying on the ground and had not yet been raised. It is exactly as with the cartouches of Rameses II., which are under the obelisks, on the surface touching the ground. This circumstance leads us to imagine in what state the temple of Bubastis must have been at the time of Osorkon's accession

to the throne. We cannot attribute to him the Hathor capitals; we have seen before, that, although there is no positive proof, we must assign them to the twelfth dynasty, to Usertesen III., who enlarged the temple and built the hypostyle hall. On the other hand, we cannot admit that Osorkon I. displaced the capitals in order to inscribe his name underneath. We are thus led to conclude that in his time the temple was ruined, and the pillars and columns had been overthrown. It was not the hypostyle hall alone which had been so badly treated; it was the same with the two First halls; for we see there that a block which, under Rameses II., was part of the basement and bore the lower part of a sculpture, was placed under Osorkon I. in the second or third layer of blocks, and was engraved with the heads of large figures which adorned the outward wall. The second hall, which was reconstructed later by Osorkon II., was in a similar condition, for I cannot admit that it was deliberately that the king cut to pieces or broke the statues of Rameses II., which he employed for building his walls. We are in doubt as to the epoch when those devastations took place; it is not probable that they were caused by a natural accident, such as an earthquake; they were the result of a war or an invasion. If we adopt this last alternative, they must be attributed to the wars which preceded the reign of Rameses III., when a Syrian called *Arisu* usurped the power and tyrannized over the country, persecuting gods and men, until, as is related by Rameses III., *Setnekht* ascended the throne and re-established the worship and the legitimate dynasty. It is certain that Osorkon I. reconstructed the temple, beginning with the eastern hall, where most of his sculptures have been found. With the rebuilding coincides the change in the dedication, which was not completed under Osorkon I., but which*

was definitive after Osorkon II. Bast, who had only a secondary rank under the twelfth dynasty or Rameses II.; to whom statues or tablets were dedicated but who was not yet the great* goddess of Bubastis, takes precedence over the other divinities of Egypt, and especially over Set. Amon and other Egyptian gods may be seen on the walls of the first hall, but Bast occurs more frequently, and has taken a place like Horus at Edfu or Hathor at Denderah.

The sculptured representations of Osorkon I. have the same appearance as those made under the nineteenth dynasty. With the figures are sentences always the same. The gods mentioned may belong to other parts of Egypt, but they are spoken of as residing in Bubastis; *thus we have Amon of Thebes, the lord of the sky, who resides at Bast* (pl. xl. D); the same with Mut, Harmakhis, Phthah Anbresef, the lord of Ankhtoui (Memphis), Tum, the lord of Heliopolis, Shu, the son of Ra, and Menthu. The promises made by the gods consist in a long and successful reign, long life, strength and health, and other stereotyped sentences. The blocks of the ceiling mention also Sopt, the divinity of the nome of Arabia, which at that time was part of the nome of Heliopolis.



Bast, the great divinity of the city, which derives its name from the goddess, is accompanied by the gods of her cycle or her triad. She has also the name of *Sekhet*, she is said to be *the queen of the gods, the lady of Bubastis*. Her son, according to the form he assumes, is called either *Horhiken*, or *Nefertum*, or *Ma-hes*. Bast herself is considered as the *hersesh-ta*, the *priestess of Tum*. She has the same title as Khaemuas, the son of Rameses II.






The intention of Osorkon I. to consecrate the temple to Bast, and thus to change its original dedication, is best shown by the three inscriptions which are engraved underneath the Hathor capitals (pl. xli. A, B, C). There Osorkon comes forward as the worshipper of Bast, *the lady of Bubastis, who protects her father Ra*; the formulas are those usually employed for the dedication of a statue, an obelisk, or the hall of a temple. It was to the goddess that he wished to make an offering when he raised


he raised up again the magnificent building, the foundation and first construction of which went up to a very early date.


Another work of Osorkon I. was the small temple which will be described further. The inscriptions relating the gifts which he made to the various temples of Egypt, the quantities of precious metals with which he presented, the gods, show that in his reign the country must have been much more prosperous and rich than was generally supposed.


Osorkon II. was the son of Takelothis I., an obscure king of whom we know only the name. He took for his model Rameses II., and he seems to have been actuated by a strong desire, not only to imitate his predecessor as fully as he could, but also to throw into the shade, if possible, his memory. His name is found as often as that of his pattern. In order that the imitation should be complete he adopted the same standard, *the mighty bull, the friend of Ma*, and his two cartouches were as similar as possible to those of Rameses II., making the usurpation very easy. If the name and titles of Rameses II. had to be transformed into those of Osorkon, the transformation was very simple. The standard was the same. In the first cartouche, instead of

 *sotep en Ra, the elect of Ra*, the scribe had to write  *sotep en Amen, the elect of Amen*. It was made in this way.

Under the sign  *user*, there was room for the letter  the first of the name of Amen, the disk  was made into a rectangle, over which were added small strokes so as to make the sign  *men*. Nowhere can the whole process be followed as well as on the column of the British Museum. On the base of the Hyksos statue which is at the museum of Ghizeh, the disk is quite distinct under the sign , even on the photograph (pl. xxiv. D).


As for the second cartouche of Rameses where it is written in the usual form, the sign  *Ra*, the first syllable being opposite Amon, and *

the sign  *mer* under both gods, the usurpation was made as follows : all the signs underneath the group just described were erased, and the name of Osorkon substituted

for them. In the sign  *Ra*, the head was made into a lion, so as to give the figure the appearance of a sitting Bast, and the disk above widened and made oval so as to look like an egg, which reads *si*, and means *son*; so the sign which was originally Ra became *si Bast, the son of Bast*, a predicate which is part of the cartouche of Osorkon. This kind of usurpation occurs very often at Bubastis. All the degrees of it are seen on the column of the British Museum. It is obvious that this work was not done conscientiously; it is often very imperfect. Sometimes the second cartouche only has been transformed, or in this second cartouche the lower part has been erased without the name of Osorkon being substituted, or the name of Osorkon has been engraved, but the engraver forgot to change the sign Ra at the top of the cartouche, so that the first syllable of Rameses has been left, and the like.

The usurpations of Osorkon are found in the whole temple, but chiefly in the hypostyle hall. There his name is met with profusely, on architraves, on capitals; but in most cases it is easy to recognize that his is not the original name; it has been substituted for that of Rameses II., who was not himself the founder of the building, as may be seen on the column of the British Museum.

The most important event to be noticed in the history of the temple during Osorkon II.'s reign is the final establishment of the worship of Bast as the prevailing worship in the locality. In this respect the Osorkons justify their name of Bubastites, which is given them by Manetho. Henceforth the name of the goddess occurs in large characters, not on statues or tablets only, but on the architraves of the hypostyle hall. The king evidently desired to expunge the name of Set; he

ordered it to be hammered out; but, as with the cartouches of Rameses II., the work was done only in a very imperfect way. On the top of the columns, Set was represented sitting with the sign of life  and a sceptre in his hands; in many places the head has been widened as to become a lion, the headdress also has been modified, and the whole figure has been turned into the god *Mahes*² the son of Bast, who, being a warlike divinity, could endorse the epithets which originally followed the name of Set, *the very valorous, the lord of the sky* (pl. xlii. E, F, G). The alteration is plain on several of the columns, especially an one of them which was carried near the canal more than fifty years ago, and which has since remained on the spot where it is getting buried more and more every day. It is visible also on the inscription of *Set of Rameses*, where, however, Set is still traceable (pl. xx.). Sometimes, as on the column of the British Museum, Set has been forgotten. A great number of the sculptures of Osorkon II. the temple have come down to us, but apart, from those which adorned the Festival Hall or the colonnade, we find them on a building situate outside of the temple, on the north, and which probably was a doorway or portico (pl. xli. E-H); it was the beginning of a road paved in basalt which led to the temple. Four columns are all that is left of this construction; two of them are palm-columns; and two with lotus-bud capitals. One of these last, which is in good state of preservation, has been sent to the Louvre. Thus we find there the same two styles as in the colonnades of the temple. It is not possible to assign even an approximate date to that building, which may have been an imitation made in later times of the hypostyle hall. One of the columns Osorkon is men-*

² the reading Mahes is fixed by the inscriptions of the naos of Saft-el-Henneh. Nav. Goshen, pl. ii. 6, pl. vii. 5. Brugsch, Dict. suppl. p. 5

tioned as a worshipper of Mahes. Besides the columns, there must have stood there a construction of some importance, for close by lies a corner-block bearing the top of a sculpture of natural size and very good workmanship. On one of the sides is seen Osorkon offering the holy eye, the *ut'a*, to Bast, who answers that she gives him *all lands of which she multiplies the number, and all gallantry as to Ra* (pl. xli. E). The goddess is called here *the priestess herseshta of Tum*. on the other side, the son of Bast, *Horchiken*, is represented giving life to Osorkon (pl. xli. H).

We saw before that, according to all probabilities, when Osorkon I. ascended the throne, the temple was more or less ruined. He set to work rebuilding it, but he did not finish the construction, which was continued and completed by Osorkon. II., who raised in particular the part of the edifice to which he chiefly attached his name, the second hall, or, as he called it, *the Festival Hall*. It was not a new addition to the temple; it had existed long before Osorkon. Its date goes back to the Old Empire; there we found the cartouches of Pepi and most of those of the twelfth dynasty. It may be the oldest part of the temple. Later on, Rameses II. had stored there a great number of his statues, as well those which were made for him as those he usurped. I stated above the reasons which led me to think that it was during the wars which preceded the reign Rameses III. that the temple was partially pulled down, for I cannot believe that Osorkon II. intentionally caused the destruction, which is testified by the manner in which the walls of his hall have been built. If he wished to supersede Rameses, it was quite sufficient to usurp his name, as he had done in many cases. Why should he have broken the large statues, the plain surfaces of which, such as the base under the feet, were employed for engraving the sculptures of his festival? Can we imagine that, in order to procure more easily the necessary material for building his walls, his


voluntarily cut to pieces groups of two or three divinities, fragments of which were inserted into the structure. It is more probable that he found the temple already in a pitiable condition, and that he made use only of what was ruined, respecting what had escaped intact, such as the four architectural statues of Rameses II., though they were of red granite, the material he employed; or the statues in black granite, such as that of Sydney or that of Geneva.




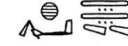

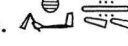

The reconstruction of this hall took place on the occasion of an event which he considered as the most important of his reign, a great festival which was described at great length on the walls of the hall. Although one half, even one-third only, of the sculptures have been preserved, it is sufficient to give an idea of the whole. The festival will be the object of a special volume; at present we shall speak of it only from a historical point of view, mentioning the facts which we gather from the inscriptions, and keeping for another work the religious part, as well as the publication of the sculptures.

A small rectangular block with four lines of text gives us the date of the festival (pl. xlii. B). "Year 22, on the first day of Choiak, the coming forth of Amon out of the sanctuary, which is the Festival Hall, resting on his litter; the beginning of the consecrating of the two lands by the king, of the consecrating of the harem of Amon, and of the consecrating of all the women who are in his city and who act as priestesses since the days of the fathers."


These lines are obscure in the details; however, the general sense is clear. In the year 22, on the first day of month called *Choiak*, took place *the apparition* or *the*

coming forth ☉ of Amon. The word ☉ to *appear*, or to *come forth*, is usually applied to the great festivals in which the sacred emblem was taken out of the sanctuary and put in an ark, which was carried round the temple on the shoulders of the*

priests. I translated literally the words  which has several meanings:

 is sometimes *to receive*, or taken as equivalent to  *to begin*.   may mean to sanctify, or to protect the two lands. It is obvious that in thus translating literally each word by itself, we deviate from the true sense of the expression, which must be taken as a whole.   must be some religious act, the nature of which we do not clearly understand, or if not the act itself, it is something connected with it, such as an offering. It is the same with the word  which is applied to the harem of Amon, and to the woman who are said to be priestesses of the Gods *since the days of the fathers*.

According to this inscription the most dignified functions in the festival devolved on women. The king, however, plays a most important part in it, he seems even to be the object of a kind of deification, since the first act, mentioned immediately after the four lines of the date is: "*the carrying of the king on a litter*." The celebration of this great festival reminds us of the famous assembly at Bubastis,³ described by Herodotus, which according to the Greek writer took place every year. It is possible that both coincided; however, in the year 22 of Osorkon there must have been a special solemnity. Perhaps Osorkon II. wished to imitate Rameses II. and Rameses III., who had both of them celebrated during their reign a memorable festival, the description of which was engraved on temples, and which may have recalled either some astronomical phenomenon or an important date in the calendar. Whatever may have been its purpose, we see from the last line that Osorkon followed an old tradition, which went back to the time "of the fathers." A circumstance which indicates that Osorkon intended to comply with an old custom, is that the festival is celebrated in honour of Amon, although the king himself had established the worship of Bast in the temple, and given pre-eminence to the goddess. She has not been forgotten, since

in every one of the panels which the sculpture is divided, she is seen standing before the king. Besides, a figure with a lion's head is one of the most frequent forms of the consort of Amon, Mut, in whose temple at Thebes there was a collection of statues with lions' heads exactly similar to those of Bast. Nevertheless, it is Amon, *the lord of the throne of the two lands*, 

! viz., with his qualifications such as they are met with at Thebes, who is the object of the festival, showing that the tradition connected it with the great Theban kings.

It is possible that under Osorkon II. Thebes was more and more relinquished, and Bubastis assumed the rank which had been held before the city of the Amenophis and the Ramessides. The political influence of the city had been thrown into the background by its religious importance. Thebes was the residence of the high priests of Amon, who enjoyed a certain independence, but the centre of gravity of the Empire was removed to the Delta. Osorkon had to make war against the Asiatics. In the inscription of the festival it is said that *all countries, the Upper and Lower Retennu have been thrown under his feet*. Without giving too much importance to those official formulas, we may infer from the special mention of the Retennu, the Syrians, that he made a campaign against Syria and Palestine; this would confirm the opinion of several authors that Osorkon II. was the king called by the Scripture *Zerah* זֶרַח, Ζαρέ⁴ against whom Asa fought a battle, which ended in the complete defeat of the invader. But the identification is far from being proved; we should not understand, for instance, why Osorkon would be called *Zerah the Ethiopian*.*

³ Her. ii. 60.

⁴ 2 Chron. xiv

Osorkon II. has left monuments in other parts of the Delta. Apart from usurpations of statues and pylons at Tanis, he built at Pithom,⁵ where I found cornices with his name painted in red, indicating that the construction had not been completed, and also the statue of one of his chief officers, *the controller, Ankhrenpnefer*, which is now in the British Museum. But his capital was Bubastis. The two Osorkons may be called pre-eminently the Bubastides; they both deserve this name, in regard to what they did for the temple, which they both reconstructed, one of them adding to it the small temple with its treasury, and the other celebrating there the great festival to Amon.

In the inscriptions of the Festival Hall we found some information concerning the family of the king. His queen was called *Karoama*. She was his legitimate wife, and she is frequently seen accompanying the king in the ceremonies of the festival. Her cartouche always appears in this form:



the royal wife Karoama (pl. xlii. A).

The inscriptions of Thebes give us the names of two other wives of Osorkon II., one of whom was mother of a high priest of Amon. This fact corroborates Professor Maspero's opinion, who suggests that "the Bubastite kings, like the Saïtes, may have had one or several Theban wives, spending at Thebes the greater part of their life, the possession of whom secured to the king a rightful authority over Thebes, and whose male heirs were destined eventually to be invested with the dignity of high priests."⁶ Karoama was probably Theban, and may have been buried there; but in the inscriptions of she bears no title similar to those of the queen-priestesses, of whom, however, she may have been one. At Bubastis she is merely styled *the royal wife*. Her daughters have nothing connecting them with the Theban worship of Amon, in which the life of Thebes seems to have centred under the twenty-

first and twenty-second dynasty, nor with the sacerdotal hierarchy which has been then the government of Thebes. That does not mean that at Thebes they did not belong to the hierarchy of the priests, for Bubastis was a far distant from the city of Amon, and its chief divinity at Bast.

In the very difficult reconstruction of the twenty-first dynasty, that of the king-priests, we must not be astonished if the same man bears names, titles, or even cartouches which at first sight seem very different. According as the inscriptions mentioning them have been found at Thebes or at Tanis, or at any other place, the dignities connected with the worship of Amon may be stated in full, or they may be totally deficient; the first cartouche may be the indication of a religious office, or it may be a regular coronation name, there may be two cartouches or only one. The great majority of the inscriptions concerning the king-priests having been found at Thebes, we have been led to give an exaggerated importance to all that refers to them. In their time, the Delta, not Thebes, is the foundation-head of Egyptian political history.

A block, which was part of the inscriptions of the Festival Hall, has preserved the names of three of the daughters of Osorkon, who are seen marching in procession behind their mother (pl. xlii. C). The eldest was called the beginner, the first born, *ta Shakheper*; the second was named like her mother *Karoama*; as for the third, it is possible that a sign is lost at the beginning of the name, it reads *Armer*.

THE CEMETERY OF CATS

THE Osorkons made Bubastis the sanctuary of Bast, the temple being dedicated to the goddess. It is natural to assign to their*

⁵The Store City of Pithom, 3rd ed. p. 15.

⁶Maspero, *Momies de Deir el Bahari*, p. 751.

reign, if not the special reverence of which cats were the object, which can be traced to a very early date; at least the custom of giving those animals a sacred burial. I consider therefore the twenty-second dynasty having first established the cemetery of cats. Standing on the western part of the mounds of Tell Basta, and looking towards Zagazig, the visitor has before him an area of several acres, which has been dug out thoroughly. Near the numerous pits by which the place is honey-combed, are seen heaps of white bones of cats. This spot has been one of the most productive mines which the fellaheen had at their disposal. There they found the numerous bronze cats which fill the shops of the dealers at Cairo, and also the standing statuettes of a divinity crowned with a lotus flower, out of which issue two plumes, the god *Nefertum*, the son of Bast.

Although the cemetery was considered as exhausted, I. made an attempt at excavations in order to find bronze cats, and to ascertain the manner in which the animals are buried. We emptied completely several of the large pits in which they had been deposited. The work was superintended chiefly by Dr. Goddard, who took part in the excavations during the winter of 1889. The fellaheen, when they dug for bronze cats, began with the upper pits; we had to go much deeper than they had done, and we reached older pits, which the water of the inundation reaches every year, so that the bronzes are in a very bad state of preservation. We discovered a few of them—sitting cats, heads, the inner part of which is empty; a good specimen representing Bast standing under the form of a woman with a slender body and a cat's head, wearing a long dress and holding in her hands a sistrum and a basket, and having at her feet four crouching kittens.

The bones are heaped up in large subterranean pits, the walls and bottom of which are made of bricks or hardened clay. Near each pit is seen the furnace in which the bodies of the animals were burnt; its red or blackened bricks indicate clearly the action of the fire, which is confirmed by the circumstance that the bones often form a conglomerate with ashes and charcoal. This cremation accounts

also for the difficulty we had in finding unbroken bones or complete skulls; indeed, when handled, they nearly always fell to pieces. Here and there among the bones have been thrown bronze cats or statuettes of *Nefertum*, which are but rarely intact; the feet are generally broken off. Some of the pits were very large; we emptied one containing over 720 cubic feet of bones. This gives an idea of the quantity of cats necessary for filling it.

At Professor Virchow's request we gathered skulls which could stand the transport, and we sent them to the illustrious naturalist in Berlin. We had been struck at first sight by the fact that several skulls were too large to be cats; the Arab diggers called them rabbit heads. According to the researches of Professor Virchow these skulls belonged to ichneumons, which were buried with the cats because they also were sacred animals. As for the cats themselves, the interesting discussions which have taken place at the Anthropological Society of Berlin have shown that they belonged to several species of the cat-tribe, but not to the domestic cat, which probably the Egyptians had not. The majority of the bones of Bubastis are those of the African type called *Felis maniculata*, which, according to Dr. Hartmann, is the original stock of our domestic cat, and abounds in Ethiopia and on the Upper Nile. There we are to look for the primitive resort of our cat, the domestication of which goes back only to a recent epoch, much later than the pictures of the Egyptian tombs. It is probable that the Egyptians had succeeded in taming the cat, as is done to-day with the ichneumon, and that they used it for hunting purposes, or otherwise, but it seems well *


established that they had not gone so far as a regular domestication of the animal.

Professor Virchow and the Berlin naturalists who discussed the question, do not admit that the bones discovered at Bubastis belonged to animals that had been burnt. I believe that this opinion is in consequence of the fact that we sent only bones which were in a fair state of preservation, because in the furnace where the animals were heaped up, the burning had not been complete, and some of the skeletons may have escaped the action of the fire. I think that the presence of furnaces in the cemetery, and the contents of a pit, where the bones are mixed up with ashes and charcoal, is a decisive argument in favour of the cremation of the bodies. Besides, there are no traces whatever of embalming ; once only we found little bits of gold paper which may have been on the cartonnage of the mummy, or on the wrappings which covered the body of an animal, which for some reason or other did not share the same fate as the others. If there has been a mummification of cats at Bubastis, it was of very rare occurrence, while it is the rule in other cemeteries like Beni-Hassan.

Brugsch has observed that the sculptured representations of the goddess or the statues are always lion-headed,⁷ while the bronzes are cats. The Egyptian word is the same for both; the Egyptians seem to have considered the smaller animal as a diminutive of the other, as its reduced image, which was presented to the goddess as an offering. It is the same with the hippopotamus and the pig, which are also designated by one word. Bast is a form of *Mut*, the mother-goddess, and also of *Hathor*, the goddess of Denderah. She assumes the names of *Uot'i*, and also of *Sekhet*, when she appears as a warlike divinity and as a destructive power. We read in a text of Philae,⁸ *she is furious as Sekhet, and she is appeased as Bast*. In the text of the destruction of mankind, which I found in the tomb of Seti I., Hathor takes the form of Sekhet when she slaughters the men and tramples on their blood. Sekhet is the Βουβάστις ἀγρία. of the Greeks.

The most frequent qualifications of Bast at Bubastis are : *the great goddess of Bubastis, the queen of the gods, the eye, or perhaps, the*

daughter of Ra, the mighty, the queen of the sky, and also, as we saw in several instances, the priestess herseshta of Tum, an obscure title which was never found before. The name of Bast, as is pointed out by Brugsch, is de-

rived from the root  which means impulse, motion, and which according to the cases may be *to introduce* or *to bring out*. Brugsch connects the idea of motion with the fructifying and fertilizing action of heat, which would be Bast, while on the contrary, when, as is often the case in a climate like Egypt, the heat becomes a nuisance and an evil, it would be Sekhet. Brugsch considers also Bast as a form of the moon, to which fertility is often attributed in the Egyptian mythology.

The name of Bast is a feminine form of *Bes*, the god of the East, a warlike divinity, whose chief sanctuary was also very near Bubastis, in the neighbouring nome of Arabia, the capital of which was *Phacusa*⁹ There he was called *Sopt*, and he took several forms and different names; one of them is *Sopt Shu*, a god who is armed like Bes. Comparing the inscriptions of the great shrine of Saft-el-Henneh with the inscriptions of Bubastis, we find that the divinity accompanying Bast most frequently, and considered as her son, is called *Horhiken*, a god with a hawk's head, like all forms of *Horus* ; or *Nefertum*, a god with a human head wearing a lotus flower, out of which issue two plumes, or *Menthu*, a god with a hawk's head, and lastly *Mahes*, who at Saft el Henneh is represented as a lion *

⁷ I know of one exception at Behbeit-el-Hagar. See *The Mound of the Jew*, pl. vi.

⁸ Brugsch, *Dict.* p. 810.

⁹ Goshen, p. 10.

devouring the head of a human being, and who often wears the emblems of Nefertum¹ The triad² of Bubastis consists of *Tum*, *Bast*, and *Mahes*, called also *Nefertum* or *Horhiken*. As we know that the ichneumon was an emblem of *Tum*,³ there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that those animals should be mixed in the cemetery with the cats which represented *Bast* and *Mahes*.




DYNASTIES TWENTY-THREE TO TWENTY-NINE.




AFTER the Osorkons it seems that Bubastis soon began to decline, we find no more important monuments, and hardly any traces of the kings who preceded Nekhthorheb. We must remember that the country went through troubled times which were not favourable to the execution of great works, for which peace and prosperity are necessary. Egypt had to undergo several invasions, of the Ethiopians first, and afterwards of the Assyrians, to whom she was long tributary. The dynasty which restored to Egypt part of her former splendour, under whose reign there was a kind of revival both in art and in political life, the twenty-sixth, does not seem to have taken much interest in Bubastis, but to have concentrated its works on other localities, like Sais, its native city, or the north-eastern part of the Delta.

However, two small monuments of that dynasty have been preserved; one of them bearing its date, and which is the forepart of a crouching statuette in basalt, of very fine workmanship, with *Bast* sculptured in the middle, and an inscription on each side (pl. xliii. D). On the arms are the cartouches of the king *Uahabra*, *Apries*, *Hophra*, under whose reign the man lived. He was undoubtedly a high dignitary, for his titles are : *prince of the first order, chancellor, and chief of the friends of the King*. His name was *Nespahor*, and his surname *Neferabraankh*, *the living Neferabra*, the image of *Neferabra*, who was king *Psammetik II.*, under whose reign he was born. His father was a prophet, and was called *Menhor*, *the image of Horus*.

Another monument, the style of which is Saitic, is a much obliterated group, in

limestone, of a priest and priestess, now in the British Museum. The inscription engraved on the back contains the remainder of the titles of the two persons, with the usual formulas. It is divided in two, the right side referring to the priestess, and the left to the priest, whose name has disappeared. There was also some text inscribed on the edge of the monument (pl. xliii. A, A'.)

We see there that the title of  *herseshta* was special to Bubastis; we saw it given to the goddess herself, we saw also that *Khaemuas*, the son of *Rameses II.*, had been invested with the same dignity as the Saitic priest, who is  *herseshta sekhetnuter*, *priest of the holy field*, the usual name of the territory of Bubastis. It is the first time that we find the name of the goddess written  *Sekhetnuter*, which I consider to be the Egyptian name corresponding to the Greek Βουβαστις αγρια.⁴


In the same inscription also we come across an unknown geographical name  |  |  *the garden or the field or the marsh of Horus*, as we saw before that there was one of *Bast*. It must have been a locality in the neighbourhood of the temple, or at least in the territory of the city, for the man says that he received for his hereditary share *the house of his father in the garden of*^{f*}

¹ Goshen, pl. iii. 3, vi. 6, vii. 5.

² See Goahen, pl. ii. 6, the three members of the triad under their various forms standing before Sopt.

³ Goshen, pl. vi. 6.

⁴ The Mound of the Jew, p. 23.

Horus. The name of the priestess, which alone has been preserved, is  *Honttuui*.

I assign also to the Saitic epoch a fragment of a statue in black granite; part of the inscription of the sides and of the back has been preserved. The monument was dedicated to Bast of Bubastis. The fragments of lines of the lateral inscription are not destitute of interest; they speak of *the child of Tep, with its pleasant face, who is in the garden of Bast* (pl. xliii. C).

I saw also in the shop of a dealer at Zagazig a small fragment of green basalt, of the same date. The deceased, as usual, addresses the priests who pass by going into the temple,



every priest entering the sanctuary of the lady of Bast.

Following the chronological order, we come to a small statue in limestone, the middle part of which only has been preserved (pl. xliiii. B). It is a dedication of the king Hakoris, of the twenty-ninth dynasty, to the goddess Bast of Bubastis. It is the first time that a monument of this king has been found in the Delta. The fragment is now in the British Museum.

THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY.

I NOTICED in another work⁵ the considerable number of constructions which have been raised in the Delta by the thirtieth dynasty, and especially by the first king, Nekhthorheb. Bubastis is one of the localities where he displayed the greatest activity; for he added to the temple a hall which he intended to be the largest. It prolonged the temple on the west, and was 160 feet square. All around the walls, on the top, ran a cornice adorned with large projecting asps; a fragment of it was visible at the end of last century, and has been reproduced in the work of the French Expedition; we discovered a few more.

The hall of Nekhthorheb, like the others, is only a heap of blocks; the granite alone has

been left. A great part of the building was made of red limestone from Gebel Ahmar, chips of which cover the ground, so that, more than any other spot in the temple, this hall has the appearance of a quarry. I think the hall never was finished; the walls were to be covered with sculptures, a part of which only has been executed. Nekhthorheb frequently employed in his structure materials taken from the older halls. Thanks to his unscrupulousness, we have preserved the block of Amenemha I., and that of Amenophis II., which was used as a door lintel, so that the inscription remained unhurt. A great many inscriptions have been completely erased, and it is impossible to assign a date to them. Nekhthorheb followed the traditions of the Bubastites; he dedicated his structure to Bast, and even, in order to show better how devoted he was to the goddess, he changed his cartouche, and instead of calling himself the *son of Isis*, as he does elsewhere, he styles himself the *son of Bast*. When he made the great constructions of Bubastis, he had already erected the temple of *Heb*; his cartouche contained already the name of that city; however, we discovered a fragment of a statue dedicated at the beginning of his reign, when he had not yet built the temple of Isis. He is called there (pl. xliiii. E) *Nekhthorneb*, or *Hornebnekht*, as on the large cartouches of Samanood.⁶





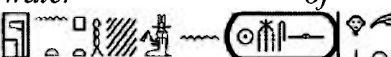
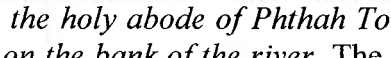
Nekhthorheb was not satisfied with building the great hall, he put in it a shrine of polished red granite; the workmanship is so perfect that it must rank among the finest remains of Egyptian art. The sculptures are not very deep, but engraved with the most minute details (pl. xlvi. and xlvi.). Most of the frag-
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⁵ Goshen, p. 3


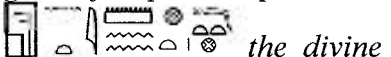
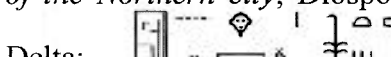
⁶ See *The Mound of the Jew*, pl. vi. 2, p. 25.

ments have been carried away and sent to the museum of Ghizeh or to the British Museum. We cannot make even an approximate reconstruction of the monument; too many fragments have disappeared. It is not impossible even that there were two of them. In the cartouches, which are regularly repeated, and which are the ornament of the cornice, Nekhthorheb is always styled *the son of Bast*, the goddess with a lion's head being substituted for Isis, who is generally seen in cartouches found in other places. It is not possible to translate even one sentence from the inscriptions which were engraved on the walls of the hall, which the king had built *to his mother. Bast*; there are only short fragments left (pl. xliv.—xlvi.). The peculiar character of those sculptures, as of most of those which are the work of Nekhthorheb or his successor, is the strange religious representations of which they consist. Nekhthorheb erected the tablet now called from the name of its owner the "Metternich tablet," which is covered with religious texts of the greatest interest; under Nectanebo's reign the shrine of Saft el Henneh was engraved, the partial destruction of which is much to be regretted, and which has the greatest likeness to the monuments of Nekhthorheb. At that time it seems that the sovereigns wished to give their monuments a more religious stamp; the texts which accompany the figures are no mere commonplace sentences; they are much more developed; as for the divinities, they are more numerous, and are seen under the most various appearances. The god to whom a monument is dedicated appears followed by a train of divinities, who are nearly the whole Egyptian pantheon.

From the larger fragments which have been preserved, we may infer that the representations were divided into successive panels, between which stood a huge serpent (pl. xlvi. D, E). In each panel appear several divinities, the names of which are given; but though the god alone is represented, it seems that the text was intended to be a catalogue of temples, for the text always

begins with the words :  *the holy abode, the sanctuary of;* thus we have,  *the divine abode of Ra, of Rameses, in the district: the water*  *of Ra;*
 *the holy abode of Phthah Tonen of Rameses, on the bank of the river.* The kind of property over the gods which Rameses had assumed, and which probably entitled him to a special protection, persisted in the tradition as late as Nekhthorheb.

As for the localities indicated by those names, the first may be the city called under the Ptolemies *Onias*,⁷ north of Heliopolis, the present Tell el Yahoodieh. We do not know what is meant by the second, which may be Memphis. Several other sacred abodes are quoted; most of them are much obliterated; some of the most interesting are:

 *the sacred abode of Teb, the god of Aphroditopolis in Upper Egypt;*⁸
 *the divine abode of Amon of the Northern city, Diospolis parva, in the Delta;*
 *the divine abode of Arsaphes, the king of the gods, the lord of Hanes, Heracleopolis.*

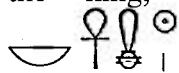
Very little remains of the inscription of the basement, as well as of the upper cornice; one of them contained a date, or something connected with chronology, as we may conclude from the fragment now in the museum of Ghizeh, where we read (pl. xliv. E), *of the festival, every one, fifty years.* Is it the length of the period after which the festival was celebrated, or did Nekhthorheb build the hall, as Osorkon II. had done before, on the occasion of a great solemnity? We can express only conjectures. One thing is certain; if there was any festival at all, it was decidedly in honour of Bast, and*

⁷ The Mound of the Jew, p. 12.

⁸ Brugsch, Dict. geog. p. 928.

not of Amon, as under Osorkon. Among the sacred animals sculptured on the walls, we find the ichneumon (pl. xlv. F), which, as we said before, being an emblem of Tum, was buried with the cats.

At the end of the hall was a shrine of red granite, perhaps even two, covered with religious representations, and processions of gods. The walls were divided in horizontal registers, separated by a band covered with stars, which figures the sky, and which is supported by men with raised arms. Shrines of the same kind were made by Nekhthorheb in several places; I found fragments of one at Saft el Henneh, and of another at Belbeis, two cities where the worship had great similarity with that of Bubastis. A particularly artistic fragment to be noticed, contains the name of the king, followed by the predicate



the living lord, like Ra. Name and predicate are arranged in such a way as to form two medallions of the same size, and perfectly symmetrical. The name of the king has not the shape of an oval; all the signs are included in the sign *Heb*, so that the whole reads, *Nekhthorheb si Bast* (pl. xlvii. A).

On a somewhat larger fragment Bast is seen sitting, and the king is before her making offerings. Bast is called *the lady of the shrine, the daughter of Horus, residing in the holy field*, the well-known name for the territory of Bubastis (xlvii. G).

To the reign of Nekhthorheb belongs also a statue, so much mutilated, that only a shapeless fragment has been preserved. It probably represented the king himself, sitting, with a smaller figure standing near him. On the sides and on the back of the throne was engraved a procession of figures, and an inscription referring to festivals, the date of which was given:


(Pl. xliii. F F' F'') ... 1.3, towards the statues of the temple of his mother, *Usert (the mighty) Bast*.



... 1. 4, the lord of the diadems, *Nekhthorheb*, in the festival of the first of the month, and of the half month. . . . 1. 5, on the fifth of the month

of *Tybi*, the day when the statue was sculptured.

Judging from the style of the work we must classify among the monuments of Nekhthorheb a fragment of a statue of Bast, standing, of beautiful workmanship (pl. xliii. G). In the inscription are contained part of the titles of the goddess, . . . *the lady of Bast, the daughter of Ra, the queen of the sky, who rules over all the gods, . . . the great one, the lady of Bast, the priestess herseshta of Tum, the only one, who has no descent, the goddess of the North, who rules.*

. . . The name of *Mehent*, the goddess of the North, identifies her with *Uoti*.⁹ A text of the same king, discovered at Behbeit el Hagar (Heb, Iseum), speaks of her under the name of *Meht*;¹ the determinative is a cat, and not a lion.

To all the above described monuments, the age of which is pointed to either by a name or by the style, we must add a few, the date of which is uncertain. Two fragments of red limestone have been found in the first hall, both bearing very large inscriptions carefully engraved. One of them was horizontal (pl. xlix. C); it accompanied probably a scene of offerings. It mentions *the great princess*, who may be Bast or any other goddess. The other is vertical, and reads, *the gods, by the art of Shet* , another name of Bast (pl. xlix. D). Immediately after came the name of a king, entirely destroyed. A fragment of a pillar in white limestone, used by the Romans in a very rude construction which they erected at the entrance of the first hall, bears the following words: *the divine father, the herseshta in the temple of the mighty goddess* (pl. xlix. A). There is an omission in the

inscription, the sign , has been forgotten above the first  The signs are cut very deep. The pillar may be Ptolemaic, and have been engraved for the same man who had in his tomb a Canopic vase,*

⁹ Brugsch, *Myth.* p. 324, 329, 336.

¹ *The Mound of the Jew*, pi. vi.

which we purchased from the sebakh diggers. His titles and name were (pl. xlix. B), *the divine father, the herseshta of Bast, the lady of Bast, the scribe of the treasury, Aba.*

THE PTOLEMIES AND THE ROMANS.

AT the entrance of the hypostyle hall, on two blocks of red granite, which were bases of statues, we found two Greek inscriptions, without any remains of the statues which stood above. The inscriptions are the following. One of them is complete, and has been carried to the museum of Ghizeh, the other is only half preserved (pi. xlix. E, F).

Ἀπολλώνιον Θεῶνος τῶν φίλ(ων)
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διοικήτην
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Ἡτολεμαῖος
Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν διαδόχων
εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς βασιλέα
Ἡτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν θεοῦς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ
εὐχαρίστους καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν.

Βασιλέα Ἡτολεμαῖον θ...
καὶ εὐχαρίστον καὶ το...
Ἡτολεμαῖον Ἀπολλῶ(νιος Θεωνος)
τῶν φίλων ὁ διοική(της...
ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ...
αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκ...

Undoubtedly these inscriptions were dedications of statues; it is the rule to employ the accusative alone in honorary inscriptions.² They acquaint us with a high official of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the *dioicetes*, or *minister of finance*, *Apollonios, the son of Theon*. According to M. Lumbroso³ we knew already six of those officials, one of whom, Tlepolemos, belongs to the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and is described by Polybius as a bad administrator. As Tlepolemos was in office in the twentieth, year of Ptolemy, he must have been the successor of Apollonios, who was one of the *friends* of the king, a very high dignity at the court of the Greek kings. A statue is erected to him by Ptolemy, one of the *διαδόχοι*, the *life-guards*, who probably were the successors of the Macedonian soldiers. He calls himself the brother, *ἀδελφός*, of Apollonios, but as they had not the same father, since Ptolemy was the son of

another Apollonios, and Apollonios the son of Theon, the word *ἀδελφός* must mean either first cousin or uterine brother.

In the second inscription it is Apollonios, the son of Theon, who writes the dedication, for I do not think there can be any doubt as to the restitution, Ἀπολλώνιος Θεῶνος (l. 3). He seems to have erected two statues, since he mentions first the king and afterwards his brother Ptolemy. It is natural that the high standing minister should speak first of his sovereign. Both brothers give a curious motive for making a monument to each other, "kindness towards the king and queen." It may have been a present intended to court the good-will of the sovereign, but if they had some favour to ask for, it is strange that they both should have done it by adorning the temple of Bast with monuments which were testimonies of their friendliness to each other.

Although they left no inscriptions, it is clear that the Romans did not abandon the temple of Bubastis. At the entrance of the hypostyle hall, the place where the Greek inscriptions were discovered, was the pedestal of a statue (pl. vi.), part of which we may have found, for at a short distance was a headless torso in green basalt, wearing a toga with an ornamental fringe exactly similar to that of the Roman statue in the museum of Ghizeh. The front part of a fine torso in white stone, which was used as a bridge over a ditch, and which we purchased from a fellah, is also Roman work. I think that the Romans used the temple for military purposes, for they seem to have made to it strong doors, the posts of which were built of huge stones. On the west side, where there was an entrance, was found a large block, still *in situ*, with a cartouche of Nekhthorheb*

² Reinach, *Epig. grecque*, p. 380.

³ *Econ. pol.* p. 339.

turned upside down, showing that it had been used after the king for a purpose quite different from what he originally intended. On the north side of the Festival Hall - was also a door, the hinge of which has been preserved (pl. xxvii. and xxii. B). It is a cube of one foot of solid bronze inserted into a stone, and fastened underneath with a very hard welding, and on the sides with stone wedges. On the top is seen the slight hollow where the pivot of the door turned; the stone itself, which was the threshold, and out of which we took the hinge, bears a circular furrow produced by the door in being opened and closed (pl. xxii. B).

As the Egyptians sometimes buried their dead in the enclosure walls of the cities, I made some excavations in the very thick wall which surrounded Bubastis, and two sides of which have been preserved, on the west and the north of the Tell. I even cut completely through it.

It did not give any interesting result; I found only very late burials, in coffins of terra-cotta, or made of raw bricks, such as may be seen on plate xxviii. They contained mummified bodies, but quite destitute of any amulet, inscription, or funereal object of any kind. I consider them as being interments of poor people of the end of the Roman period.

THE SMALL TEMPLE.

WE hear from Herodotus that at a distance of three furlongs from the temple of Bast, at the end of a road which passed through the market-place, and which was lined by trees of an extraordinary height, was the temple of Hermes. The direction of the road is still traceable, although above its level there is an accumulation of several feet of earth. At the distance indicated by the Greek writer, the Tel ends, and we reach cultivated fields where, when I went there first, a few granite blocks were scattered. After long and difficult negotiations, I obtained from the owner, the sheikh of a neighbouring village, the permission to excavate in his field, with the condition that I should not carry away anything which I might discover. This excavation lasted a week. It brought to light a

small heap of broken stones jumbled together, and which evidently were the remains of a building smaller than the Temple of Bast. The largest fragment was an architrave, bearing the name of Rameses II. Except this one, all the others had the name of Osorkon I., who had certainly enlarged this small temple, if he did not raise it completely. On plates 1. to lii. has been reproduced all that remains of the inscriptions, which must have been numerous. It is possible that the temple extended further, and that there were other chambers around that which I discovered; but the ill-will of the fellaah prevented me from searching for them, and could not be conquered even by the high pecuniary compensation which I offered for more extensive excavations. In Egypt we must always reckon with the innate feeling, of which even highly situated persons are not free, that the explorer looks only for gold and treasures.

Herodotus seems to have made a mistake, when he says that the small temple was dedicated to Hermes. It must have been consecrated to the same divinities as the great temple. In the few and badly preserved remains of the representations which adorned its wall (pl. 1.), "we find the king making offerings to the triad of Bubastis, Bast being seen twice, once as Tefnut, the other time as Sekhet.

Also in the sacred barges which were sculptured on the walls, and of which a few remains only have been left, Bast is seen standing before a man who must be the king. The reason which induced Herodotus to consider the temple as having been dedicated to Thoth, is the frequent occurrence of the god in the inscriptions, and*

probably in the sculptures which have been destroyed, and where the Greek traveller, who could not read hieroglyphs, might recognize the ibis head of the god. The mistake of Herodotus was perhaps suggested to him by the character of the edifice, which I believe to have been a treasury. Thoth was the "lord of truth," from whom wisdom and intelligence were thought to proceed. It is natural that he should have the treasures of Bubastis under his special protection, just as in other temples we see him represented in sculptures or inscriptions concerning measurements, accounts, and dates.

Notwithstanding the architrave with the name of Rameses II. it is obvious from the great number of cartouches of Osorkon I. discovered there, that it is this king who mostly contributed to the construction of the small temple, which he intended to be a monument of his wealth and of his munificence towards the gods. All the inscriptions which we found are accounts of gold, silver, and precious stones, especially lapis lazuli, offered to several divinities. It is much to be regretted that there are such scanty remains of these inscriptions, which were engraved on four sides of a pillar. The dates, of which there were several, the valuations of sums, would be very interesting, considering that they refer to a period of Egyptian history which is nearly unknown. There is only one fragment of a certain extent; it contains parts of five lines of an horizontal inscription which was engraved on one of the faces of the pillar (pl. li.). The fragment is broken in two. I made paper casts of the inscription, but I could not persuade the fellah to sell me the stone, and to let me take it to the museum of Ghizeh. Since my departure, it has been carried away by a pasha of the neighbourhood.

In this inscription the name of Thoth frequently occurs. It is the god who suggested to the king to make these generousities to the temples. Osorkon even was Thoth himself when he did it : 1. 2. "*He built their abodes, and he multiplied the vases of gold, silver, and precious stones. The king gave his directions in his form of the god of Hesert (Thoth), meaning as being Thoth himself. We*

are struck here, as on the other fragments, by the high amount of the sums given. "We find, for instance, the following sums: 1. 3, gold, 5010 *uten*¹; silver, 30,720 *uten*; genuine lapis lazuli, 1600; black copper, 5000; and something which looks like a shrine or a vase, and has a weight of 100,000 *uten*² Tum Kheper of Heliopolis receives as his share 15,345 *uten* of gold and 14,150 of silver. According to Brugsch's latest researches, and taking his estimate of the proportion of the value of both metals at ten to one, the approximate value of the above sums would be in English money 130,311 *l.* worth in gold and 12,827 *l.* of silver given to a single temple. If it was so, we can understand that the last line, where some of these gifts seem to have been summed up, should mention a sum of 494,300 *uten*, taking only the signs which are distinct, for on account of the erasure, the first figure 5 may have been much higher. On other fragments of the same pillar we find sums of this amount: gold and silver, 2,300,000 *uten*, and elsewhere (pl. lit. c, 2) more than two millions of *uten* of silver. We have no reason to think that there is exaggeration in these statements, considering that we have not here vague indications, but sums given correctly down to the units.

It gives us a very high idea of what the riches and the prosperity of the kingdom must have been under Osorkon I. In this case, as with the thirtieth dynasty, we have to reverse the generally admitted opinion as to the con-*

¹Brugsch assigns to the *uten* the weight of 90.9 grammes, which differs only slightly from the 1450 grains assigned to the *uten* by Mr. Petrie, vid. Brugsch, *Zeitschr.* vol. xxvii.

p. 85 & ff.


²Prof. Brugsch in a private letter says he considers the word as meaning a very high sum of money.

dition of the empire under the Bubastites. It is clear that it was only in a time of peace and prosperity that such gorgeous liberalities could be made to the temples.

Reverting to the horizontal inscription, it is remarkable through several new words and some unknown signs, which make the loss of the greatest part of the text the more to be regretted. L. 5 mentions the tributes of two of the oases. El Khargeh and Dakhel.³ This tribute consists of several kinds of wine.⁴ L. 3 there is a chronological indication, where unfortunately we have lost an important datum, the name of the month : *from the first year, the 7th of . . . , to the 4th year, the 25th of Messori, which makes 3 years, 3 months, and 16 days . . .* Whatever name of the month is taken to fill up the gap, it does not correspond exactly to this number of months and days.

We end here the description of the antiquities and of the texts discovered at Bubastis. As we have shown, they extend from the fourth dynasty to the Romans. Twenty-five kings are mentioned, from Cheops to Ptolemy Epiphanes, one of them, Ian-Ra, being quite unknown before. It is possible that other royal names may be discovered on the small objects found by the fellaheen digging for "sebach." There are some, for instance, in Mr. Hilton Price's collection, which comes chiefly from Tell Basta. In my last visit to the place I purchased from a fellah a small porcelain tablet, which I gave to the museum of Ghizeh, and which bears' on one side

 , *the good god, the lord of Egypt, Darius, everlasting,*

and on the other  , *Mahes, the very brave, the lord of (Bast)*. Large scarabs of Amenophis III., even the so-called marriage scarabs of the king, are not rare. They come from the tombs which are under the Roman houses, and are often met with by the fellaheen. The discovery of these tombs was originally the purpose which attracted me to Bubastis, but I very soon gave them up for the great temple, which has been excavated so thoroughly during more than two winters, that in my opinion any further excavation there

would be entirely devoid of result. I do not think there is any more work to be done in the great sanctuary of Bast, which proved to be one of the richest

places of Lower Egypt, only to be compared with Tanis. It is a striking example of the archaeological treasures which lie buried in the Delta, and which only wait for the pick and spade of the scientific explorer.*

³ Brugsch, *Eise nach der grossen Oase*, pp. 66, 69.

⁴ Brugsch, *l. 1*, p. 79.

LIST OF KINGS

Whose Names were Found in the Inscriptions of Bubastis.

<u>KING</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>
Cheops	IVth Dynasty.
Chefren	" "
Pepi I.	VIth "
Amenemha I	XIIth "
Usertesen I.	" "
Usertesen III.	" "
Sebekhotep I.	XIIIth "
Ian-Ra	Hyksos
Apepi	"
Amenophis II.	XVIIIth "
Amenophis III.	" "
Amenophis IV. (Khuenaten)	" "
Seti I.	XIXth "
Rameses II.	" "
Merenphthah	" "
Rameses III.	XXth "
Rameses VI.	" "
Sheshonk I.	XXIInd "
Osorkon I.	" "
Osorkon II.	" "
Psammetik II.	XXVIth "
Apries	" "
Darius	XXVIIth "
Hakoris	XXIXth "
Nekhthorheb	XXXth "
Ptolemy Epiphanes	Greek Kings

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¹ Wherever no name is mentioned, the phototypes have been made from photographs which I took myself.

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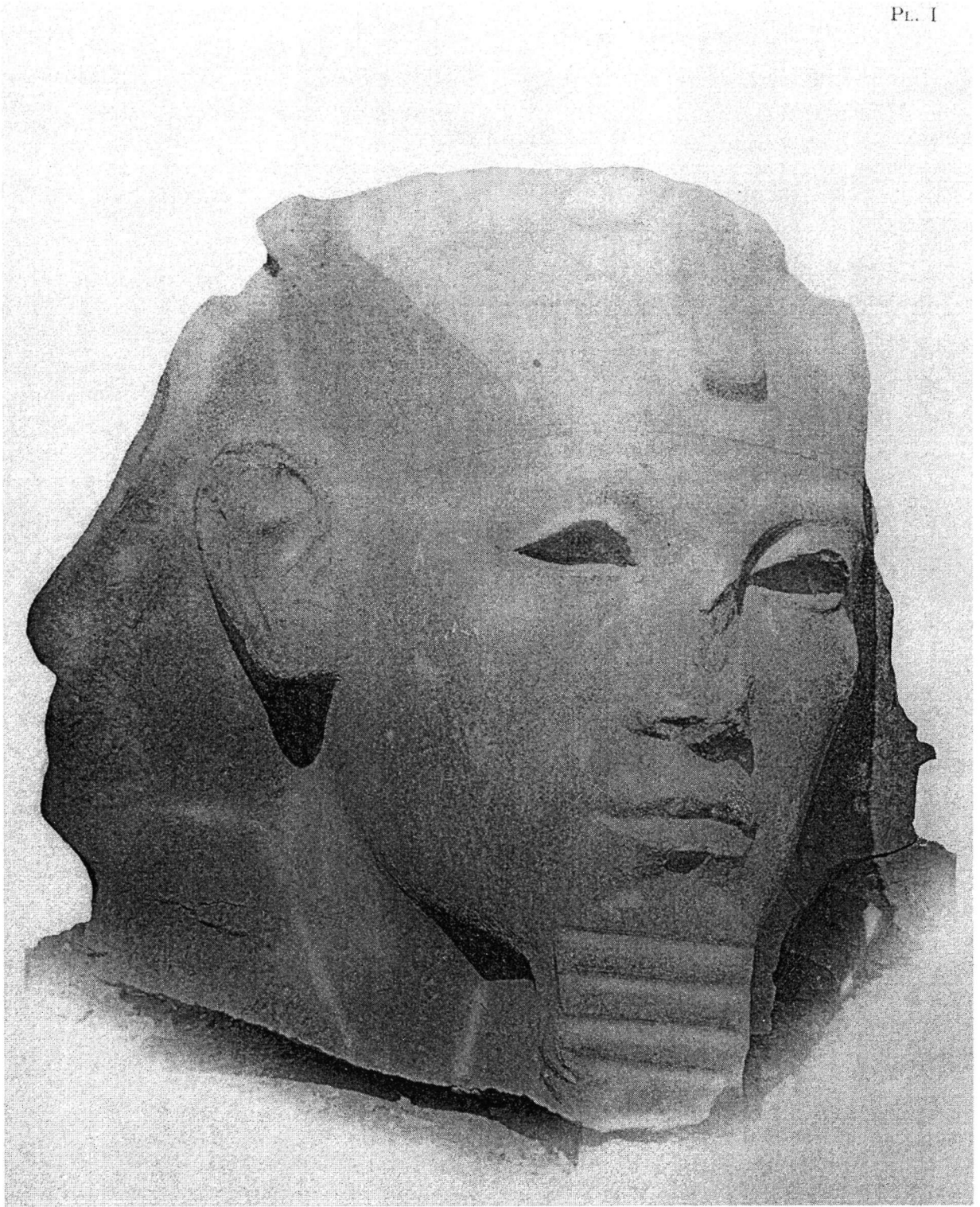
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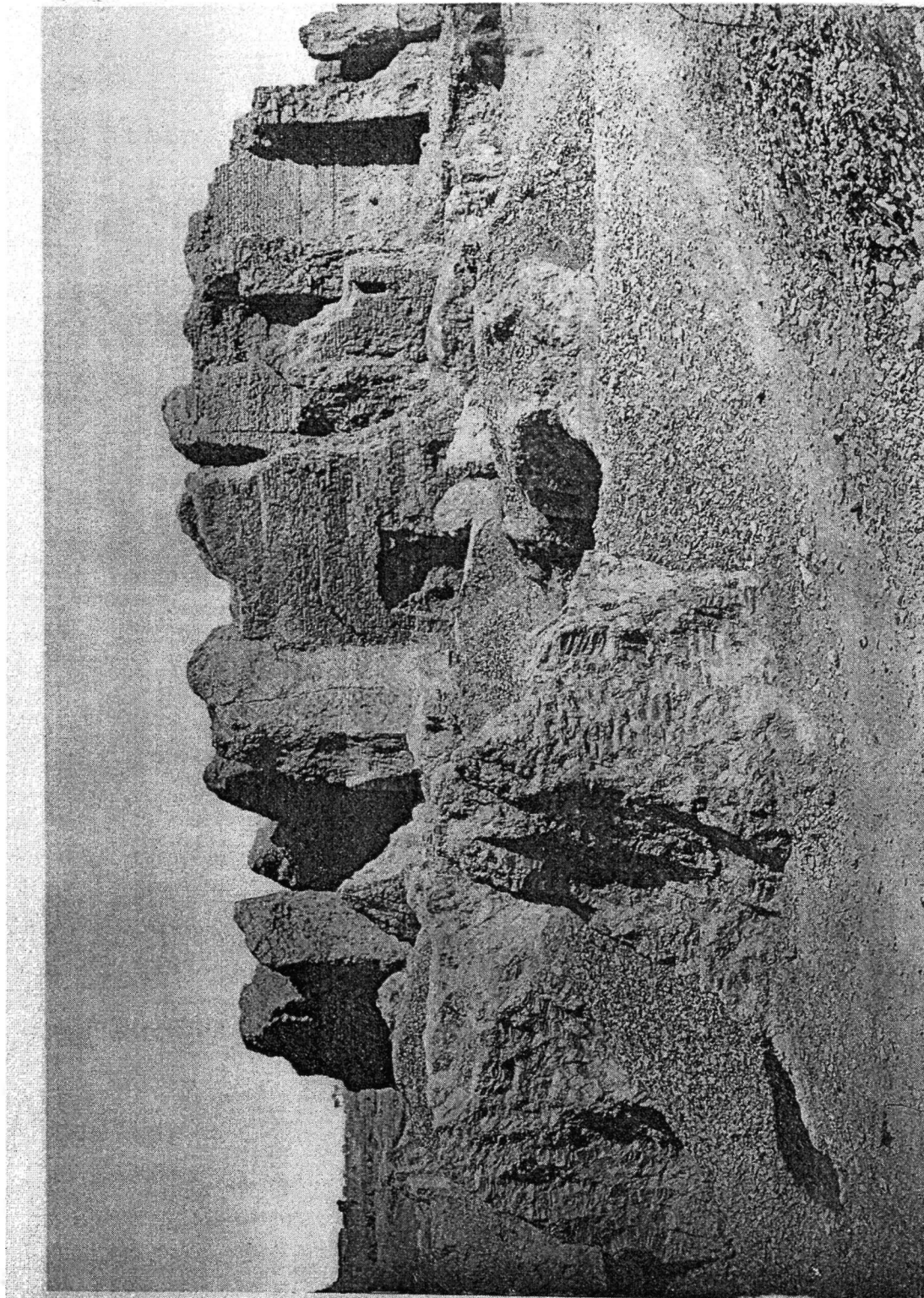
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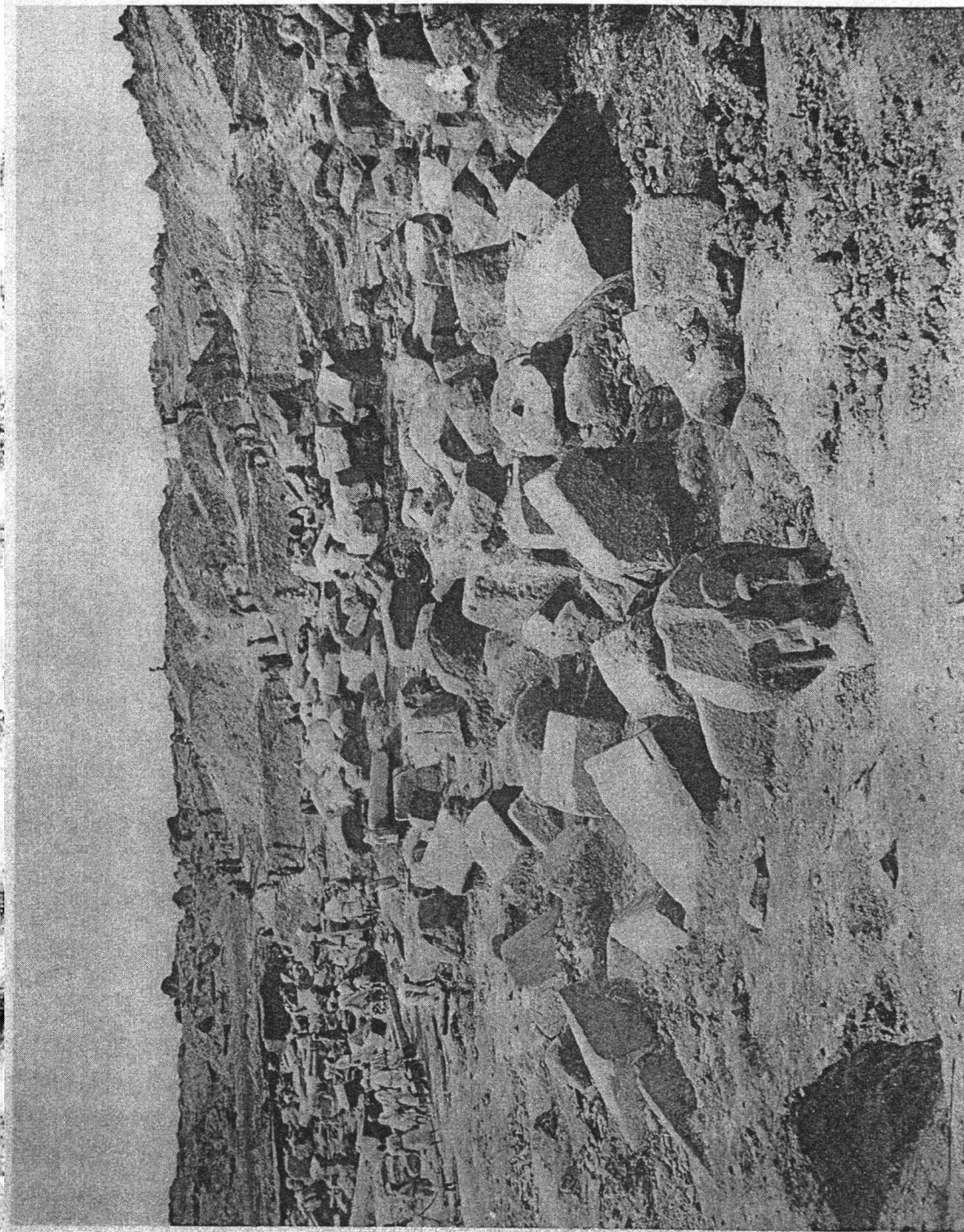
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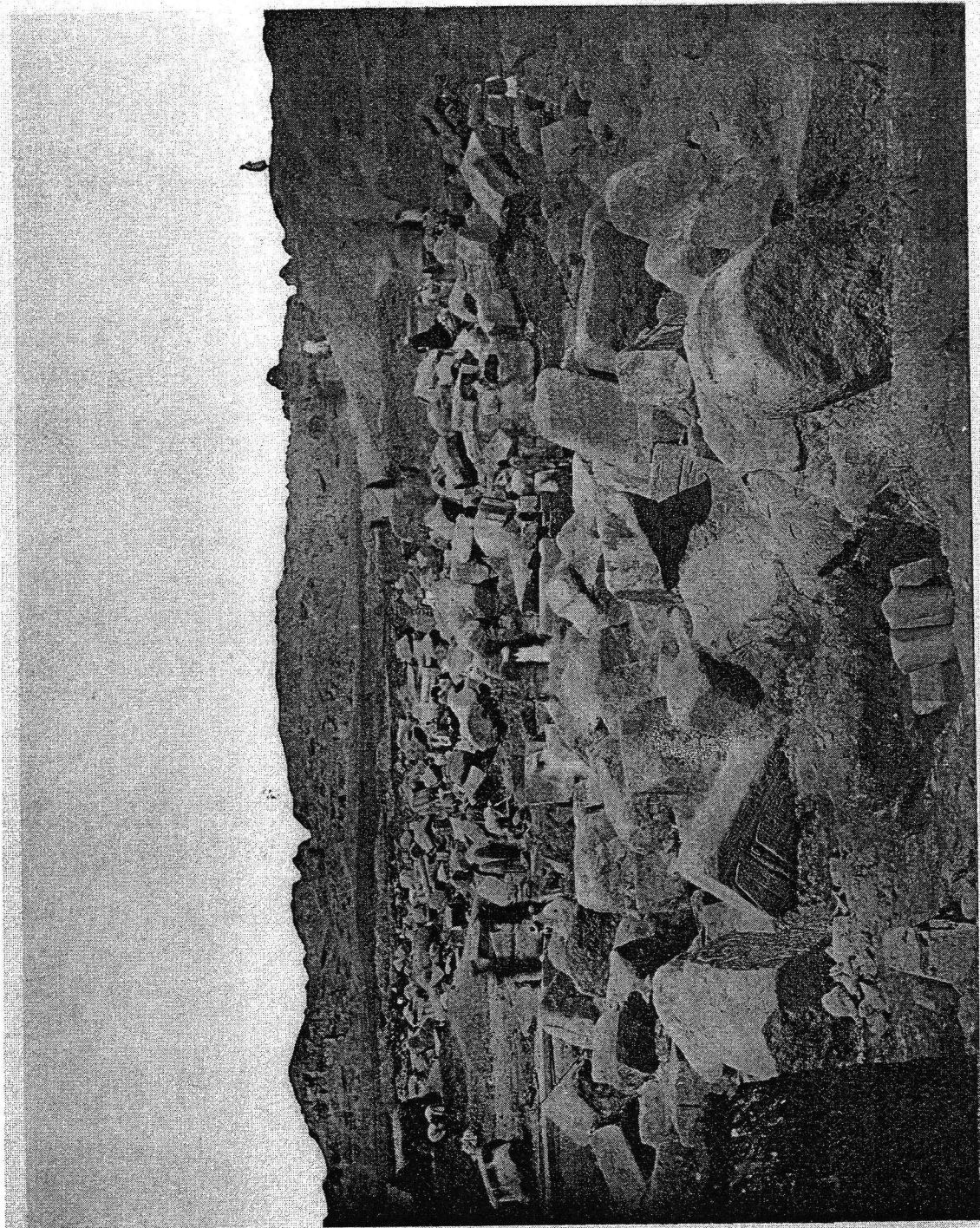
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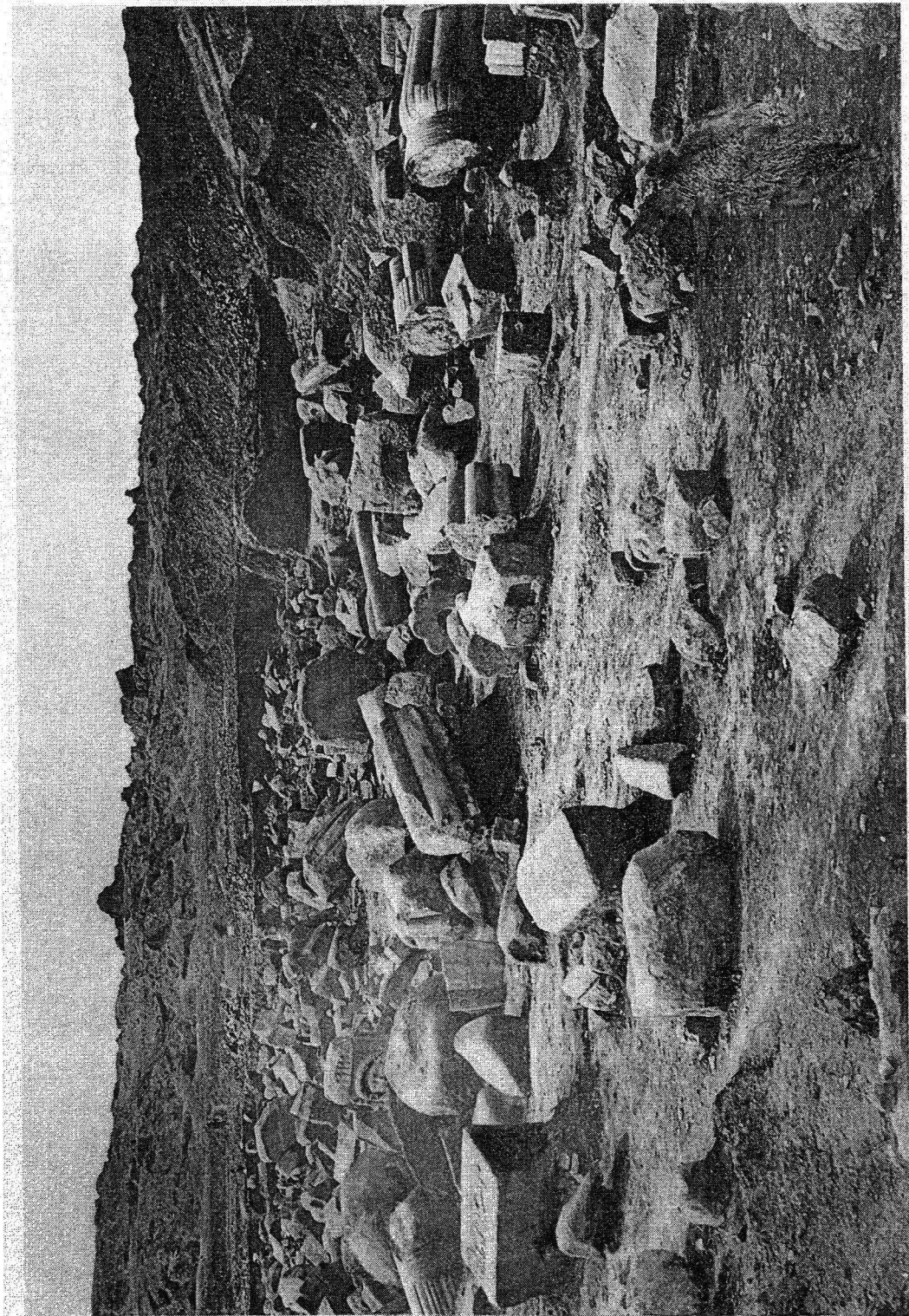
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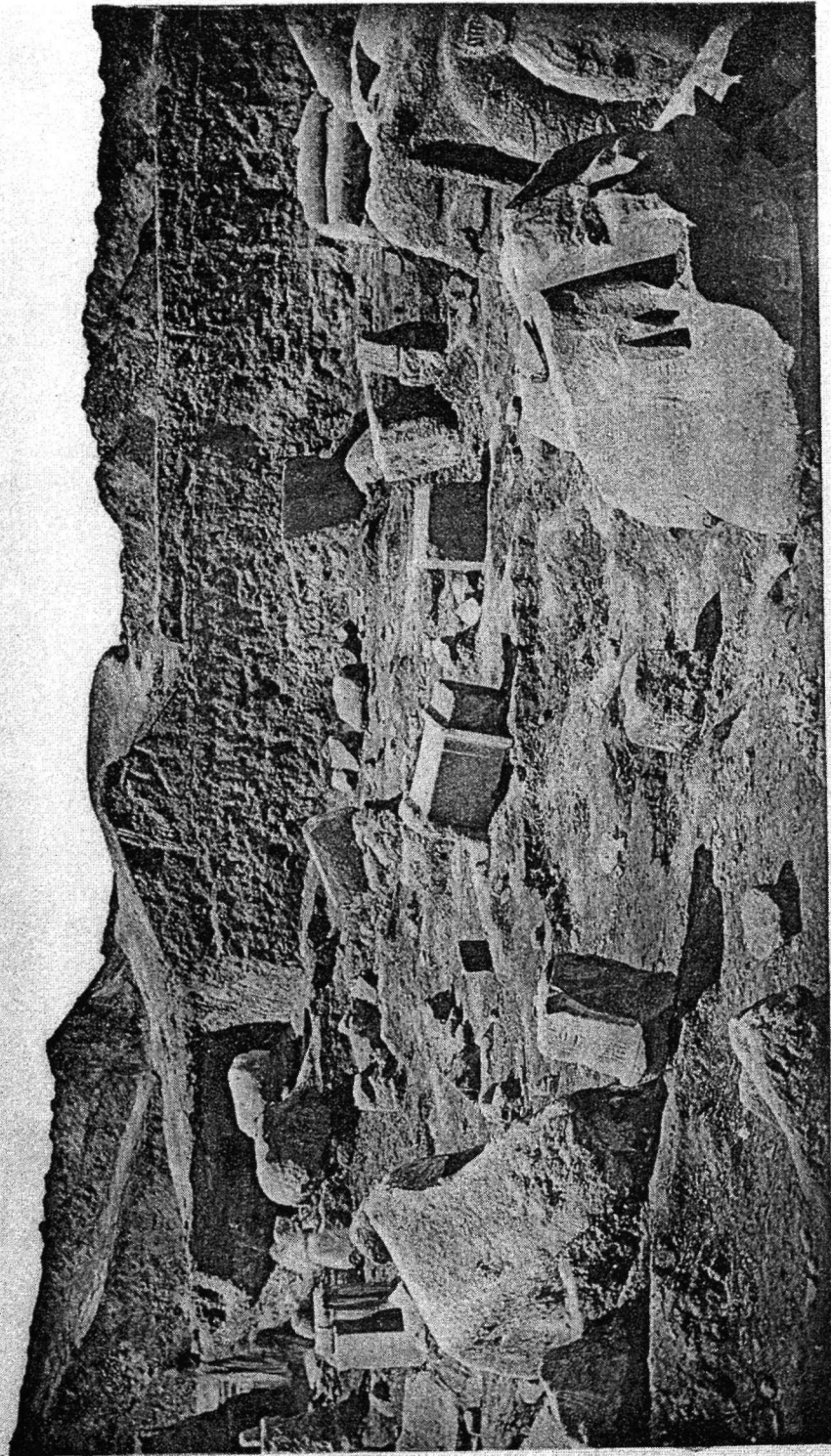
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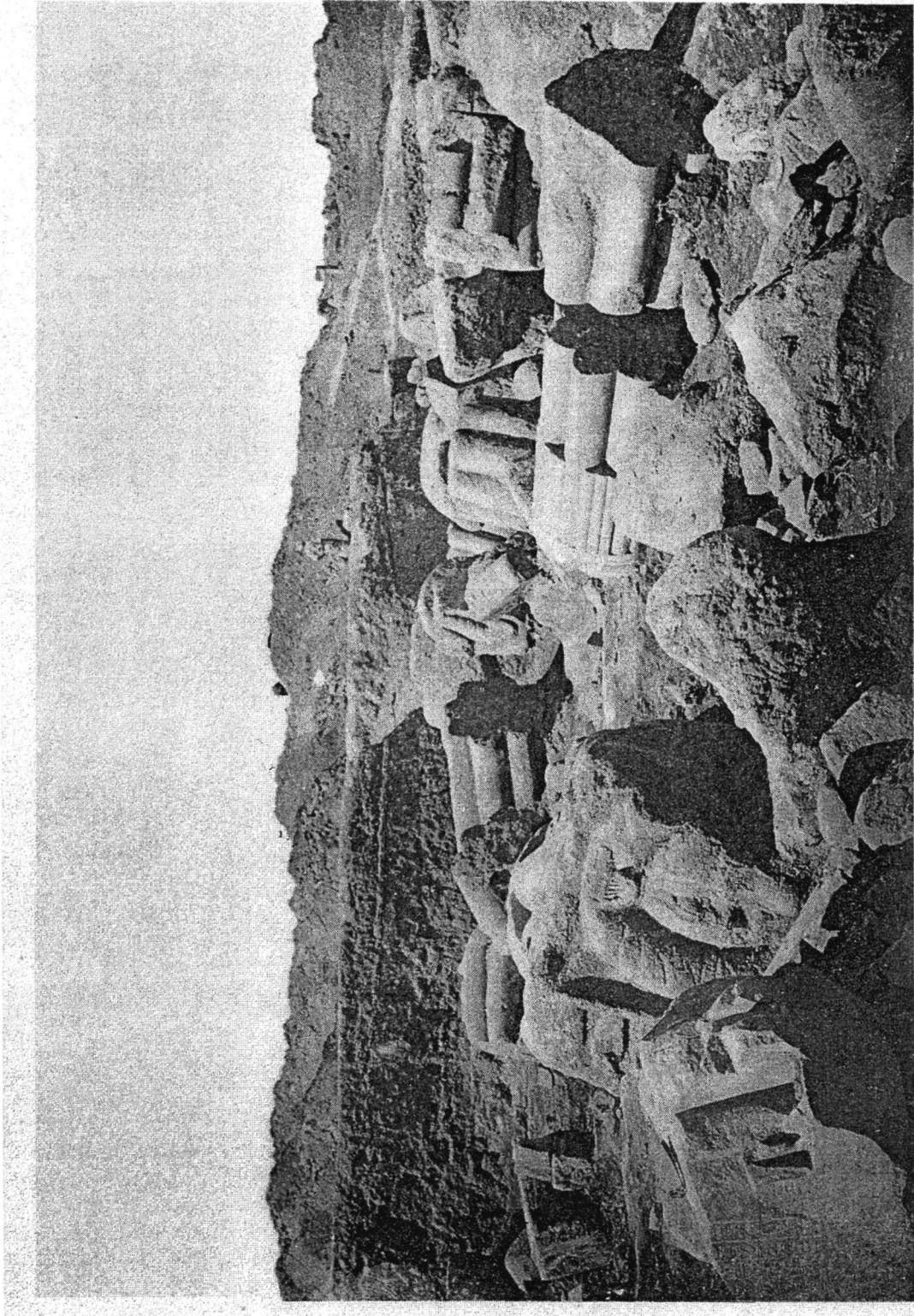
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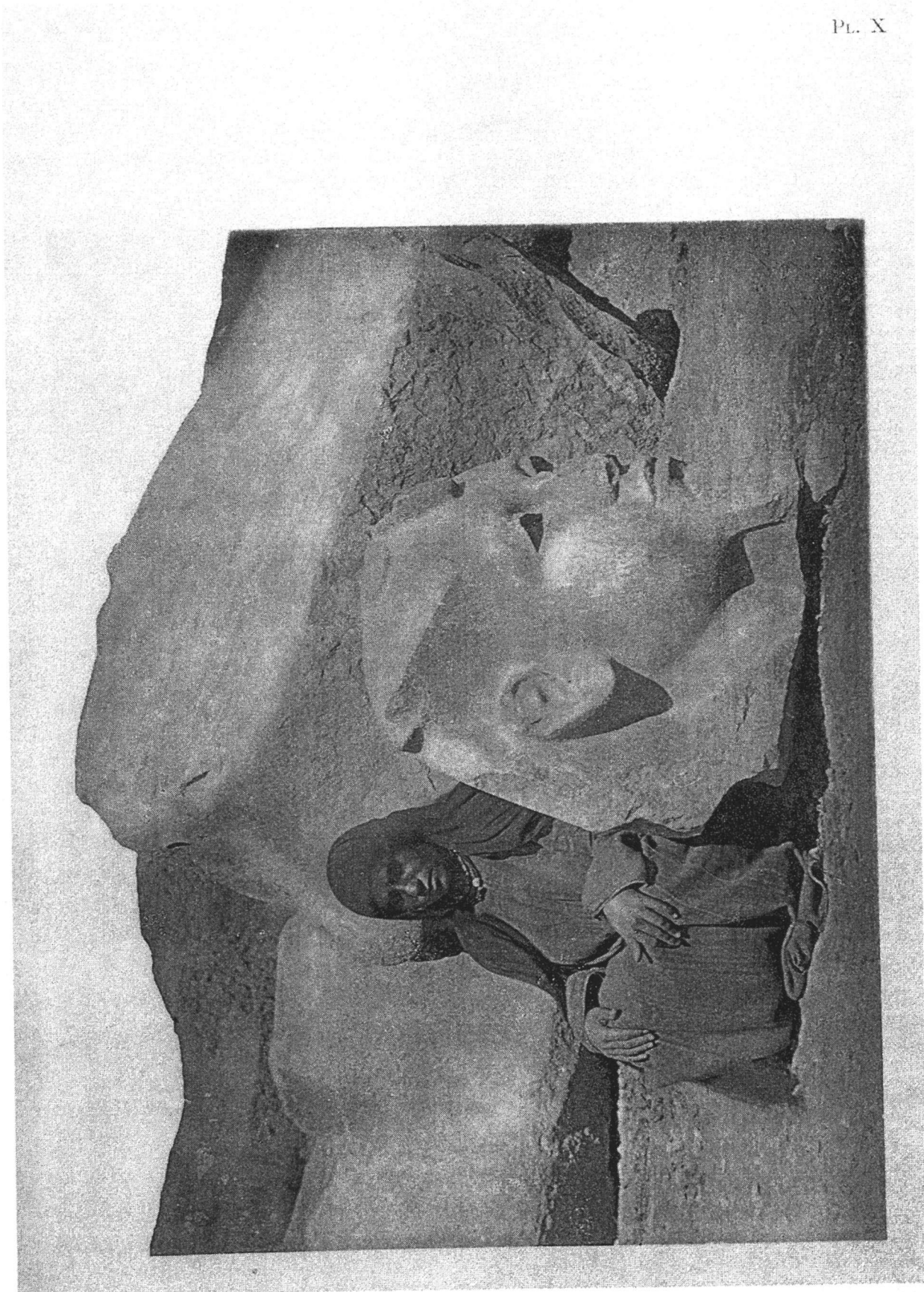
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Pl. IX



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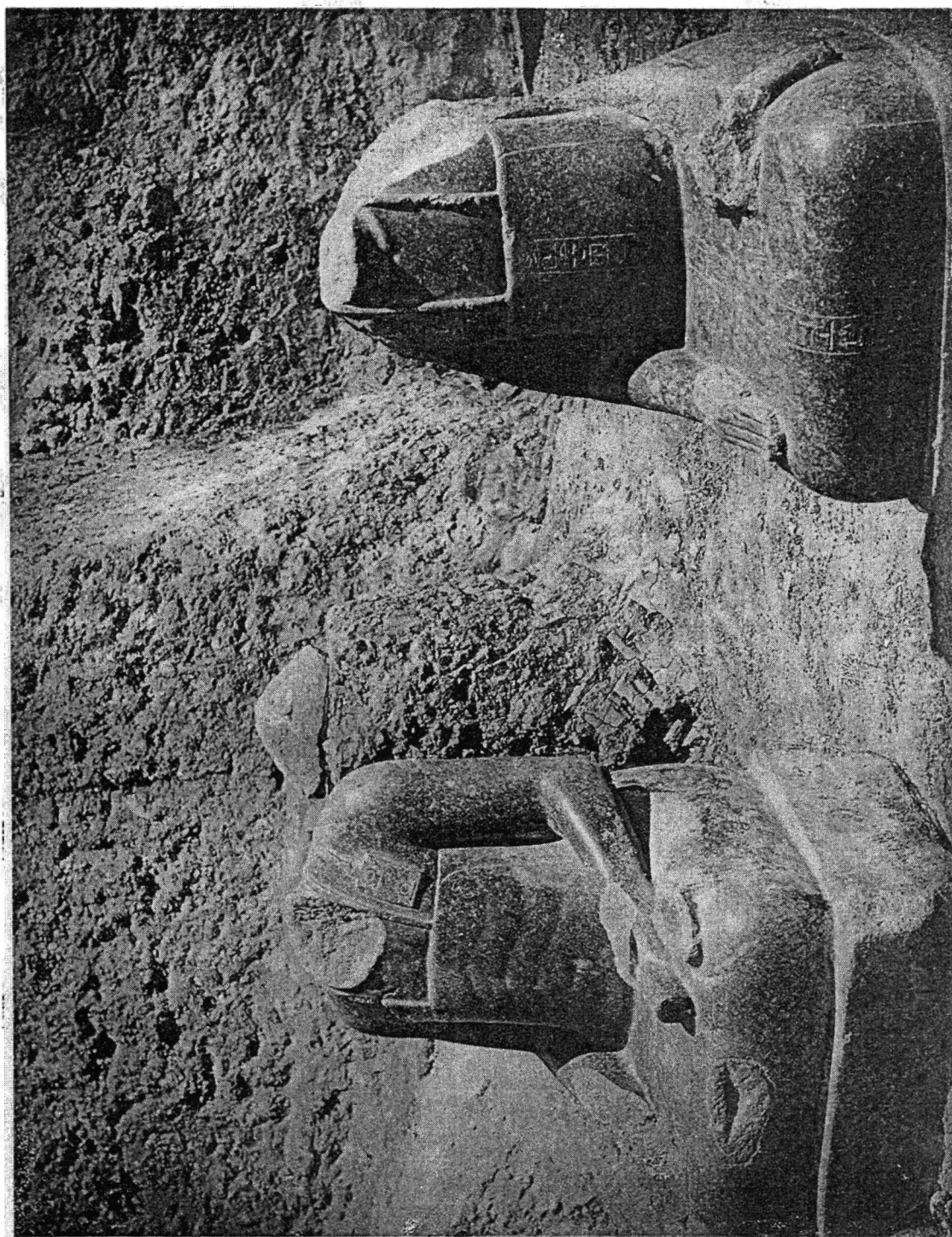
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Pl. XII



Pl. XIII



PL. XIV



Pl. XV



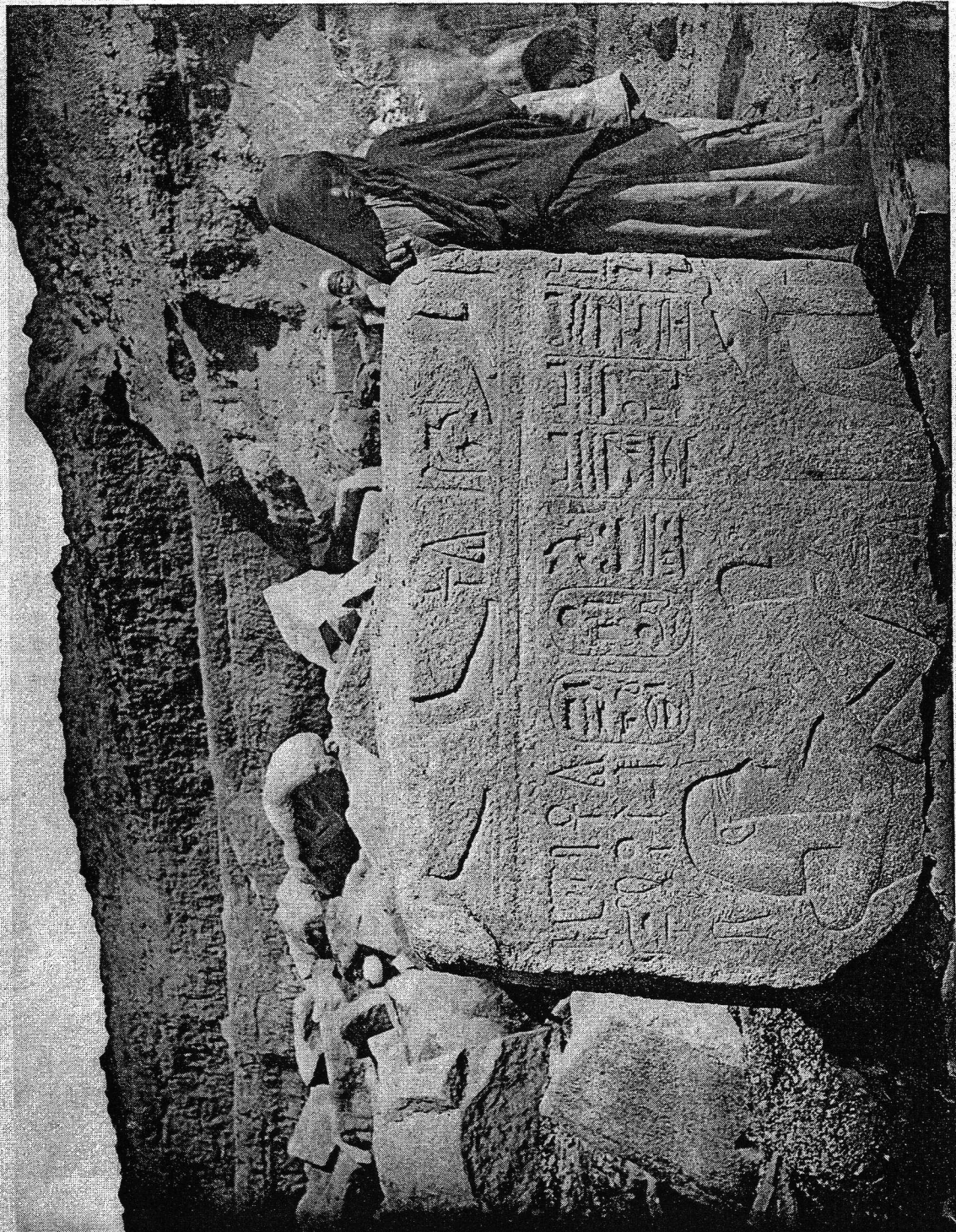
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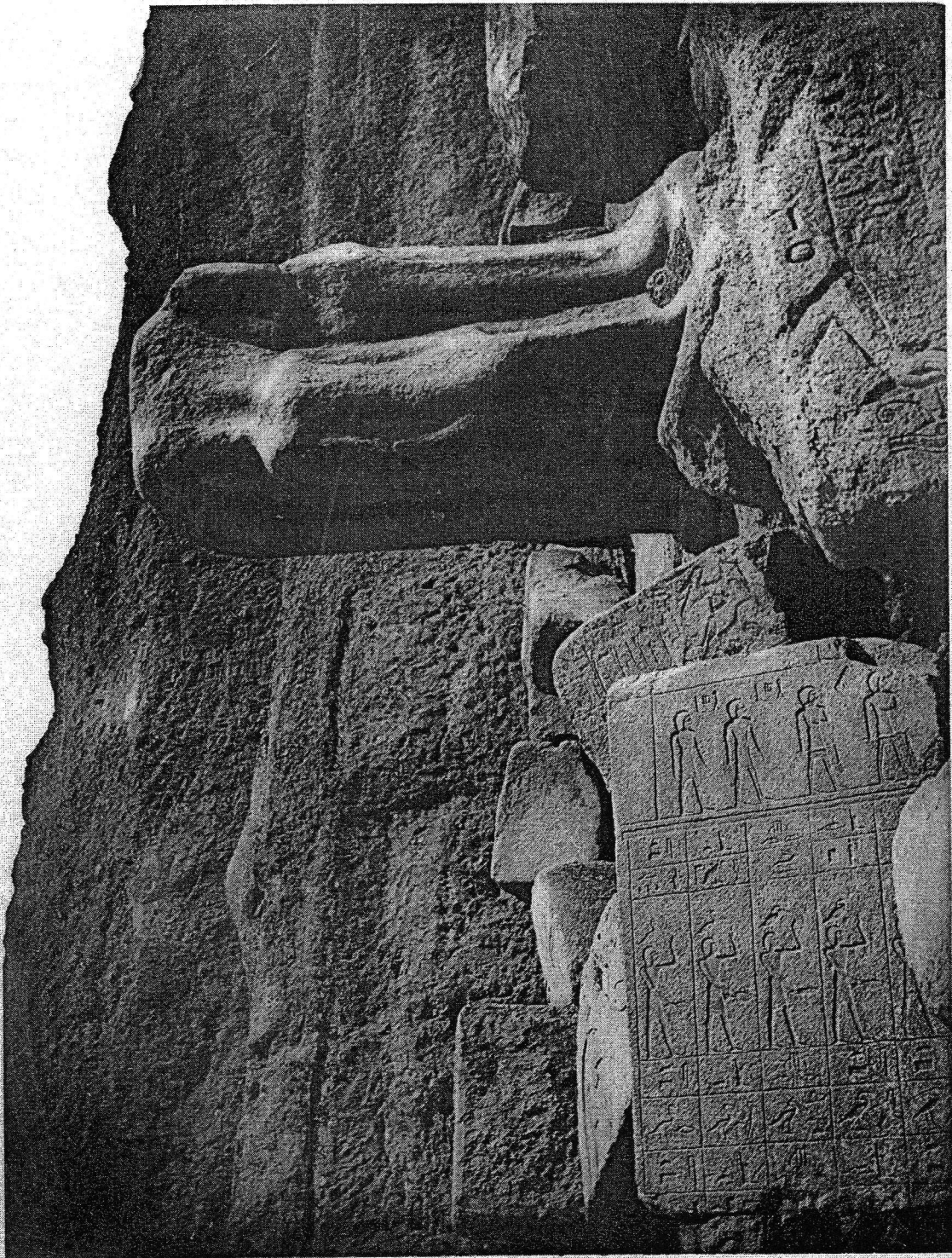
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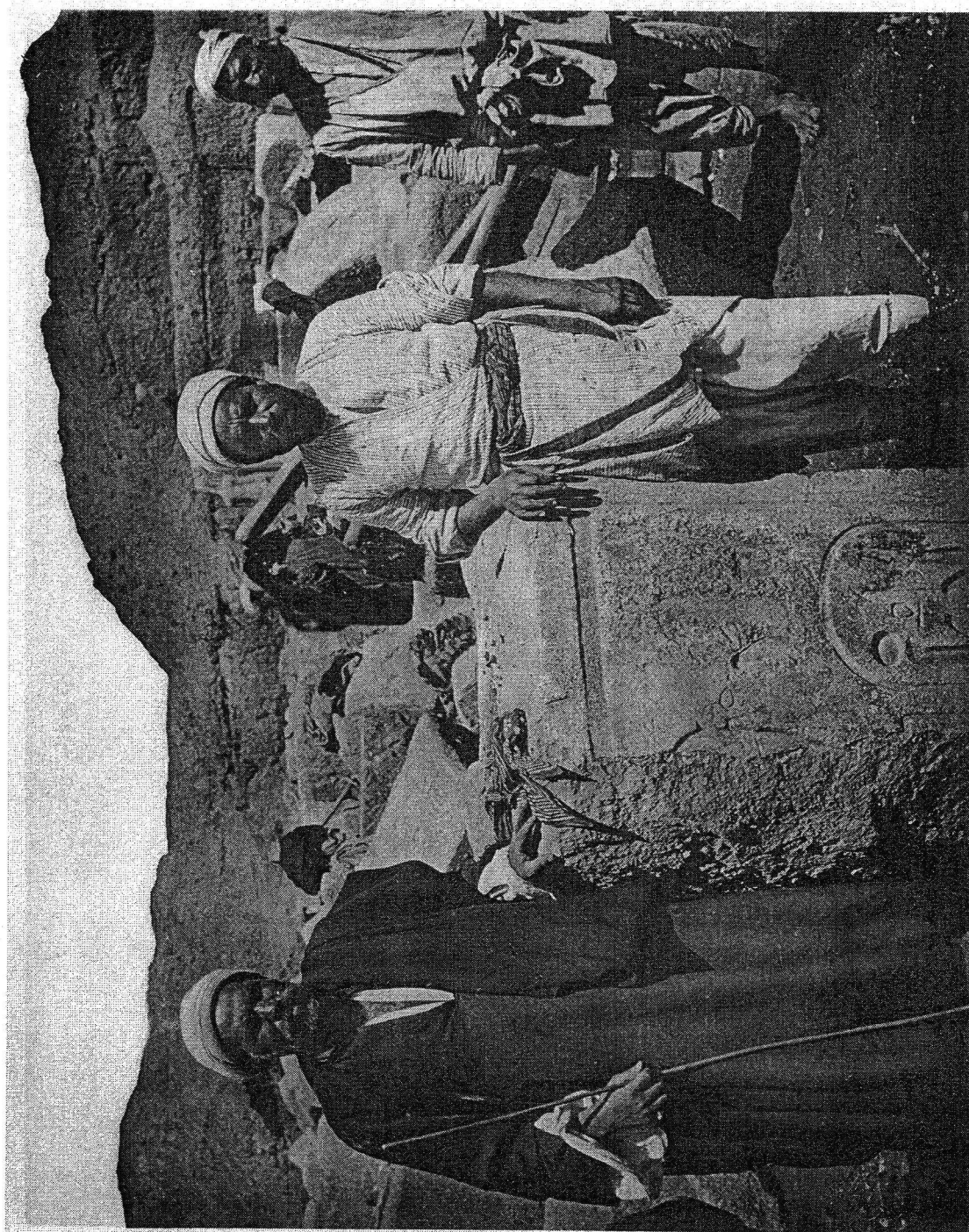
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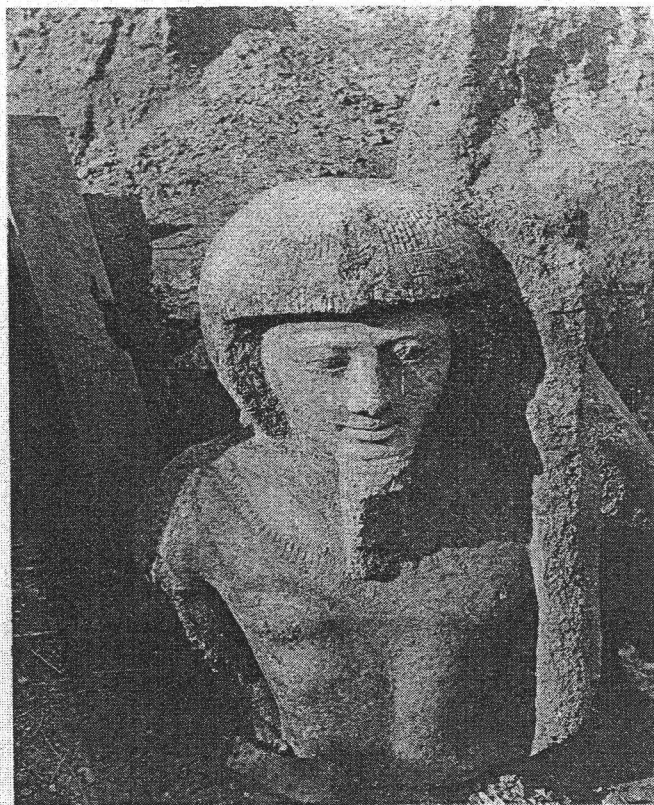
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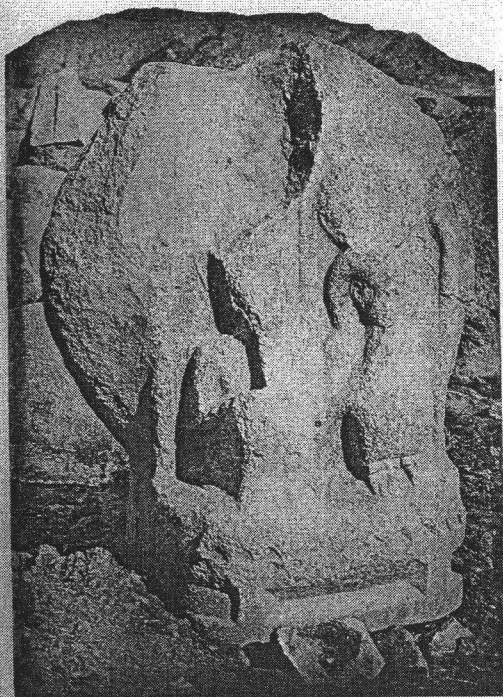


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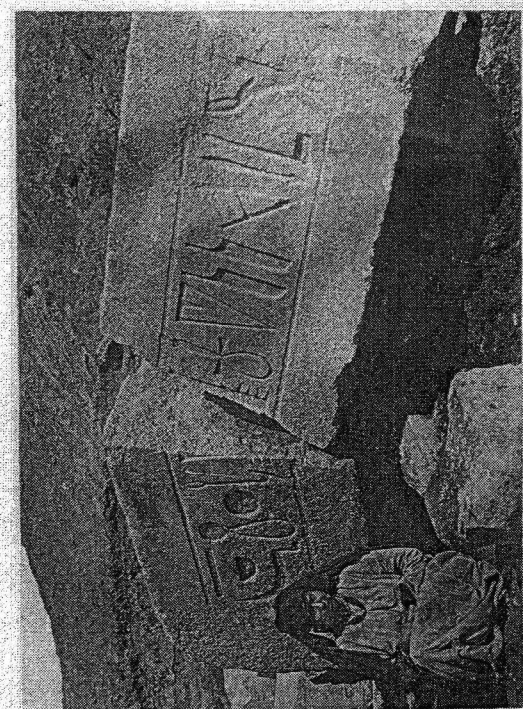
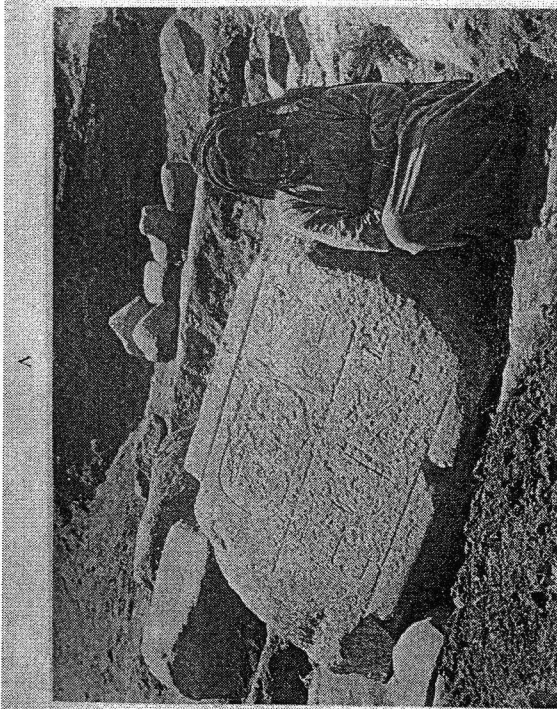
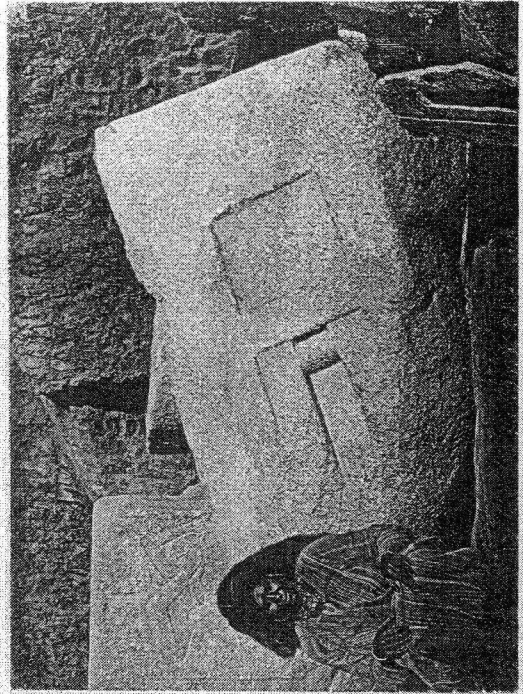
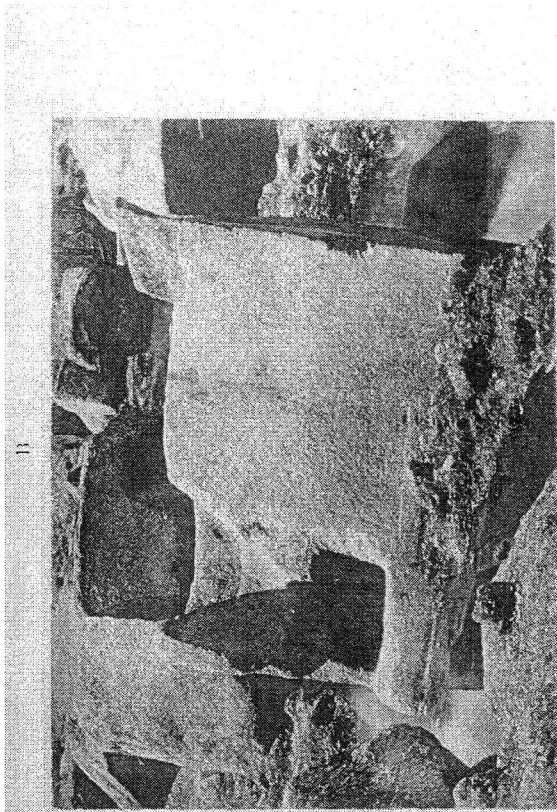
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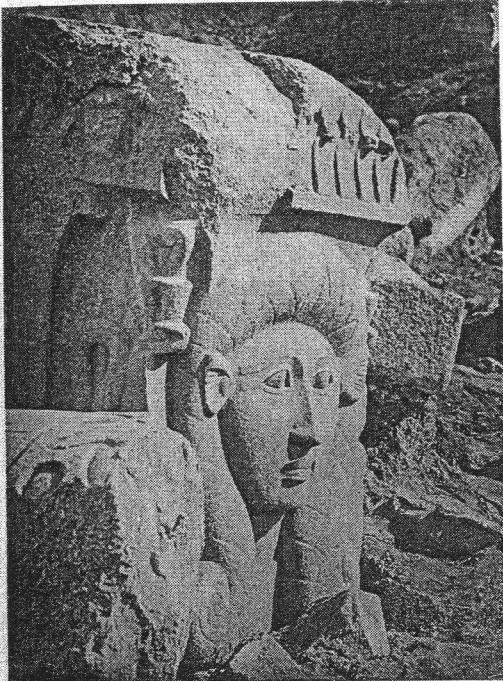




PL. XXII

PL. XXIII

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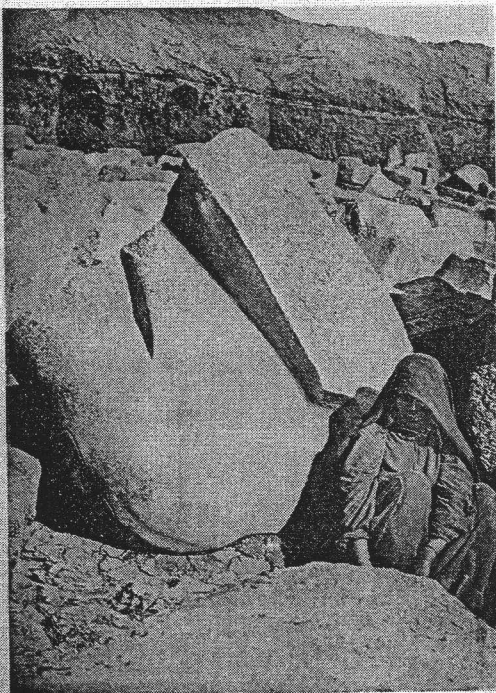
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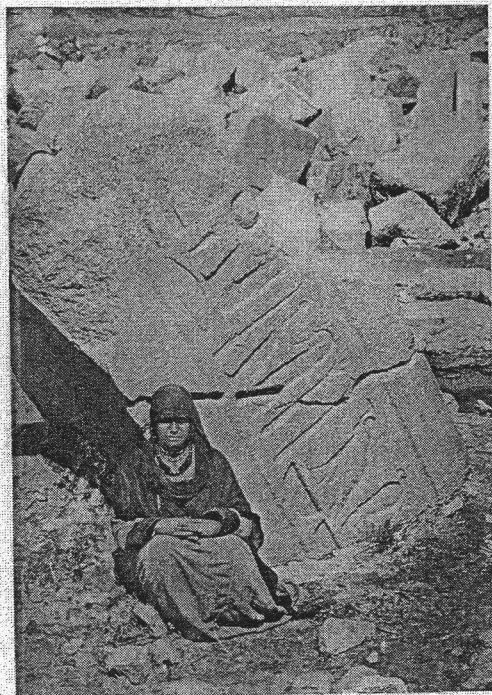


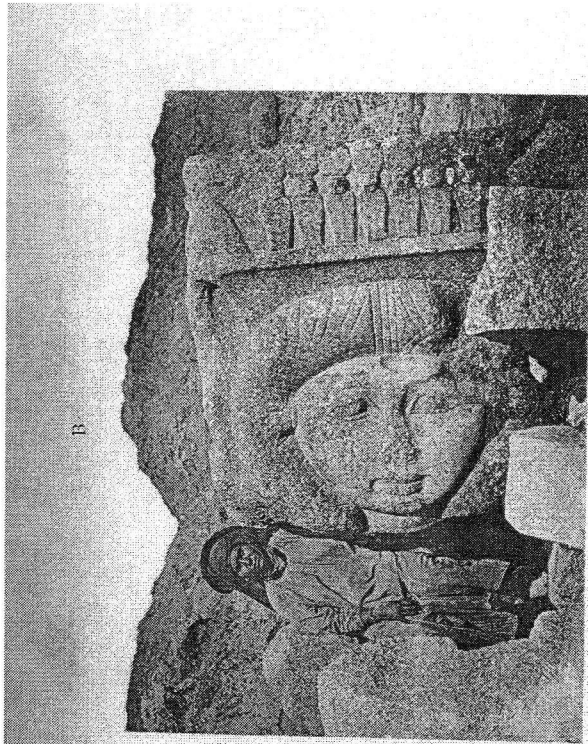
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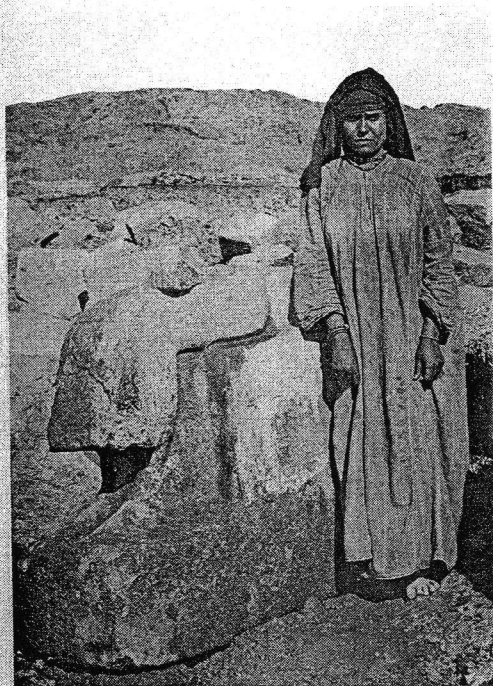




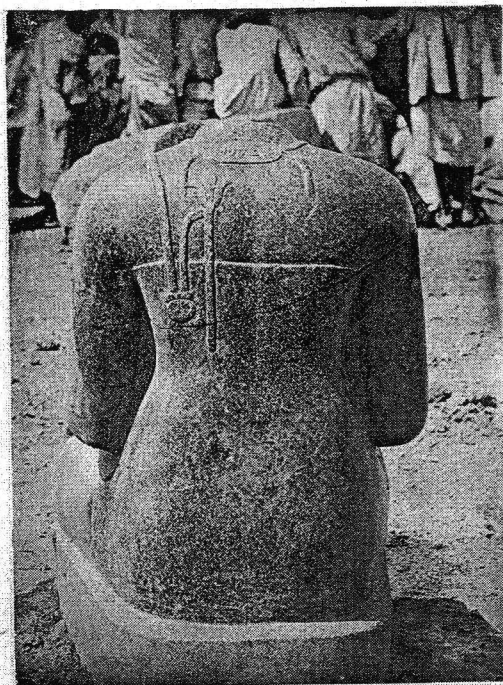
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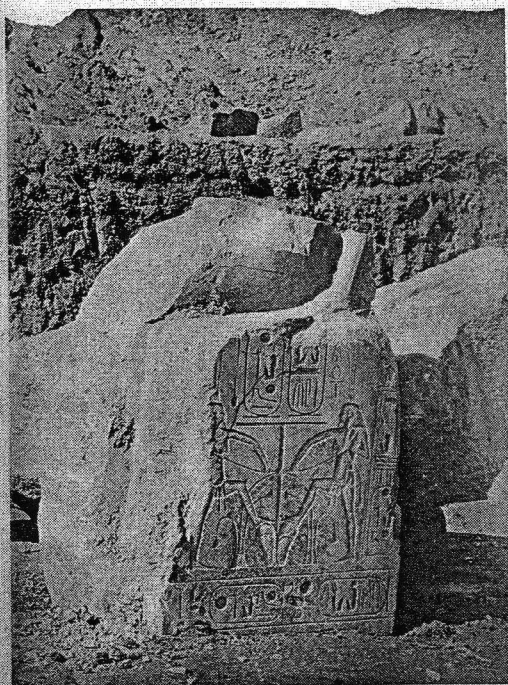
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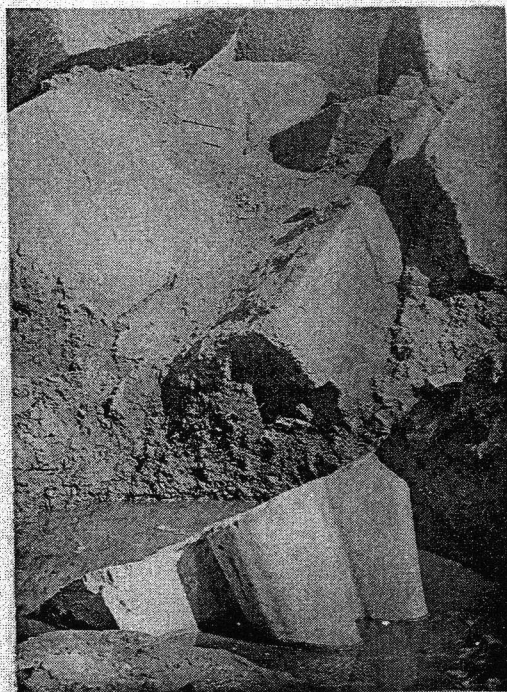
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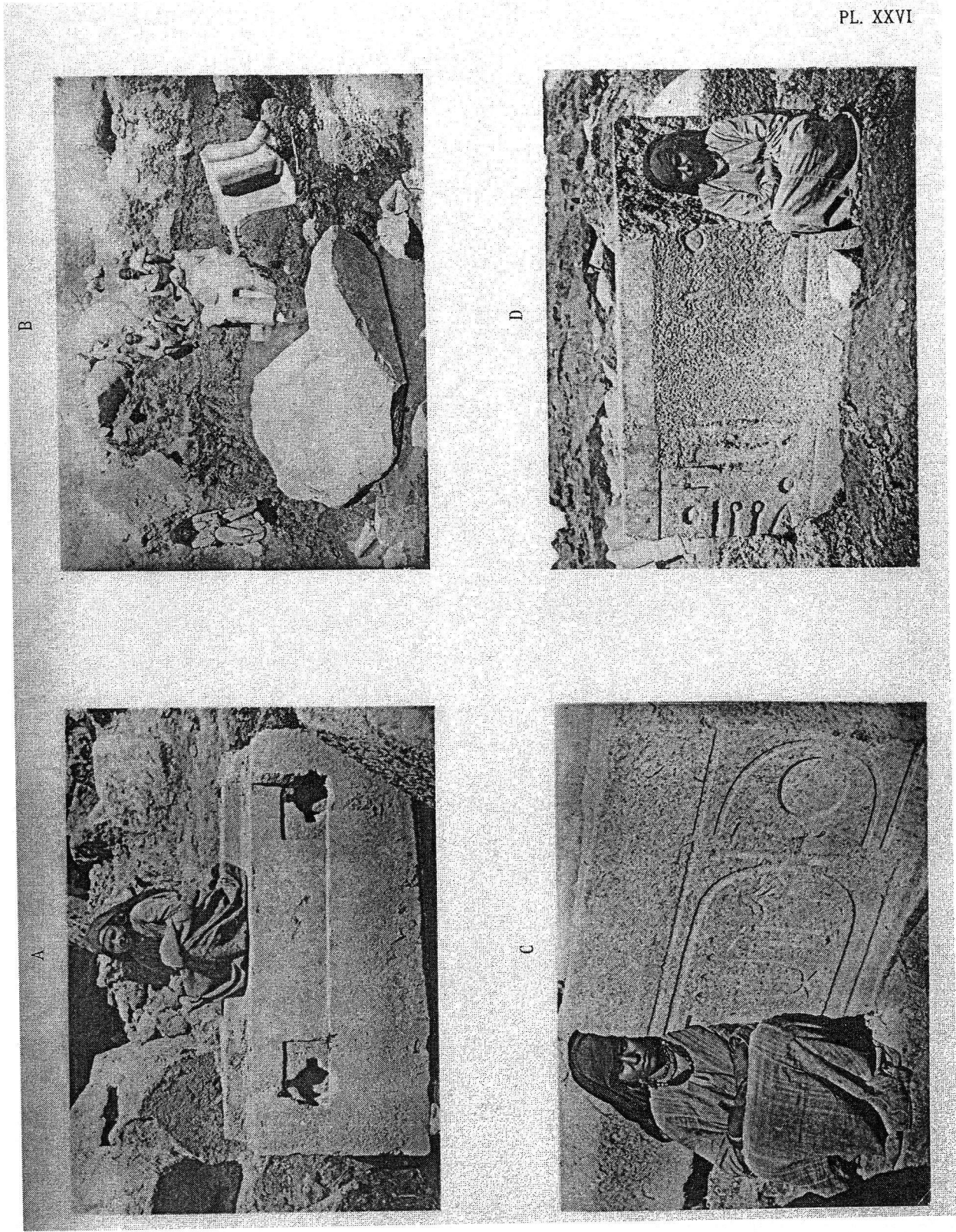


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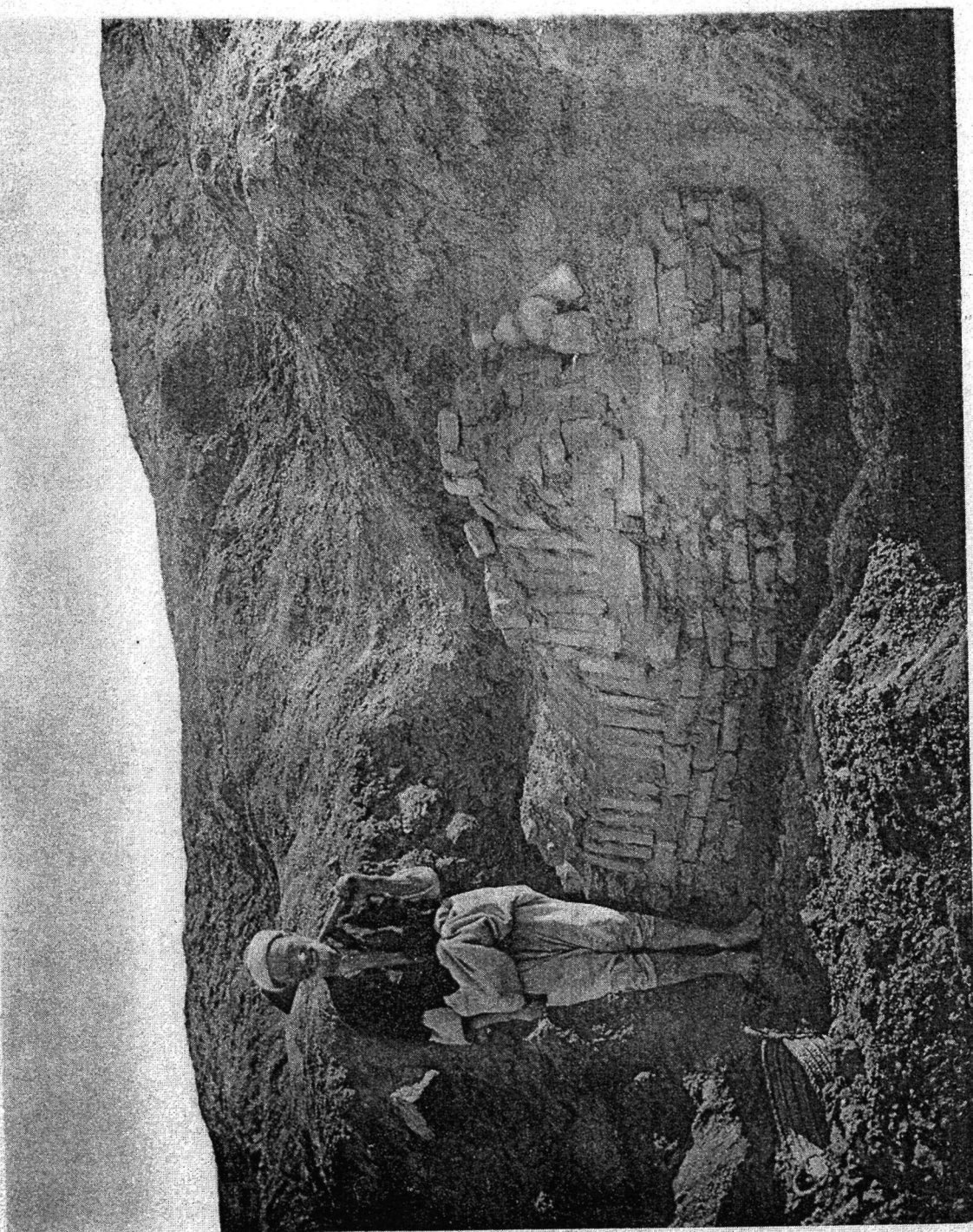




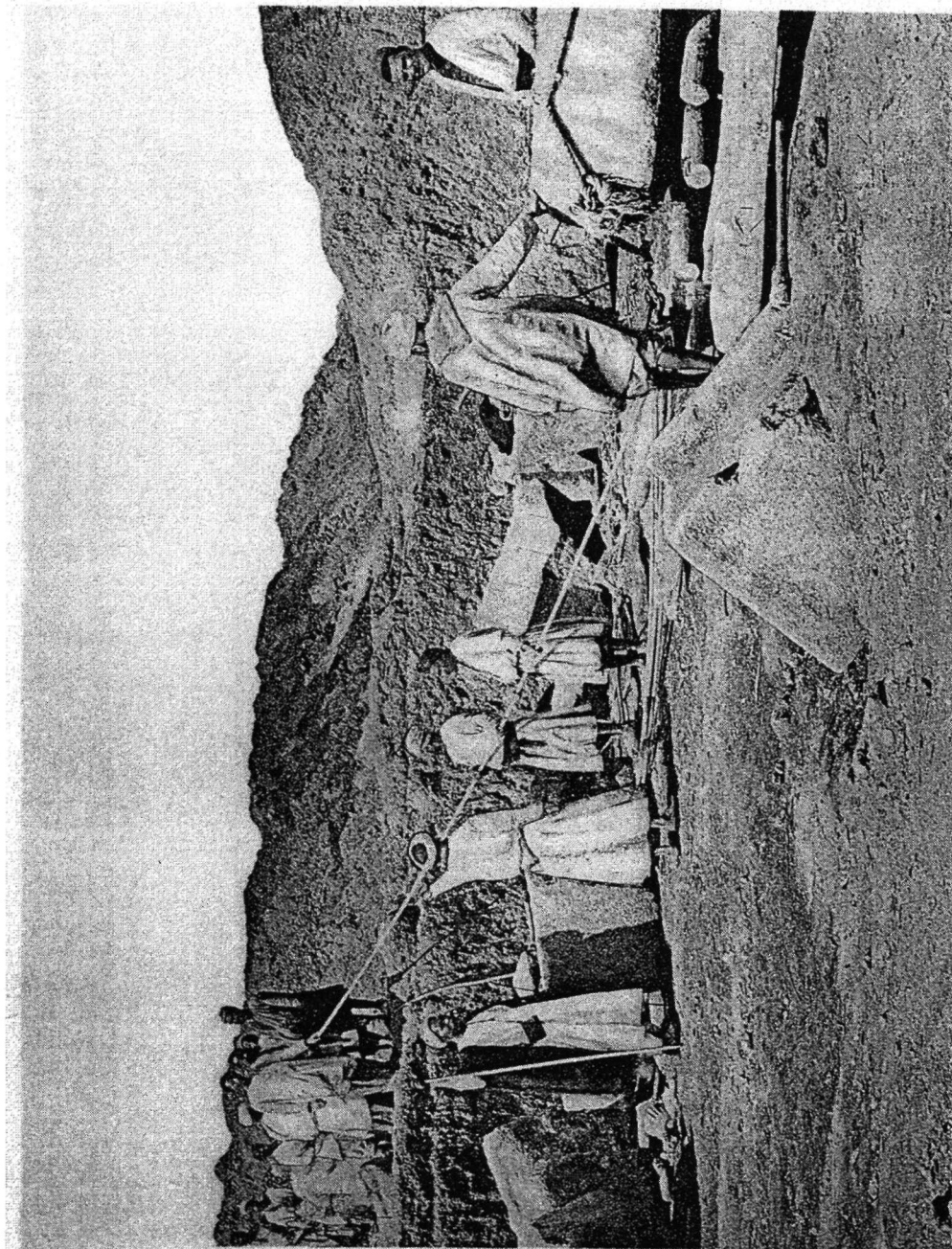
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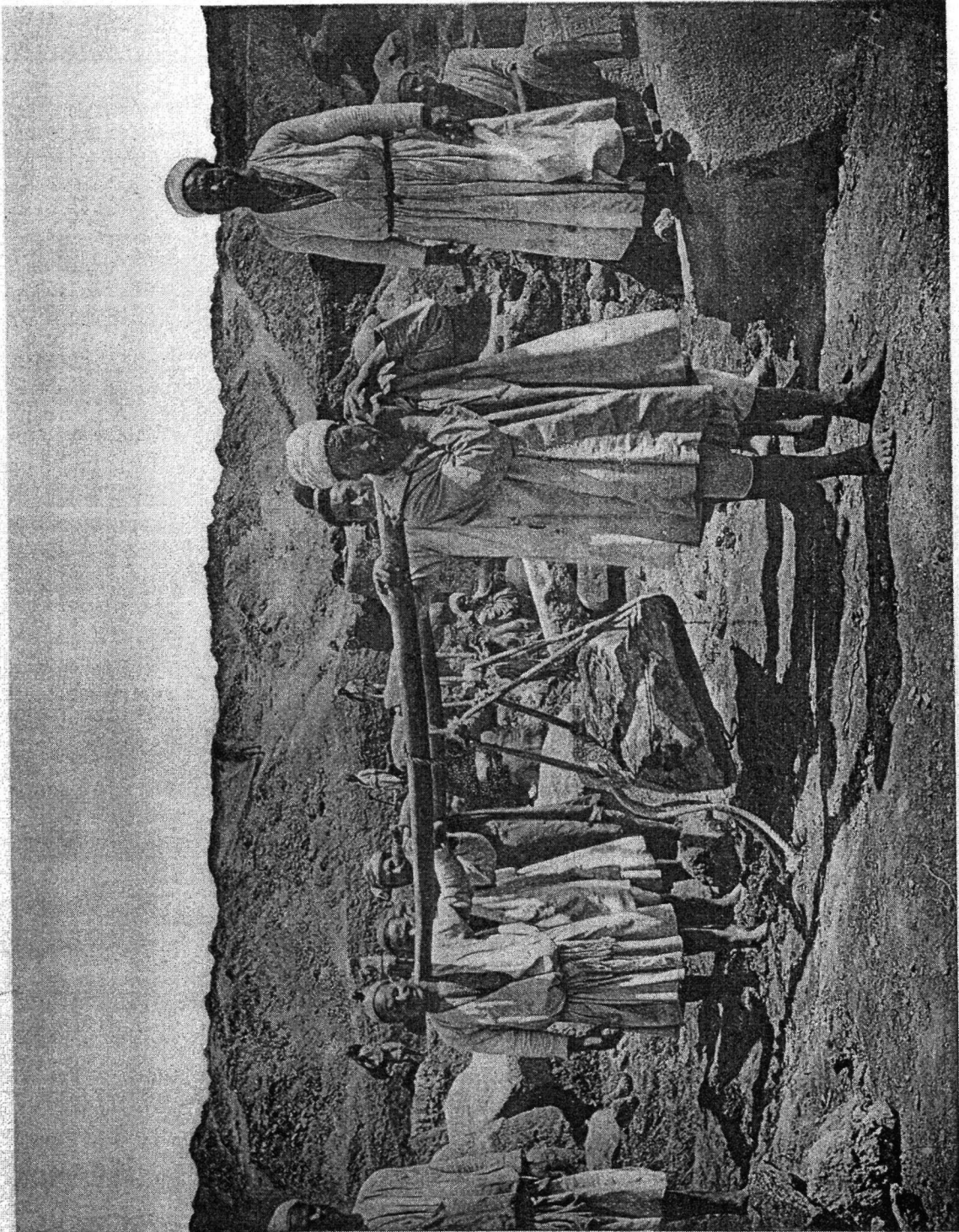
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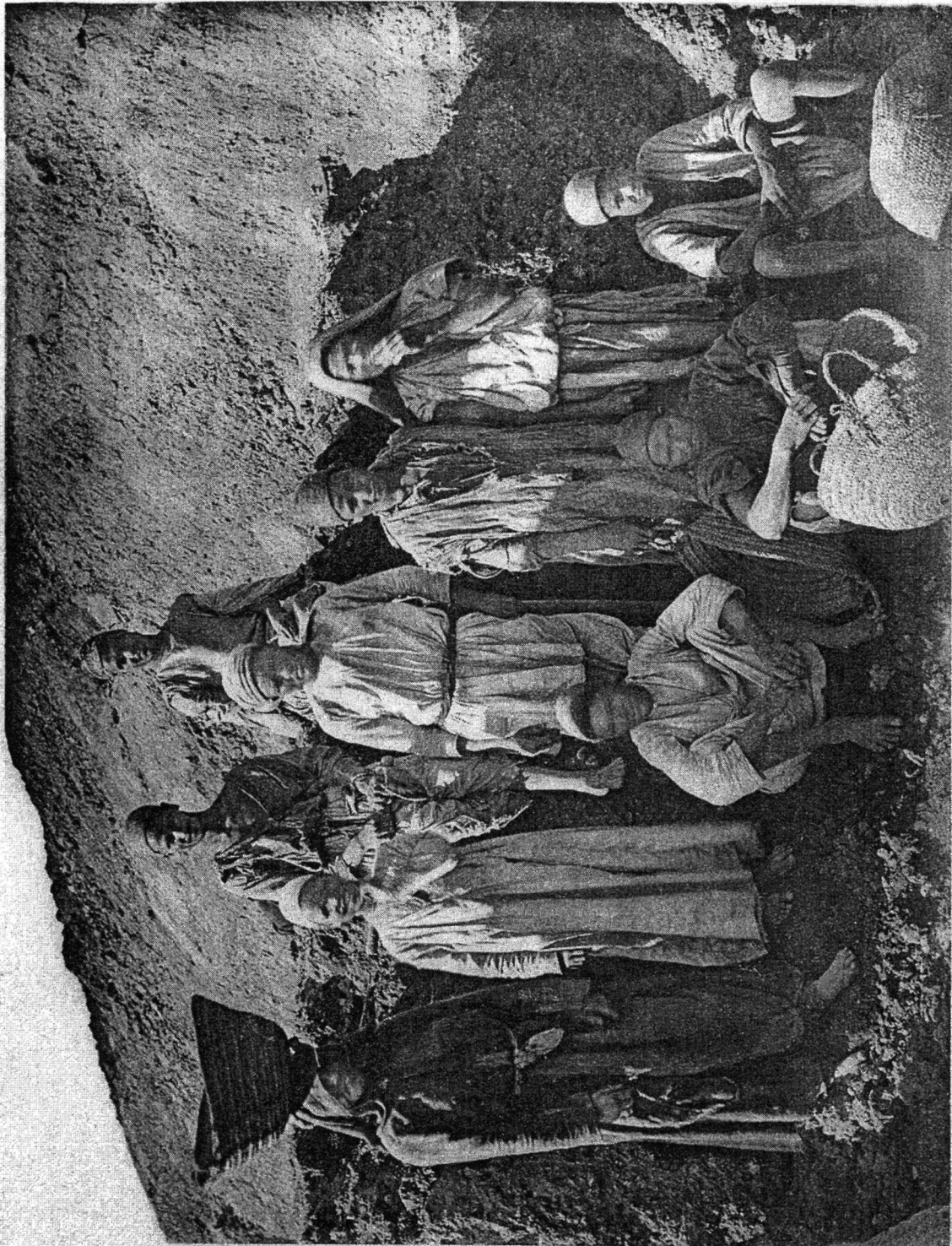
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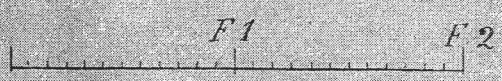
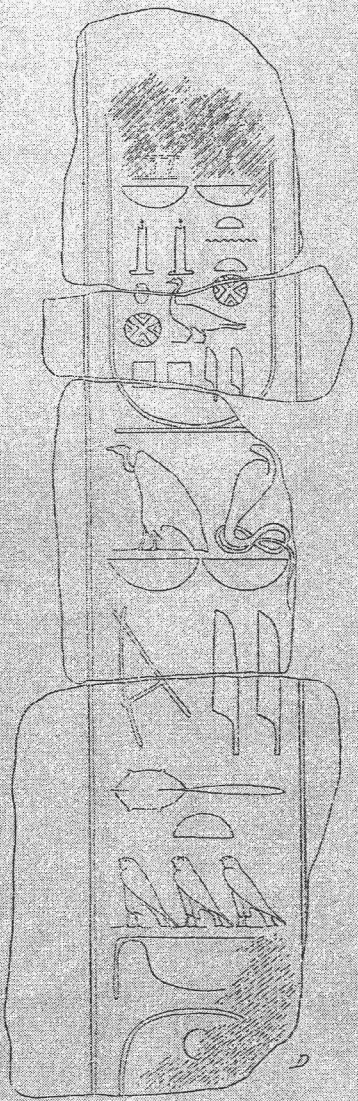
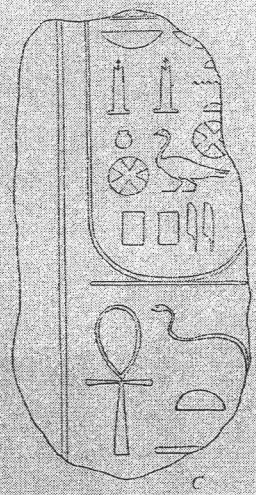
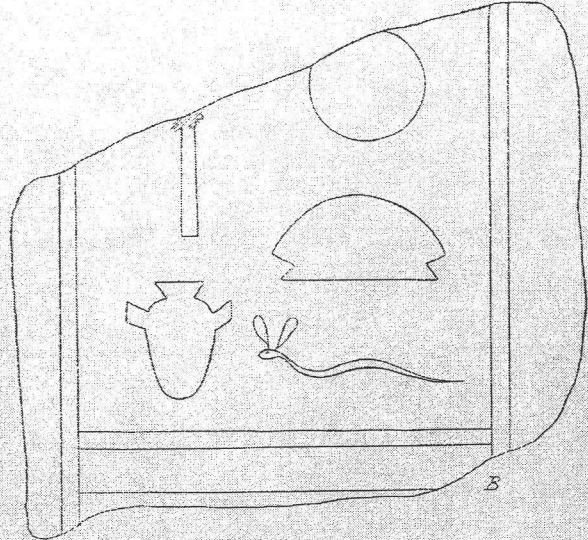
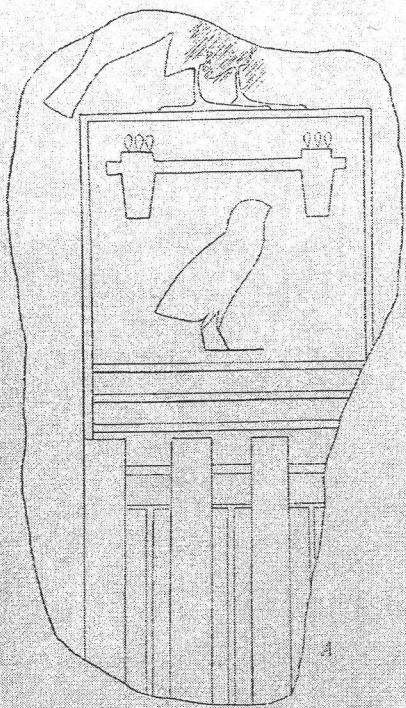
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PL. XXXI

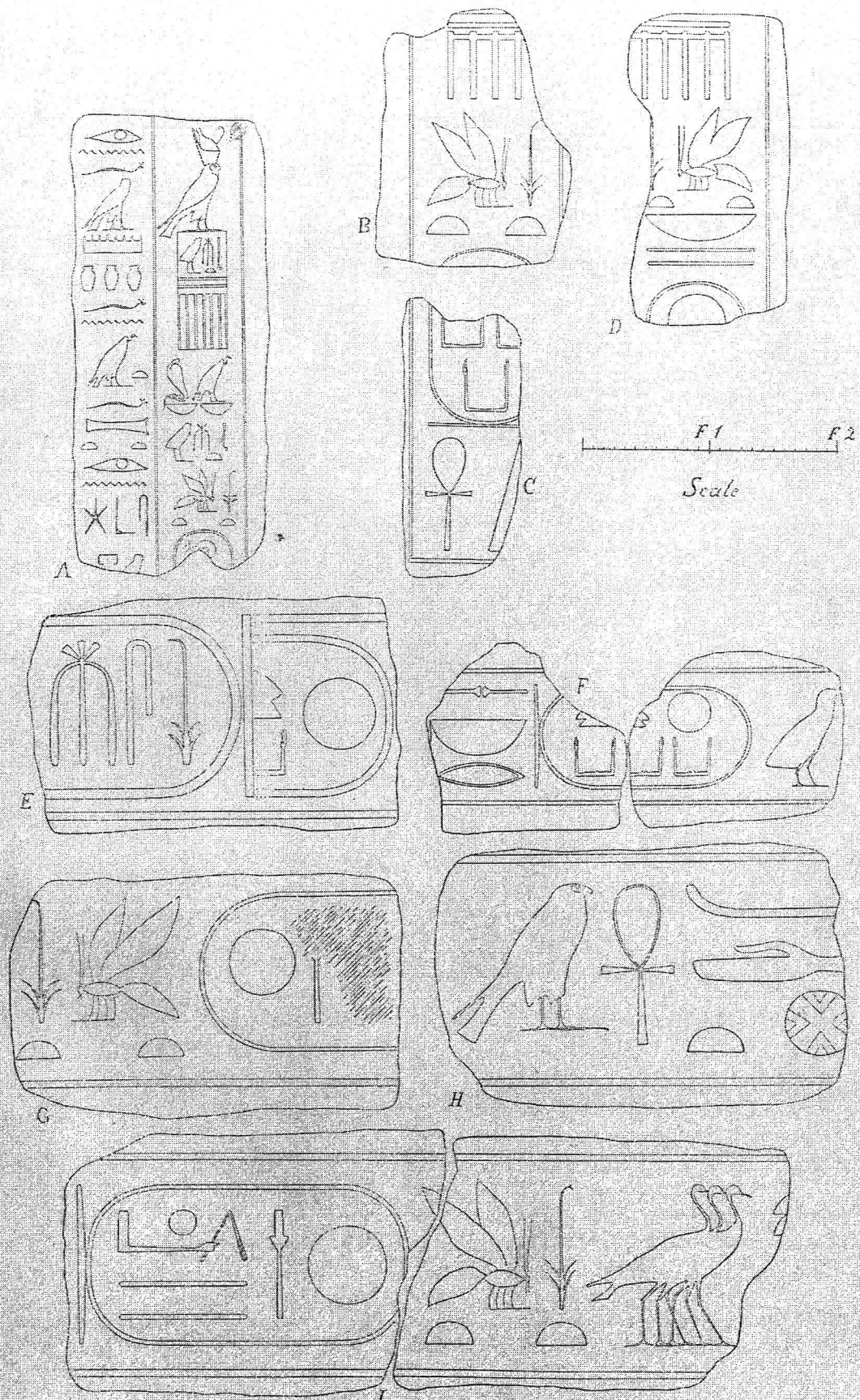


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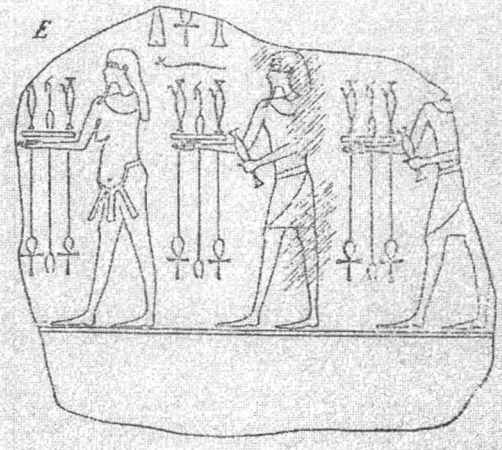
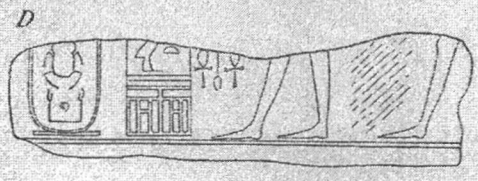
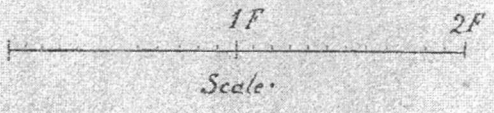
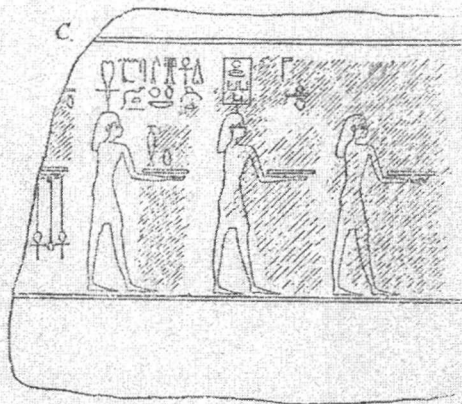


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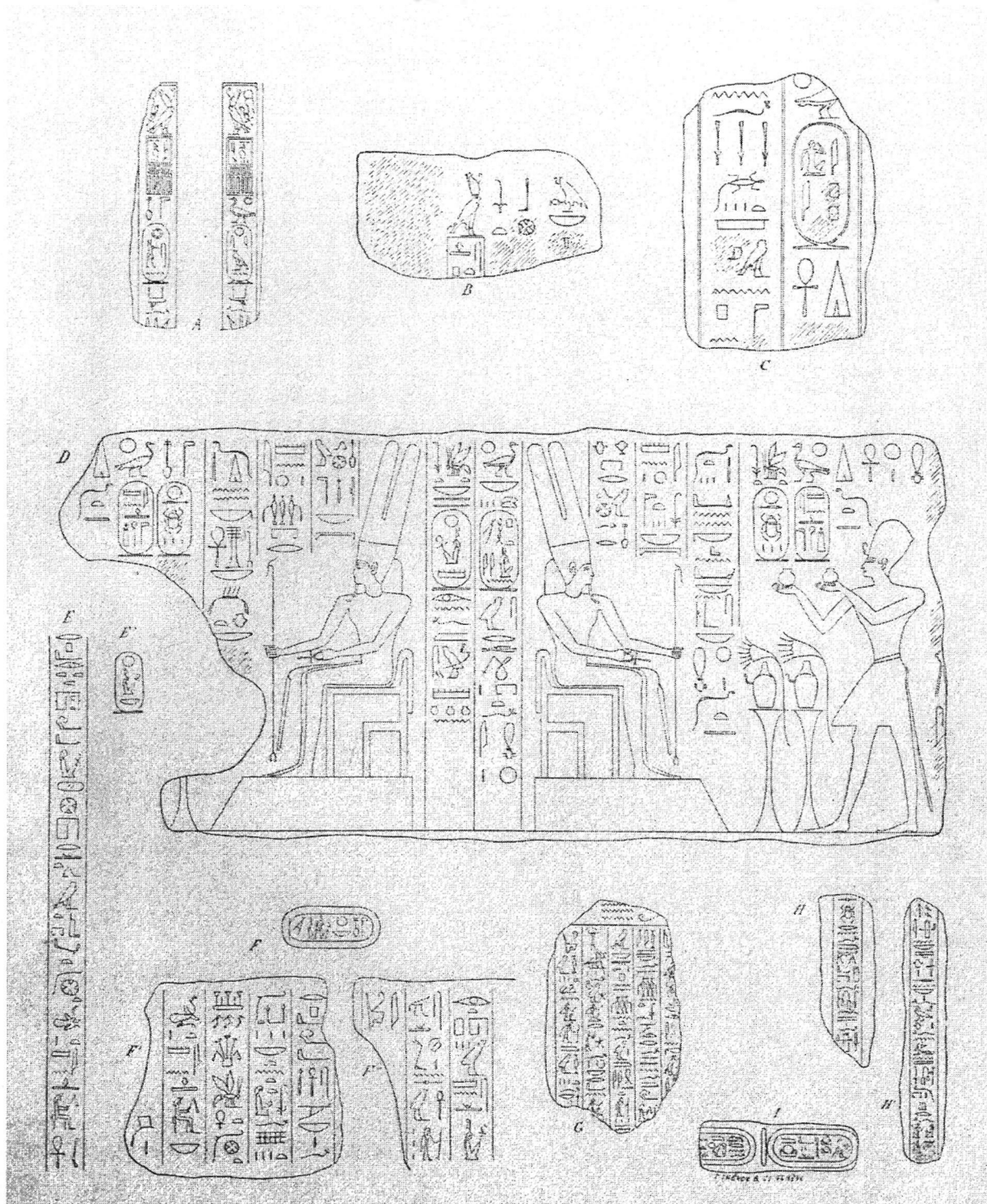
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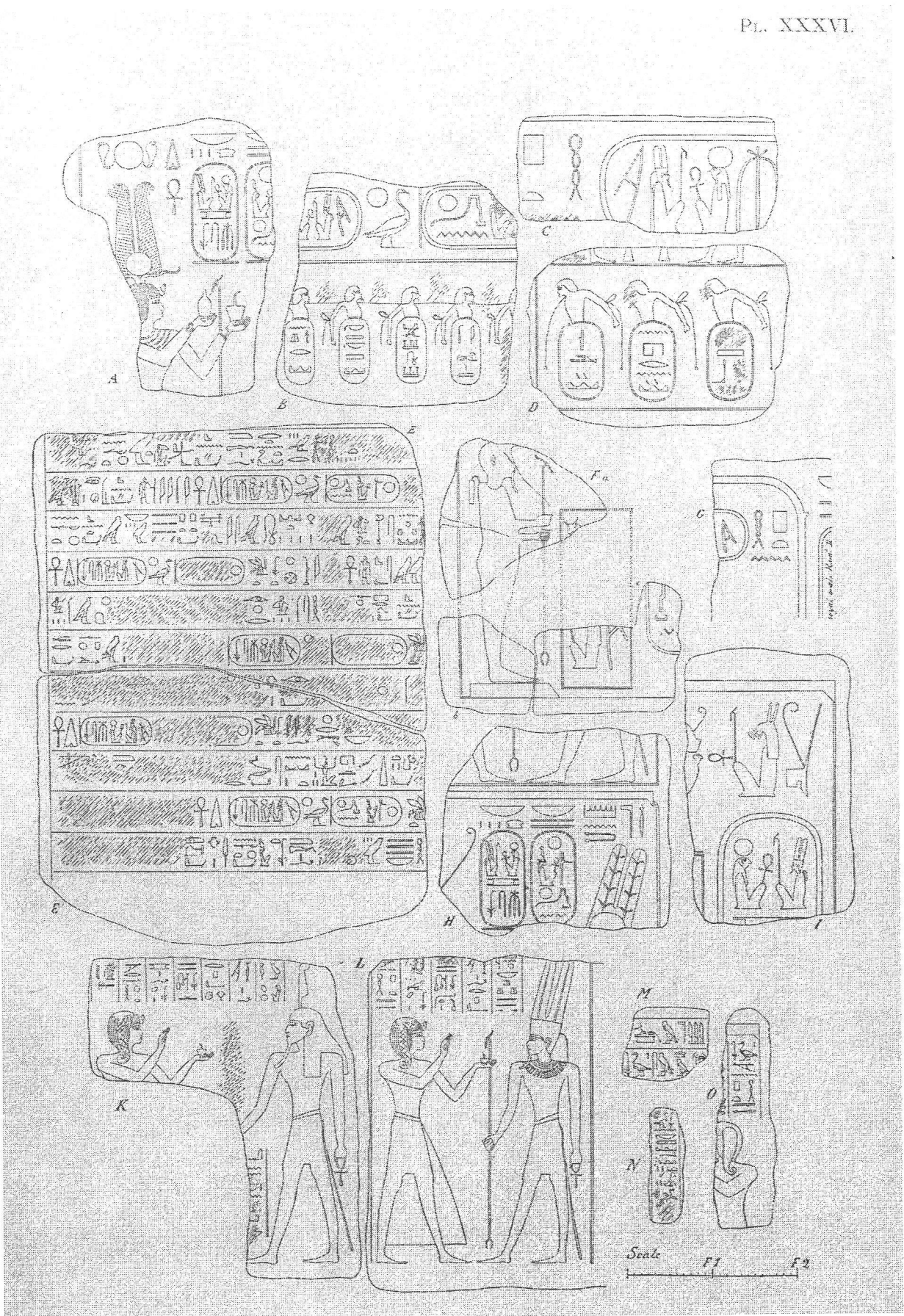
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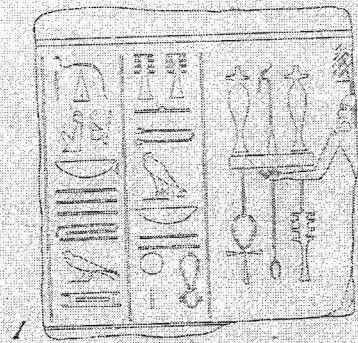
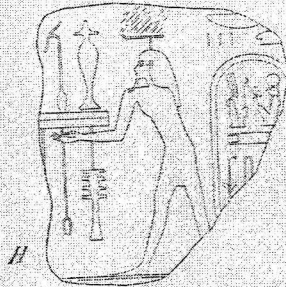
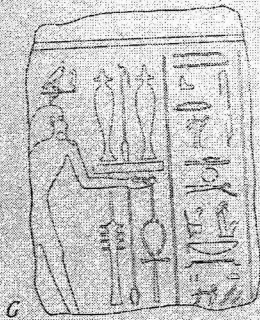
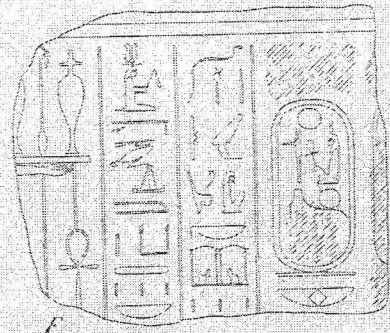
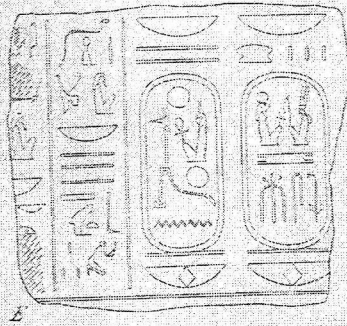
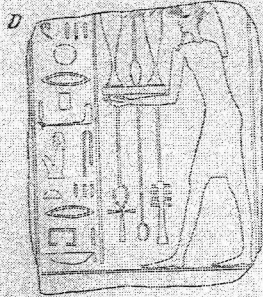
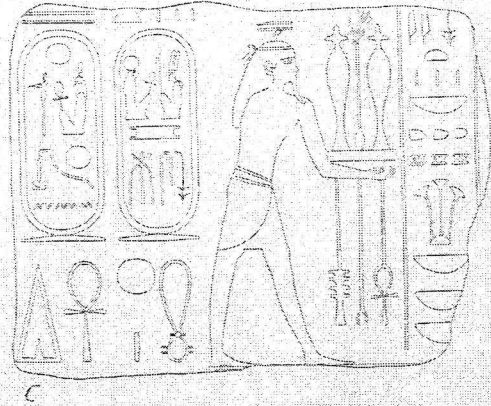
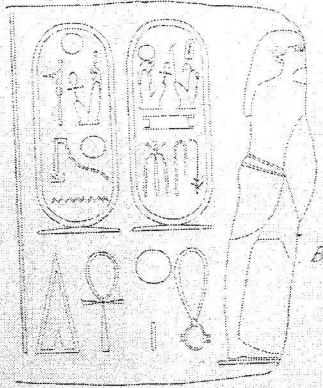
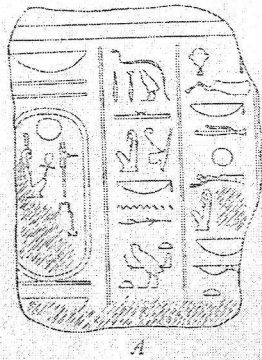
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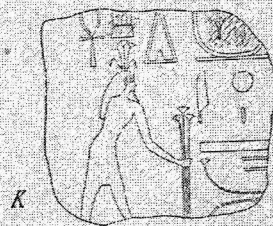
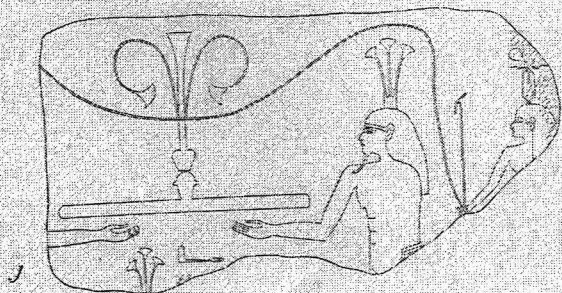
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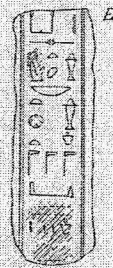
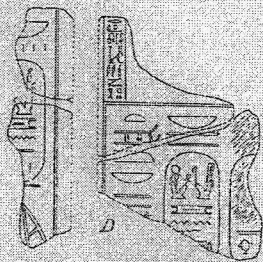
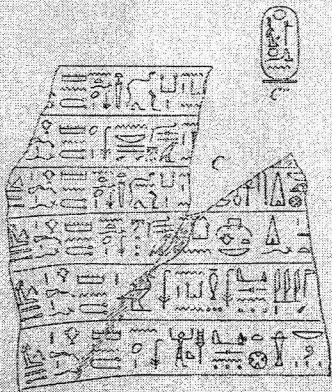
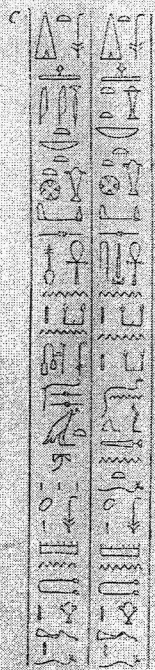
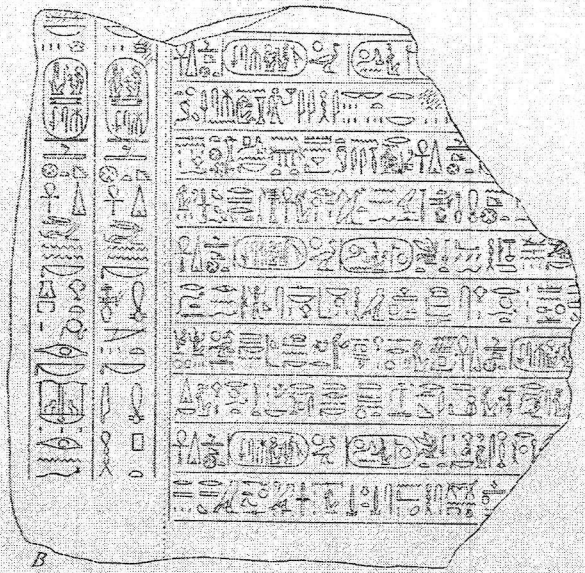
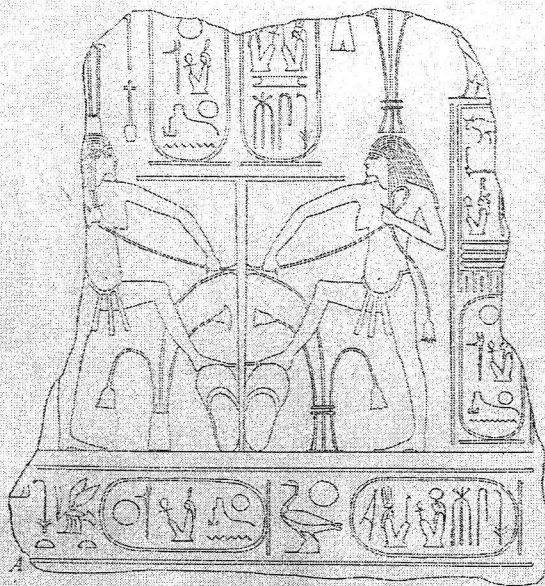
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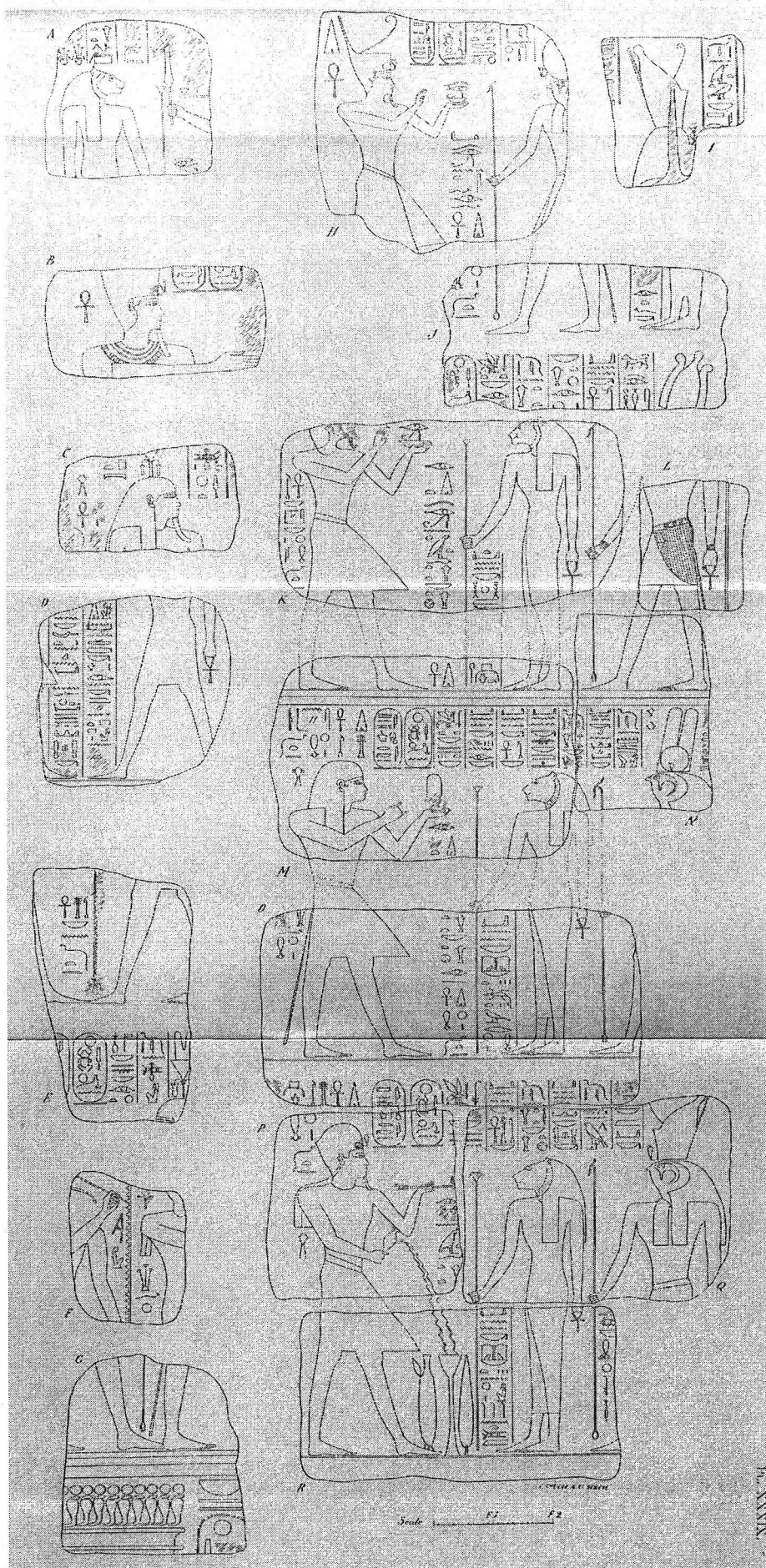


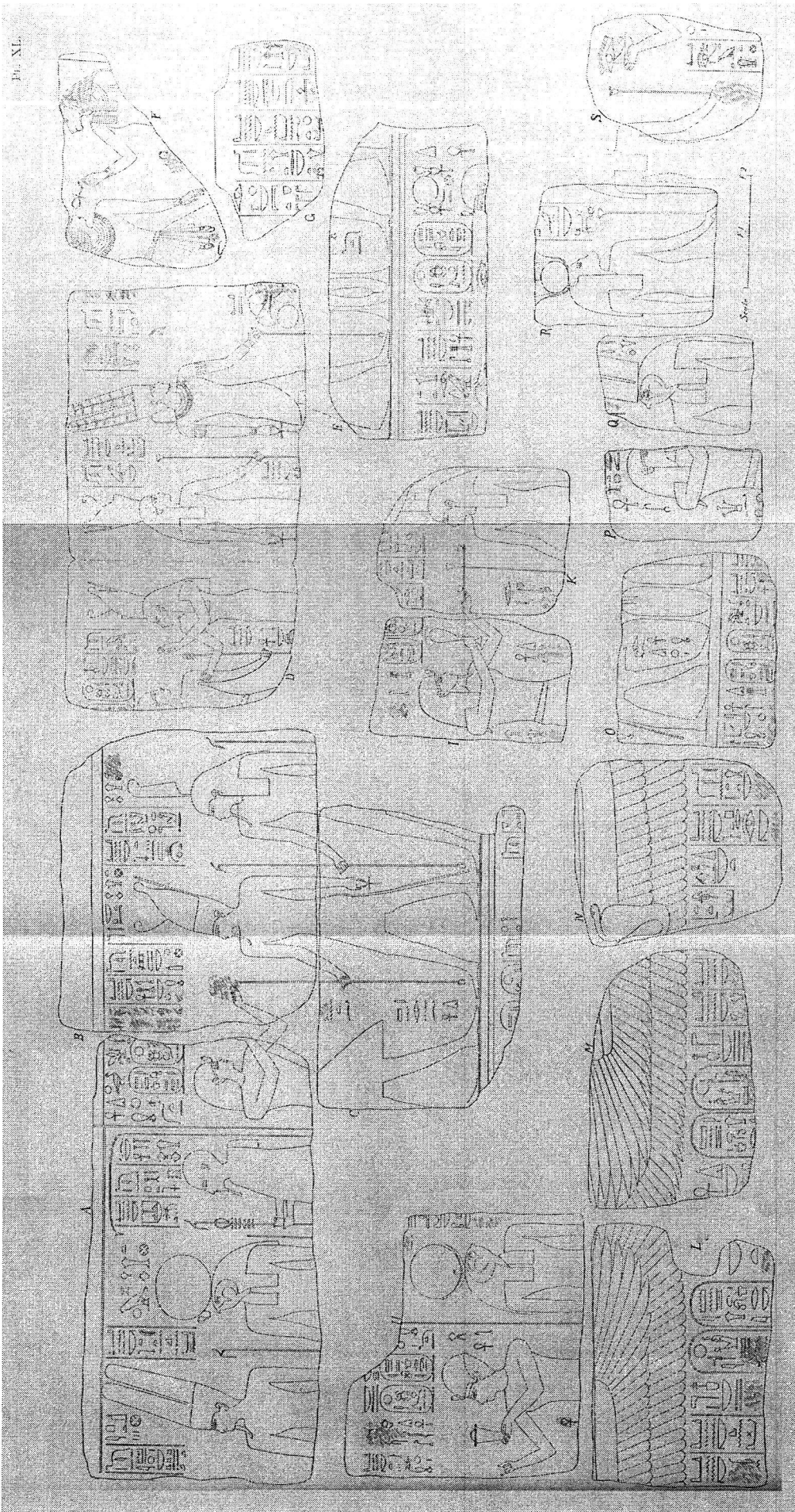
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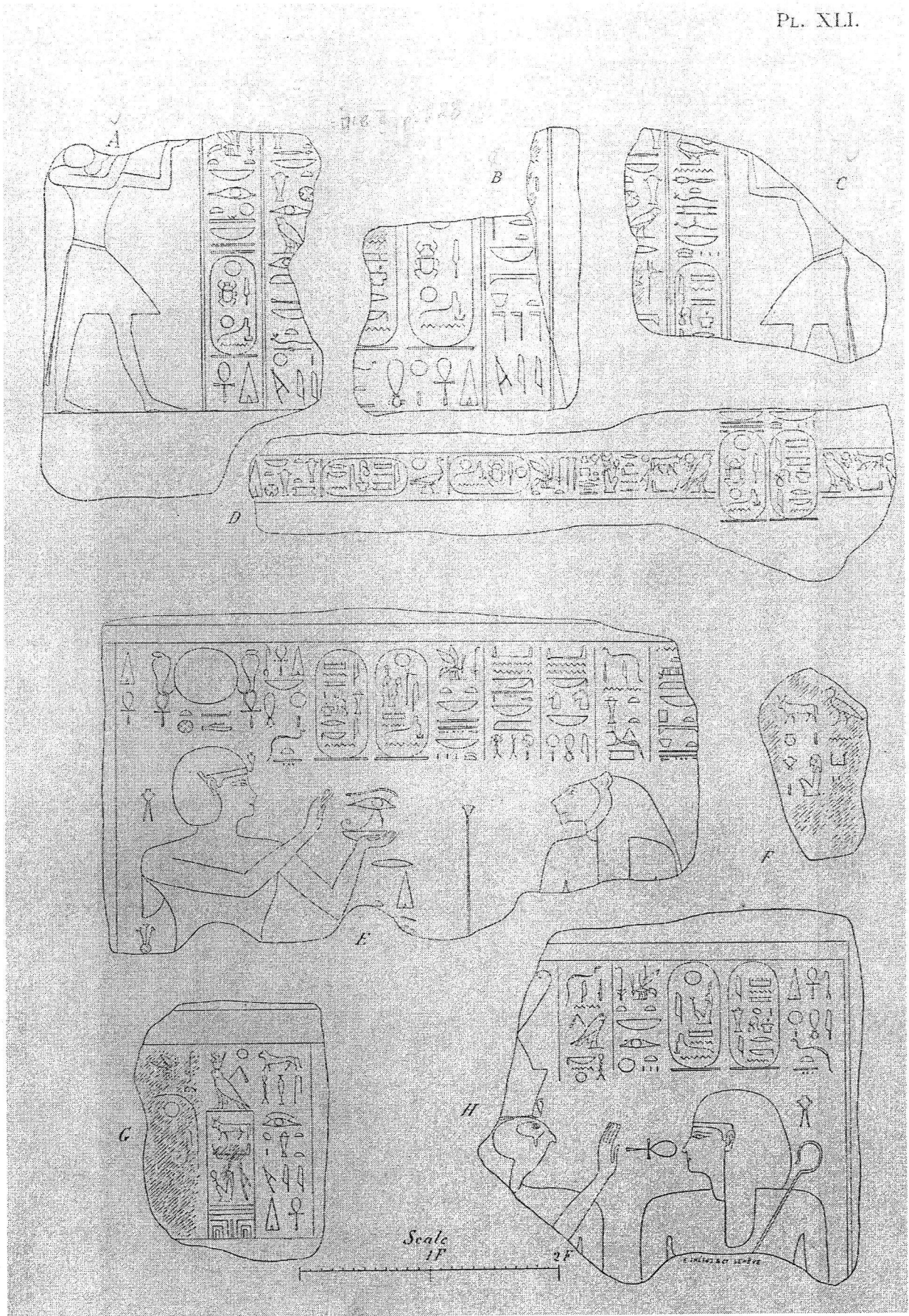
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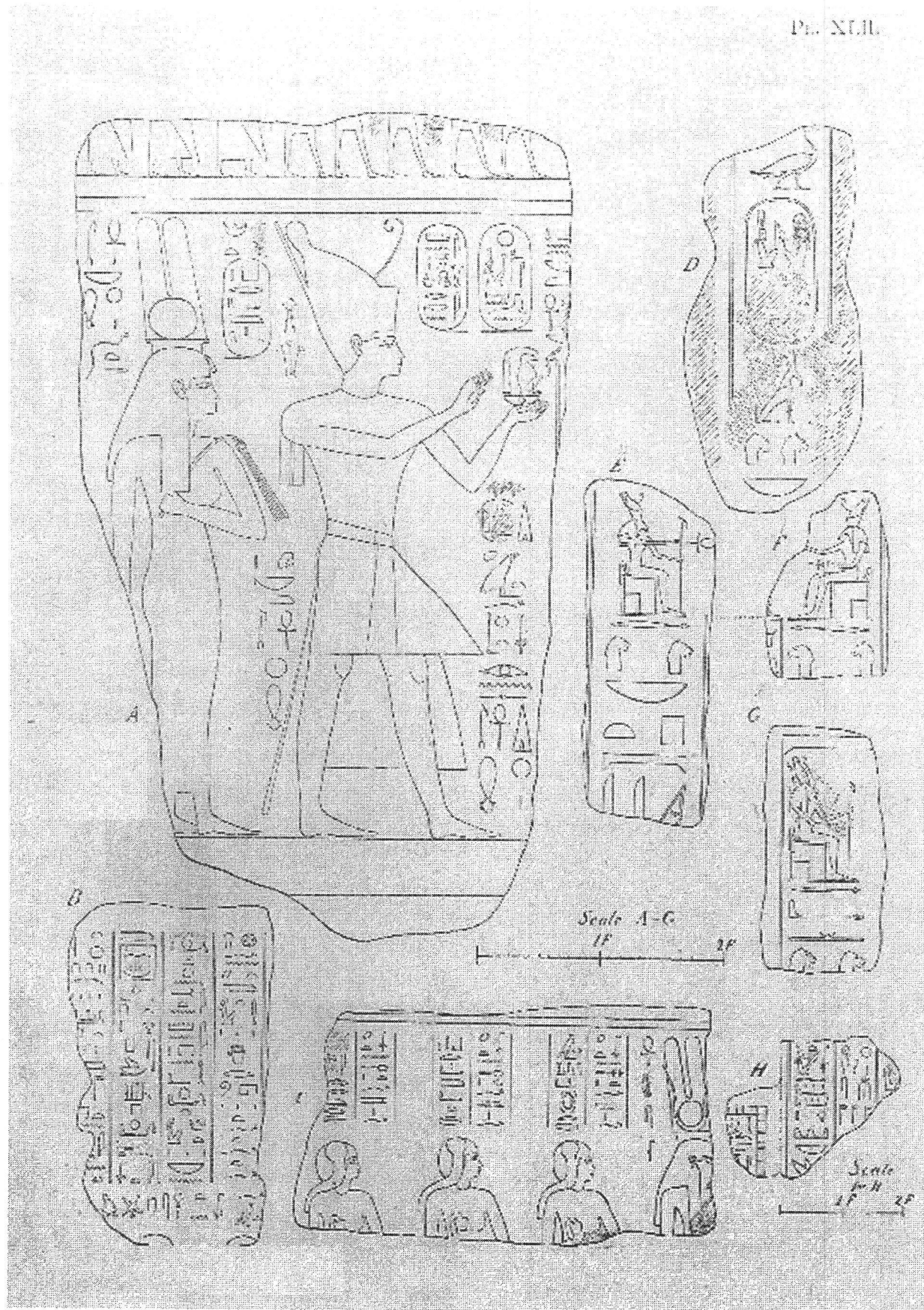




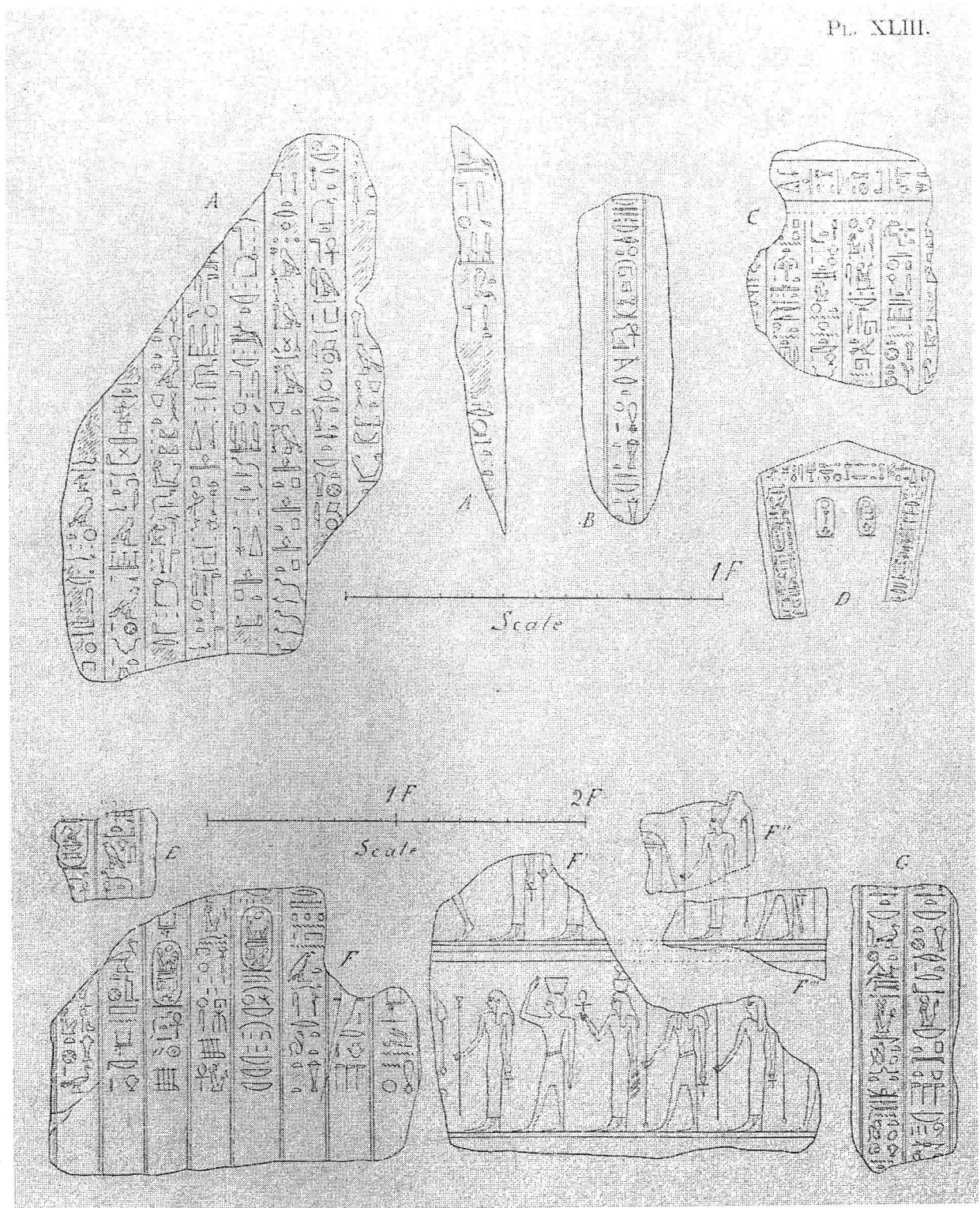
PL. XLI.



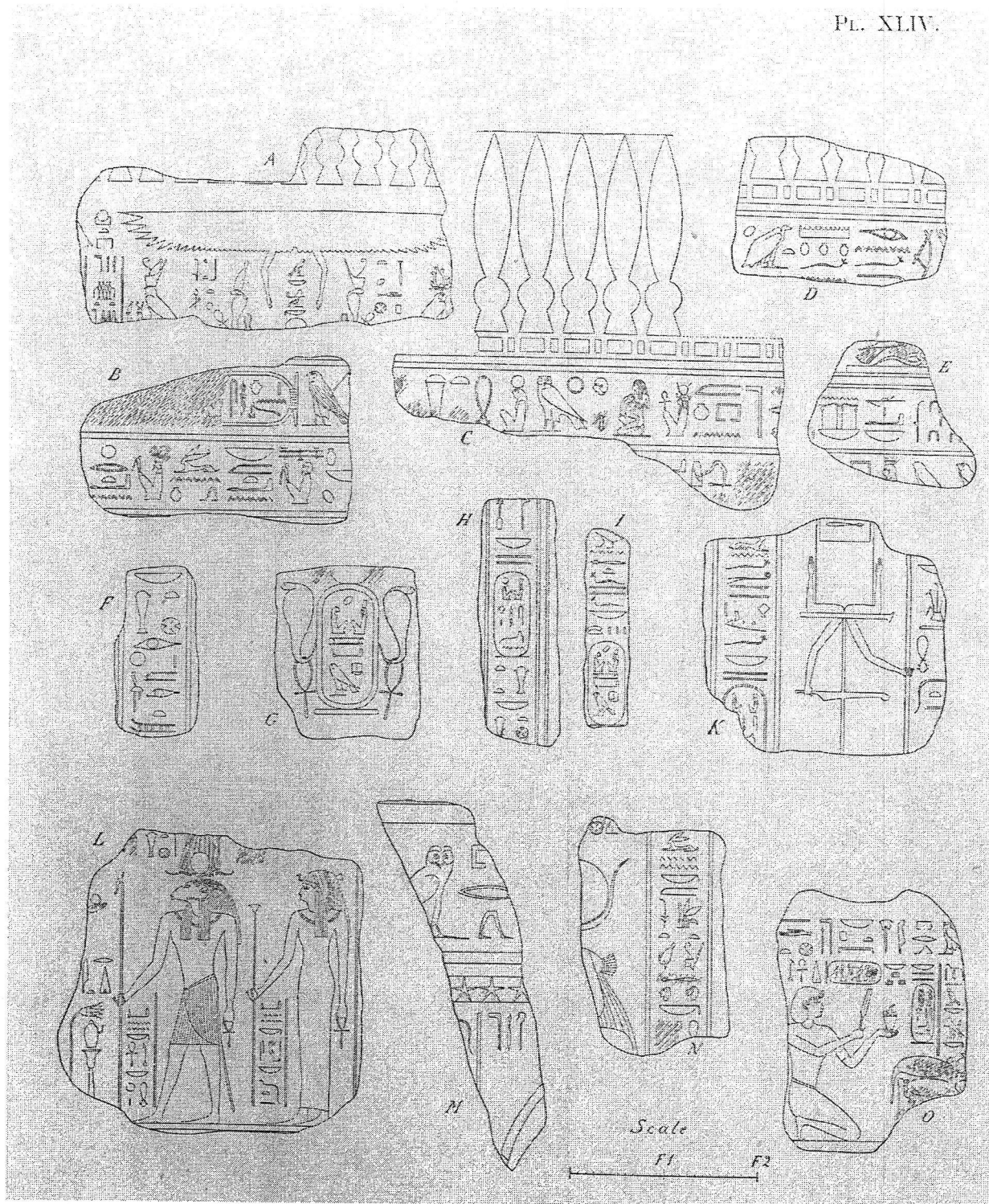
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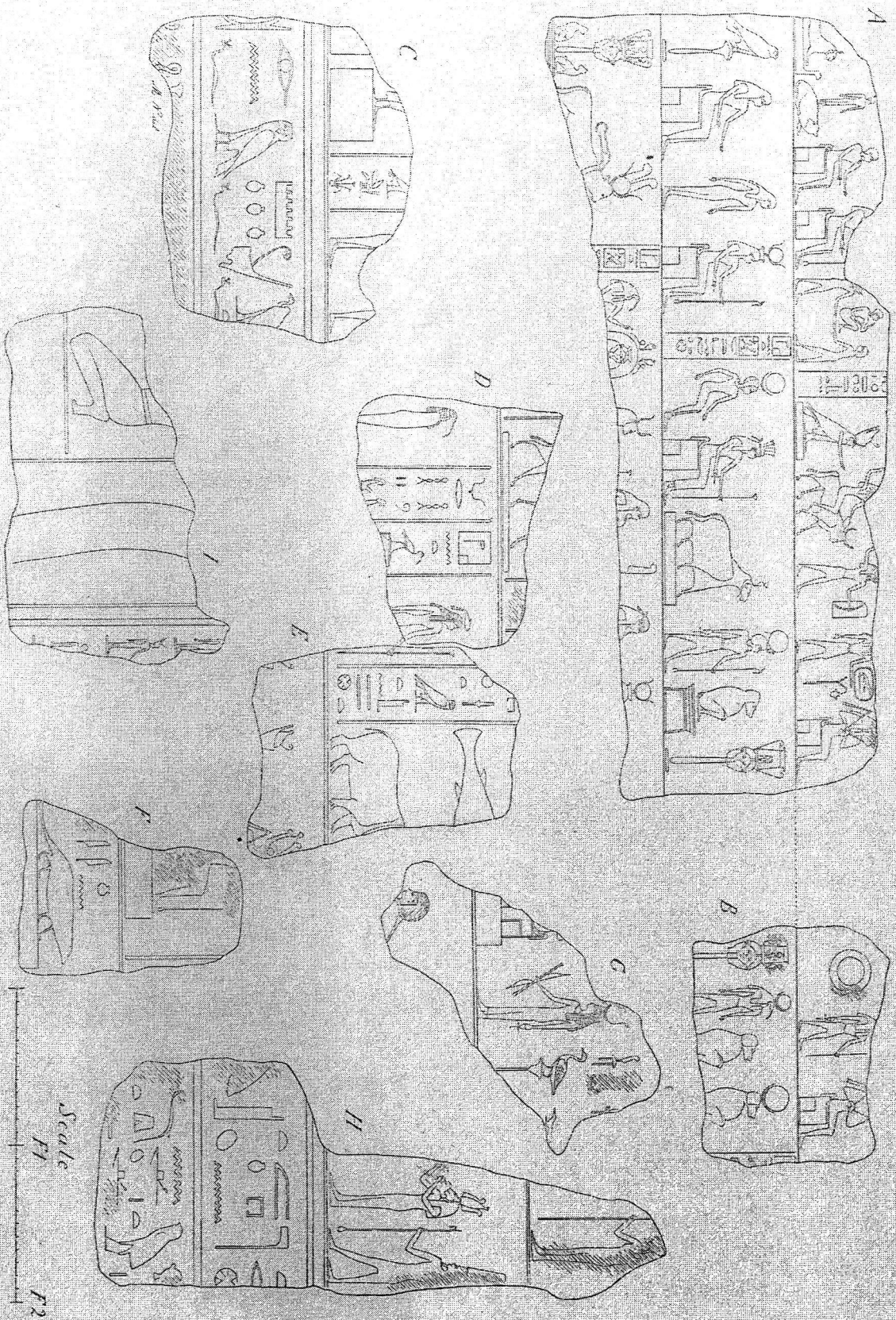
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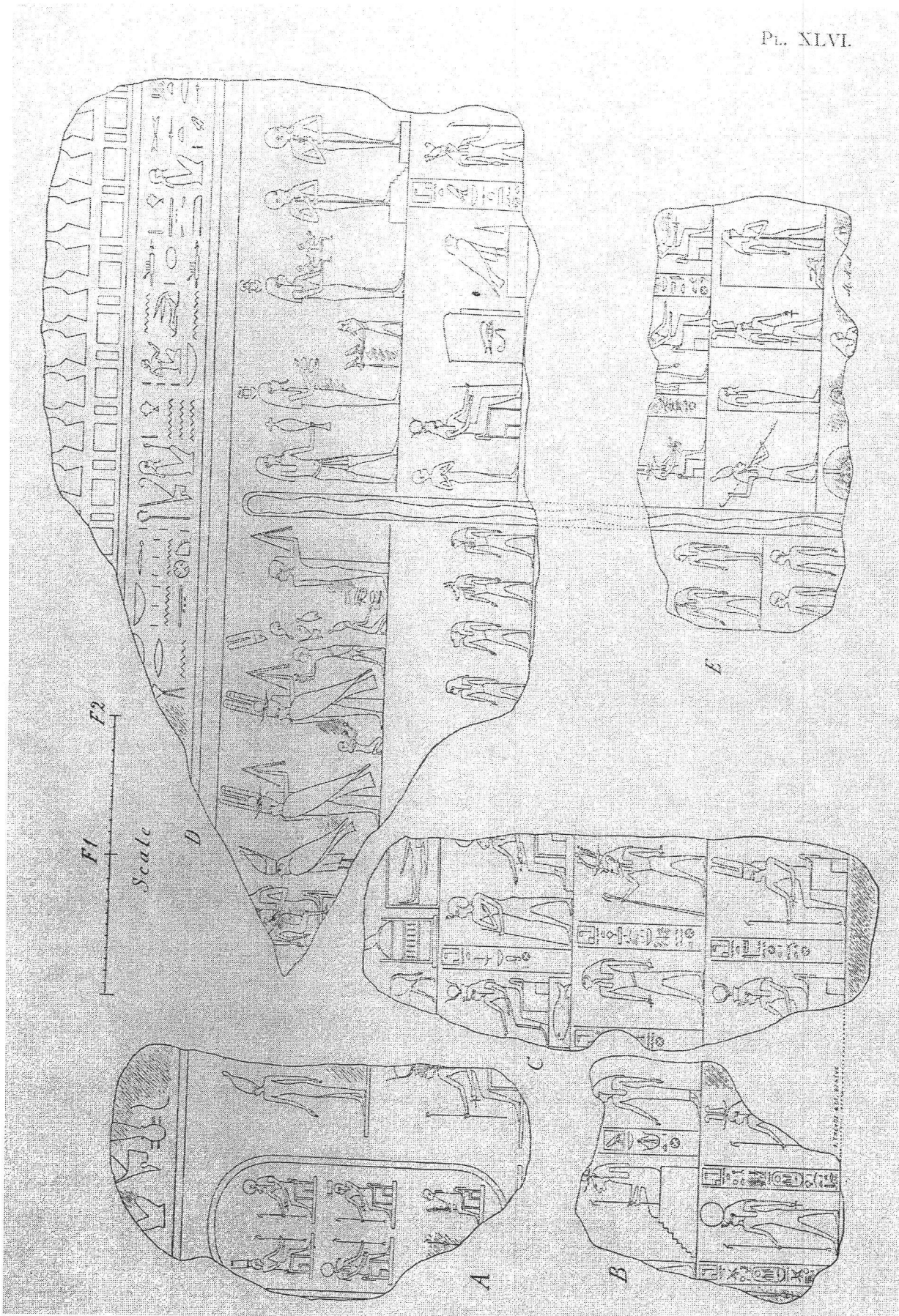
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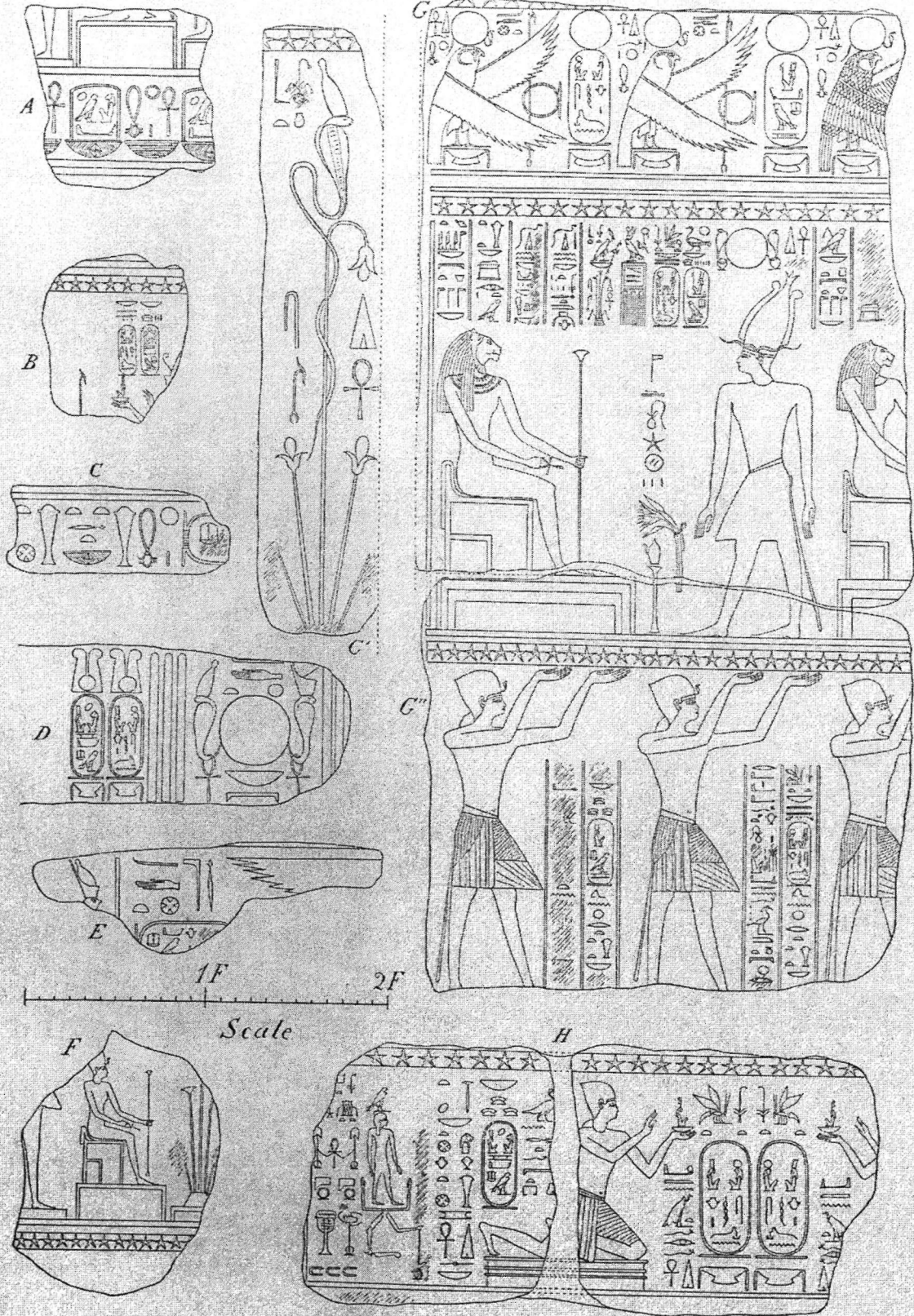
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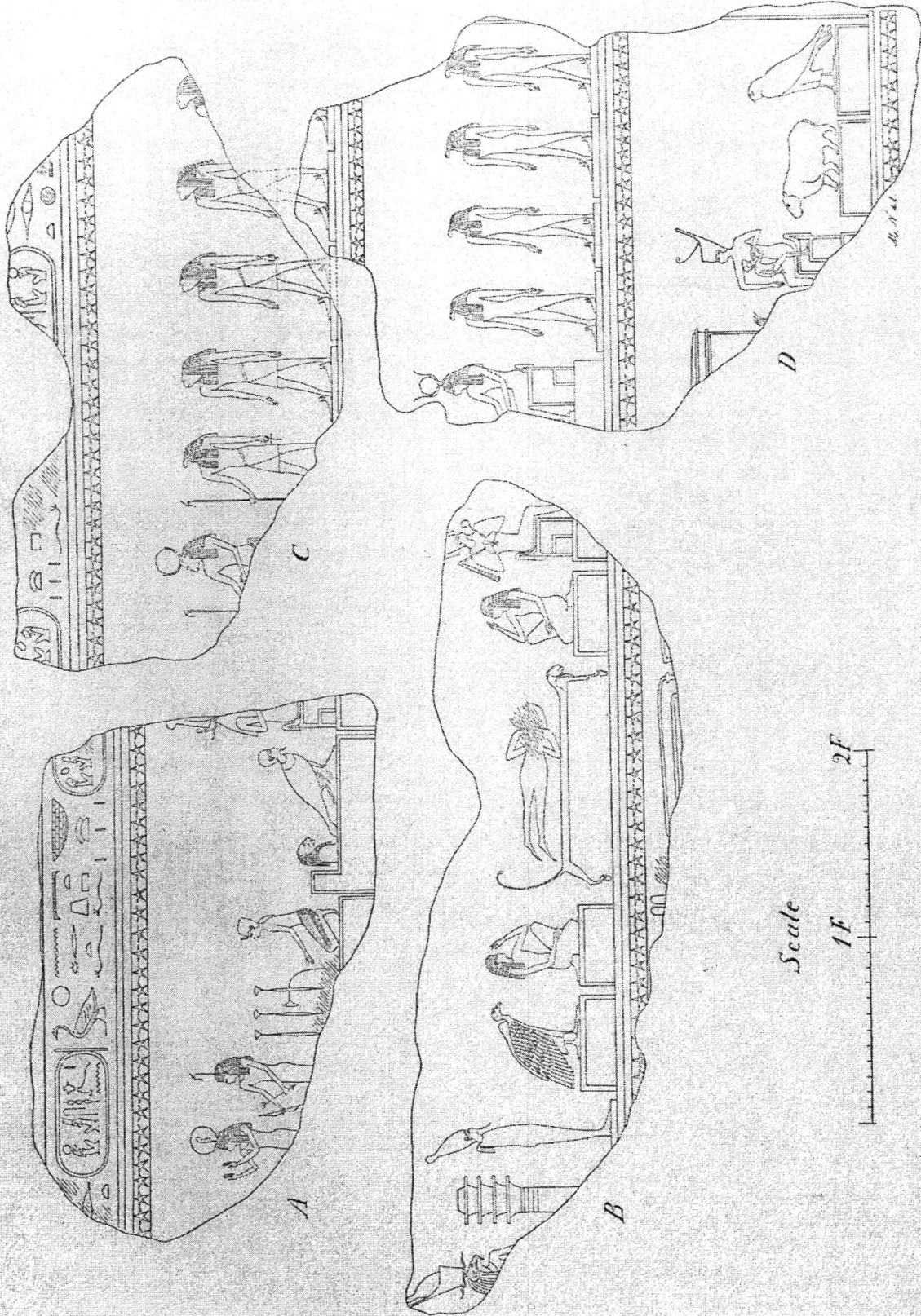
Pl. XLVI.



PL. XLVII.



PL. XLVIII.



PL. XLIX.



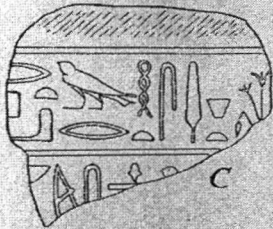
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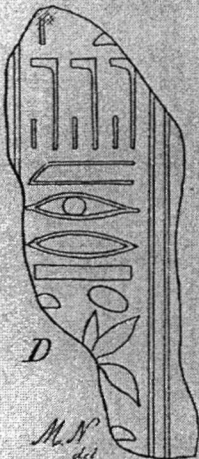
B

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΓ'ΤΟΑΕΜΑΙΟΝΘ
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 ΤΩΝΦΙΛΩΝΟΔΙΟΙΚΗ
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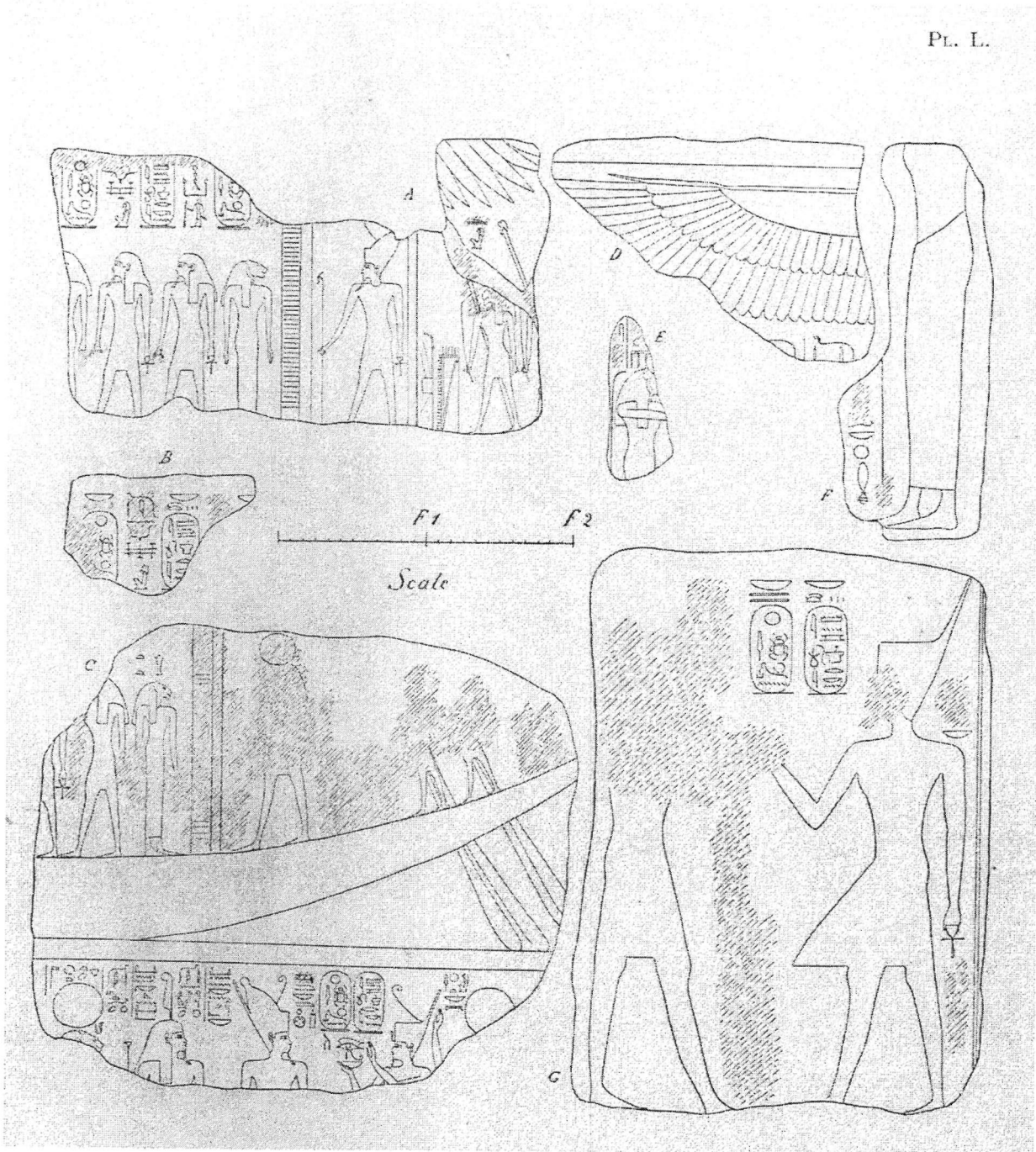
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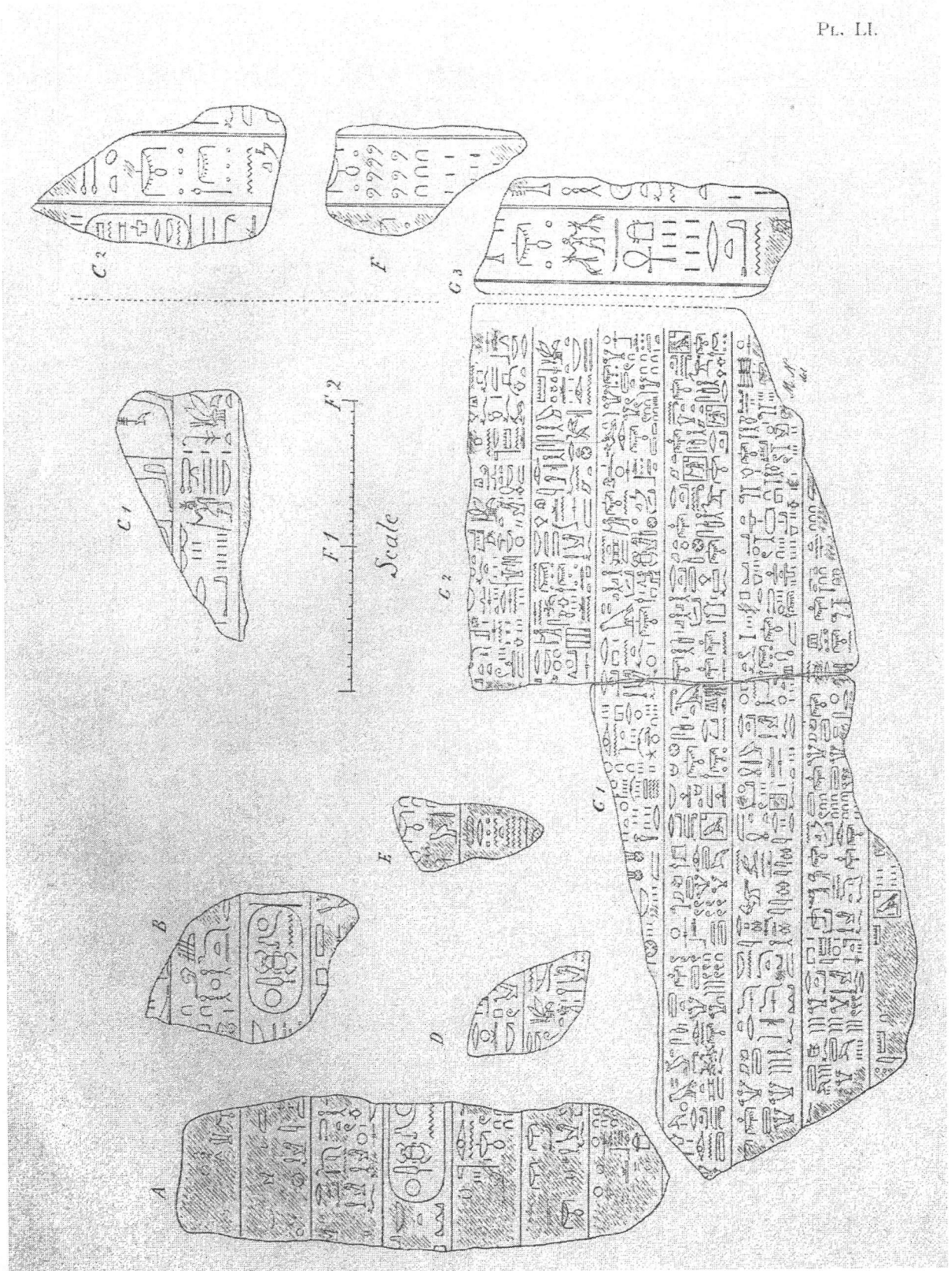
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F

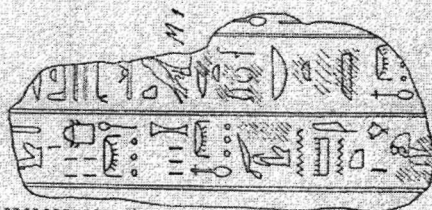
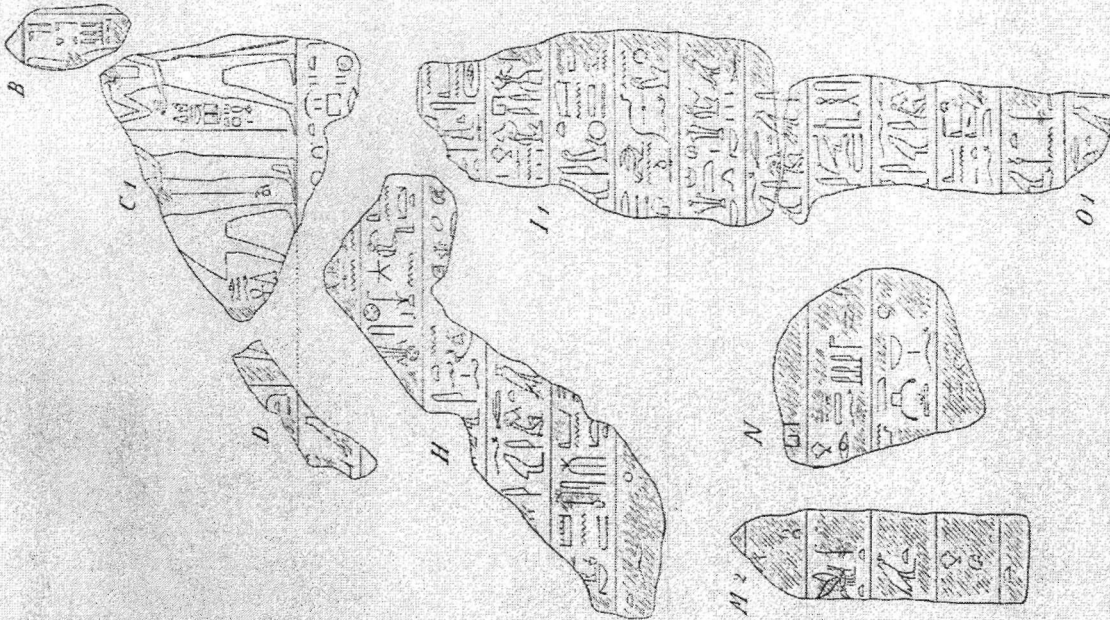
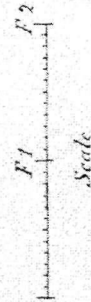
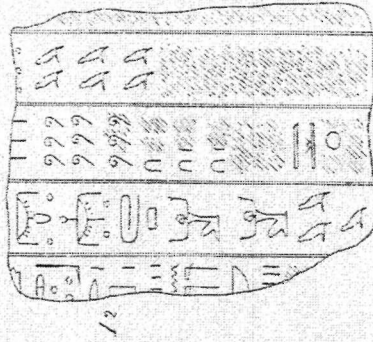
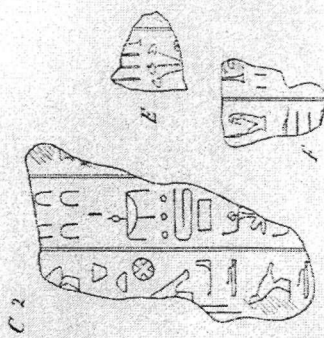
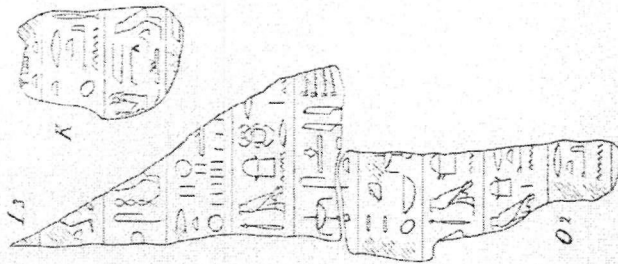
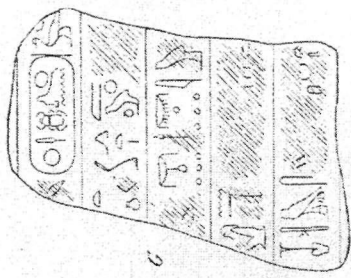
PL. L.



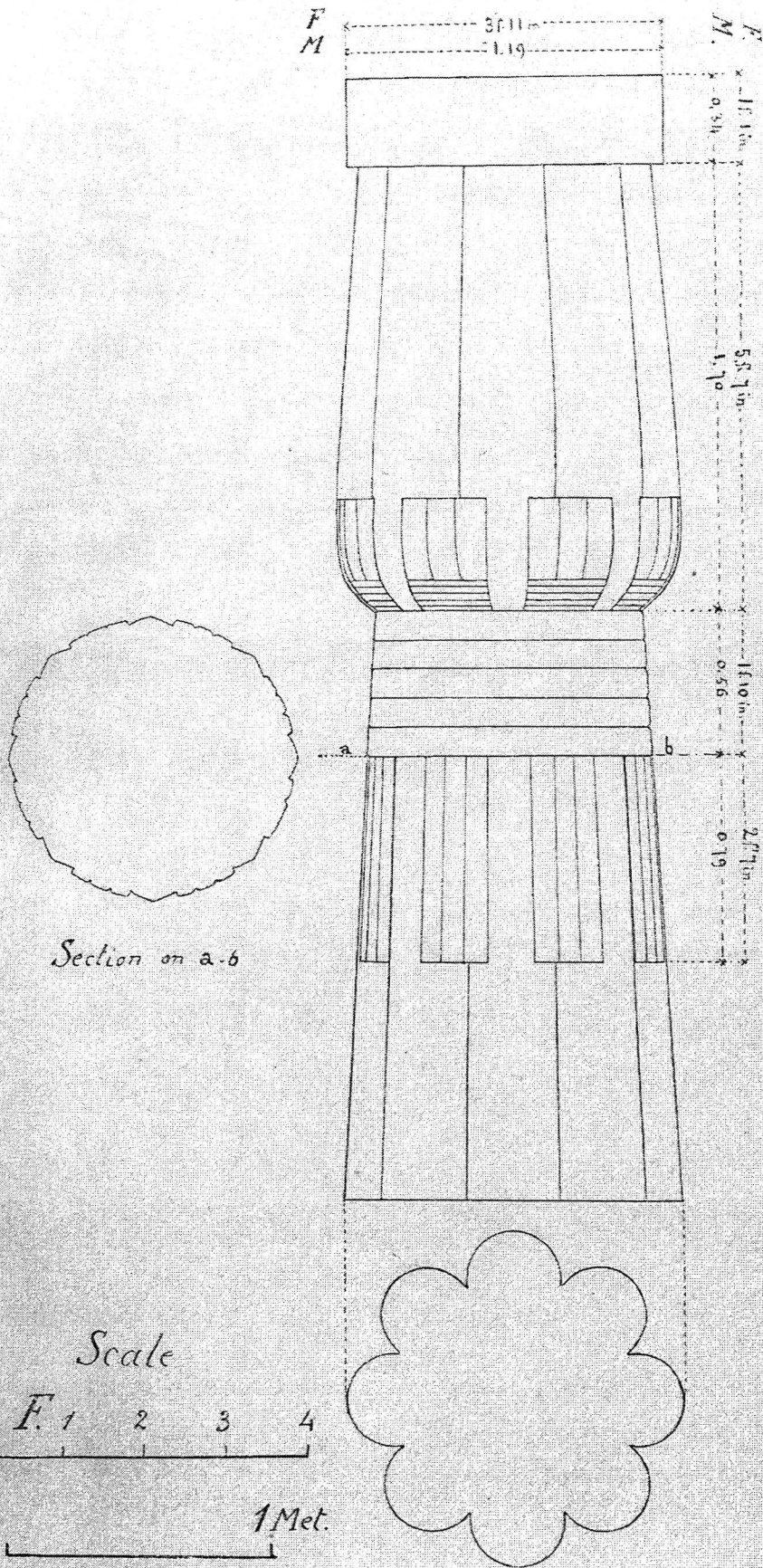
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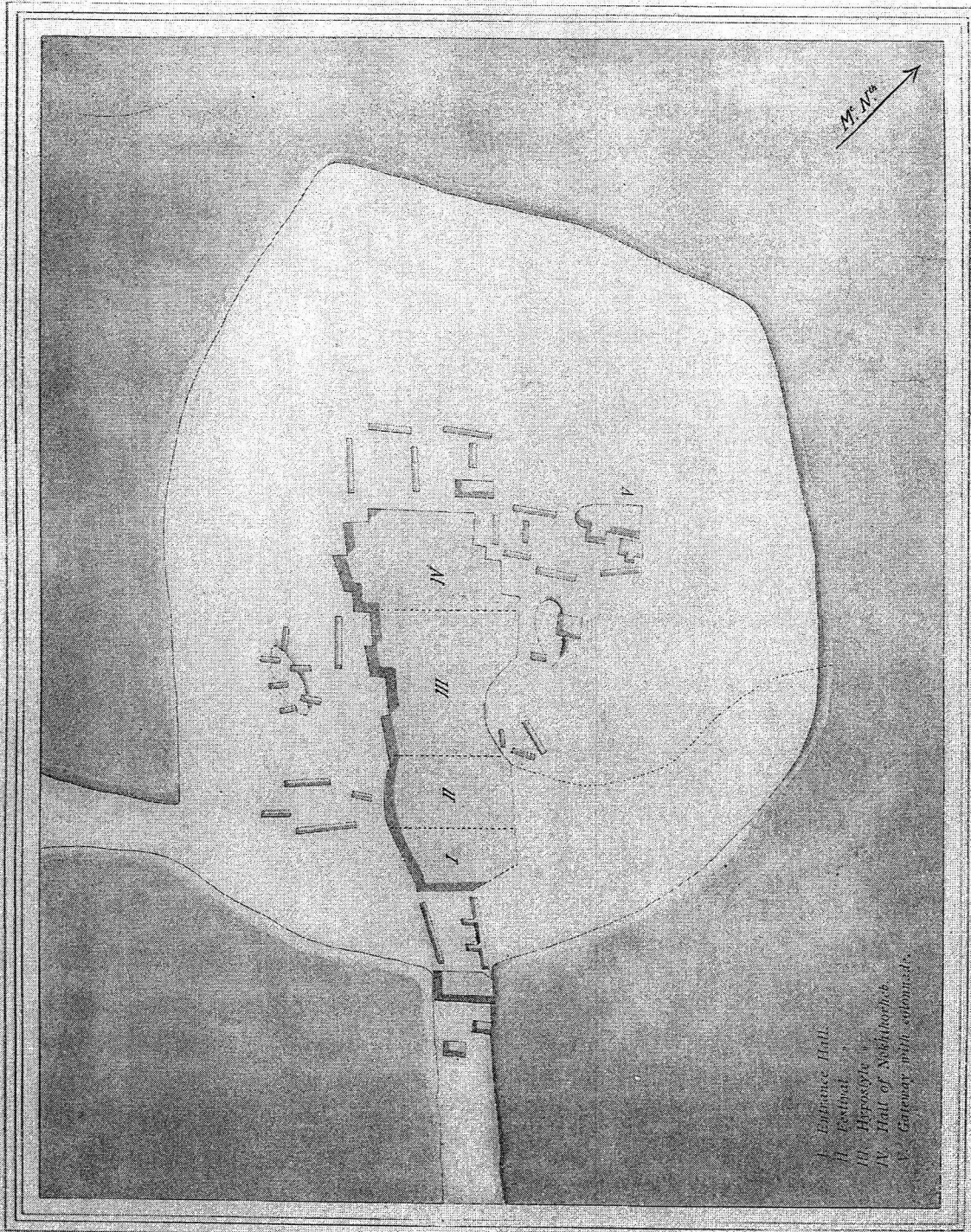
PL. LII.



PL. LIII.



PL. LIV

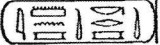


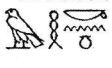




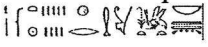
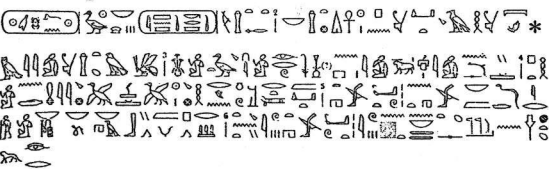
Drawn by Count R. d'Hindt

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT BUBASTIS

INSCRIPTIONS INEDITES
DE LA XXII^E DYNASTIE

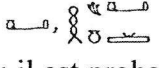
par
M. GEORGES DARESSY


*IV. — Stèle en calcaire, cintrée au sommet, achetée par le Musée de Gizéh. Le tableau du haut représente le roi  offrant  à quatre divinités :  léontocéphale, coiffée du disque solaire,  coiffée du pschent,  hiéracocéphale avec deux plumes comme Mentou, et  dont la tête est surmontée de deux plumes sortant d'une fleur de lotus.

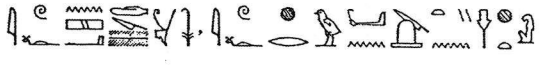
Le bas de la stèle est occupé par l'inscription suivante : 


« L'an IX, sous la Majesté du roi du Midi et du Nord, maître des deux terres, *Râ-het'-xeper-step-n-râ*, fils du Soleil, maître des diadèmes, l'aimé d'Amon, Tiklat (II), aimé de Bast, la grande maîtresse de Bubastis, donnant la vie. En ce jour fut donné le champ du chef auditeur de Bast, *Hor-kheb*, de 10 sat ; ce fut fait par le... royal de maison, *Abisa* [et] *Nesiptah*, de la Pa-gerpa-râ. On fera attention à ce que n'y porte atteinte aucun violateur, et on dit : Que tout chef, tout scribe, tout employé, tout envoyé en mission dans le champs qui empiéterait soit [châtié par le maître des deux terres, exécuté par Sekhet, la lionne fascinatrice] ! »

Cette inscription rentre dans la catégorie des actes de donations de terrains dont les musées possèdent déjà un certain nombre de spécimens. Ces monuments, souvent datés et dans lesquels intervient toujours un roi (au moins dans le tableau du haut),

mentionnent la remise , de propriétés à des divinités ; il est probable que ce sont des titres d'établissement de biens en waqfs religieux.

La ville de  n'est pas connue ; elle devait se trouver près de Bubastis. La dernière ligne est fort mal gravée, elle devait contenir l'imprécation que d'autres stèles donnent sous la forme



PAULYS REALENCYKLOPÄDIE
DER CLASSISCHEN
ALTERTUMSWISSENSCHAFT
DRITTER BAND

GEORG WISSOWA

Bubassos (und Bubastos) s. Bybassos. Βούβαστιακός ποταμός, östlichster Nilarm des Deltas, benannt nach der Stadt Bubastis Nr. 2 (s. d.). [Sethe.]

Bubastis. 1) Βούβαστις (Βουβάστια) Nikom. Geras. bei Phot. bibl. p. 144 Bekker), ägyptische Göttin, die die Griechen der Artemis gleichsetzten, Herod. II 137. 156 (vgl. CIG 7039. Steph. Byz.). Ovid. metam. IX 691, eigentlich Localgottheit der unterägyptischen Stadt Bast, nach der sie ägyptisch Baste (ursprünglich Bastet) d.i. "die von Bast"hiess, wovon wiederum die Stadt den heiligen Namen *Per-bastet* 'Haus der Bastet', griechisch Bubastis (Nr. 2) erhielt, der dann endlich von den Griechen wieder auf die Göttin übertragen wurde (wie bei Buto); falsche Etymologie von βούς im Et. M. In Bubastis, wo die B. ein schönes Heiligtum hatte (Herod. II 137. 138. Steph. Byz., vgl. Epiphan. haer. III p. 1093. Grat. Cyn. I 42), wurde ihr jährlich mit ausgelassener Freude ein grosses Fest gefeiert, zu dem ungeheure Menschenmengen aus allen Teilen des Landes zusammenströmten (Herod. II 59. 60); das Decret von Kanopos (ed. Lepsius) Z. 37 unterscheidet ein grosses und ein kleines Fest der B.(Βουβάστια). Das heilige Tier der B. war die Katze (vgl. Anton. Lib. 28 = Ovid. metam. V 330), deren Leichen nach Herod. II 67 nach Bubastis zur Bestattung gebracht wurden. Hier hat sich, wie aber auch an anderen Orten (s. Wiedemann z. Herod. a. a. 0.), in der That ein grosser Katzenfriedhof gefunden (Navelle Bubastis 52ff.); auch auf den Münzen des bubastitischen Gaus ist das Tier abgebildet (Head HN 723). Die Bemerkung bei Steph. Byz., die Ägypter nannten die Katze βούβαστος, ist ungenau und geht vielleicht darauf zurück, dass die Göttin selbst in der Regel katzenköpfig dargestellt wird. "Wie fast alle ägyptischen Gottheiten, ist auch die B. nachweislich* sehr

früh mit anderen Göttinnen zusammengeworfen worden; und zwar wird sie, die ihrem Wesen nach eine Göttin der Freude war, nicht nur mit solchen bei Göttinnen identifiziert, die einen ähnlichen, freundlichen Charakter hatten, wie Isis (vgl. CIL XIV 21 add.), Hathor (Aphrodite, so in dem gnostischen Buche Pistis Sophia ed. Petermann p. 366), Muth, sondern auch mit der kriegerischen Neith (Athene) und namentlich mit den löwenköpfigen Göttinnen des Schreckens und der Hitze Pacht, Sechmet und Tafnet, nach deren Beispiel sie selbst nicht selten mit Löwenkopf dargestellt wird. Auf diesem Synkretismus beruht es nun auch grösstenteils, wenn die B. (Artemis) an anderen ausserhalb ihres Gaus gelegenen Orten verehrt erscheint. So war die in dem mittelägyptischen Σπέος Ἀρτεμίδος (s. d.) verehrte Göttin eigentlich die Pacht, und mit der in Leontopolis (s. d.) im heliopolitanischen Gau verehrten ἀγρία Βούβαστις, die wilde B.', deren verfallenes Heiligtum Onias um 150 v.Chr. in einen jüdischen Tempel umwandelte (Joseph, ant. lud. XIII 66ff.), ist ohne Zweifel- die grimmige, löwenköpfige Göttin Sechmet .die "Herrin des Schreckens", die im Blut der gemordeten Feinde wadet gemeint. Nach Herod. II 155. 156 war B. eine Schwester des Horus (Apol- Ion), Tochter des Osiris und der Isis, und hatte mit ihrem Bruder zusammen ein Heiligtum in Buto (s. d. Nr. 2). Diese Angabe erklärt sich aus der häufigen Identification der B. und des Horus mit den Zwillingen Tafnet und Schu (Σως), die gewöhnlich als Kinder des Sonnengottes Re' oder Atum gelten, nach einem abweichenden Mythos aber von der Isis in Chembis (s. d.) bei Buto geboren sein sollten (Papyr. Ebers 95, 8). Diese Eigenschaft der B. (Tafnet) als Schwester des Horus-Apollon (Schu) hat vielleicht überhaupt ihre Gleichsetzung mit der Artemis veranlasst, mit der sie sonst kaum Ähnlichkeit gehabt wird (vgl. Iuven. XV 8, nach dem in Ägypten 40 der Kult der Diana fehlte). Da die Tafnet gewöhnlich Tochter des Re heisst, wird auch die Baste oft so genannt; als ihr Sohn gilt der Gott Nefertem,

griechisch Εὔτημις. Seit der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie aus Bubastis kommt der Name der Göttin sehr häufig in Personennamen wie z. B. Πετουβάστης u. a. vor. Mit der Isis, mit der sie ja auch identifiziert wurde, hat schliesslich auch die B. in den griechisch-römischen Kult Aufnahme gefunden; CIG 7039. CIL III 4234. VI 2249. 3880. XIV 21 add. 2215; vgl. Drexler Mythol. Beitr. I 131ff. und Roschers Mythol. Lex. I 831; als Geburtsgöttin (an Stelle der Eileithyia) tritt sie Anthol. Palat. XI 18 auf. Lanzone Dizion. di mitologia egiziana I 223—231. III 82. 83. Naville Bubastis, London 1891.

2) Βούβασις (Herod. II 59. 67.137.166. Steph. Byz. Mela I 80), gewöhnlich Βούβαστος (*Bin-nastas* Geogr. Rav. III 2.), ägyptische Stadt 554ff.; im Delta, am rechten Ufer des östlichsten, nach ihr benannten Nil arms (Βούβαστιακος ποταμός (Ptol. IV 5, 39-44. Βουβαστιτης. π ebd. 52. 53., Βουβαστίτης bei Maneth. bei Jos. c. Ap. I 14), der bei Pelusion mündete (Ptol. IV 5, 39), etwas unterhalb von der Stelle, wo der Canal nach dem roten Meer abzweigte, gelegen (Herod. II, 158, vgl. Strab. XVII 805)*; Hauptstadt des νομός Βουβαστίτης (Herod. II 166. Strab. XVII 805. Plin. n. h. V 49. Ptol. IV 5, 53. Steph. Byz.; Münzen Head HN 723; Βουβάστιος Theopomp. bei Steph. Byz.), vgl. Polyb. XV 27, 6. Der Name B. (altägyptisch Per-bastet, koptisch Πουβαστι hebraeisch Pi-beseth) bedeutet ‚Haus der Bastet (Bubastis), der Ortsgöttin, in deren Tempel jährlich ein grosses Fest gefeiert wurde (s. Nr. 1); der eigentliche Name der Stadt, von dem der der Göttin selbst erst abgeleitet ist, war Bast. 10 138 befand sich in B. auch ein Tempel des Hermes, dessen Kult aber die hier bisher gefundenen Inschriften nicht erwähnen; diese nennen viel mehr ausser anderen mit der Bubastis in Beziehung stehenden Gottheiten namentlich ihren Sohn Nefertem. Als heiliges Tier der Bubastis wurde in B. die Katze verehrt und begraben (s. Nr. 1). Nach Ael. n. an. XII 29 wären da selbst in einem Teich (wohl dem Tempelsee) auch zahme Welse (σίλουροι) gehalten worden, doch beruht dies augenscheinlich auf einem Missverständnis, indem Aelians Quelle

von Katzen redete, die in B. in grosser Zahl gehalten würden und die so zahm wären, dass man sie um die Wette nach Brotstücken springen liess. Durch eine leichte Verlesung (vgl. die Hss. von Anton. Lib. 28) wurden aus den Katzen (αἰλουροι) Welse (σίλουροι) und die Geschichte wurde nun, obwohl sie auf diese Tiere gar nicht passte, mit dem Tempelsee, der in der vorhergehenden Beschreibung erwähnt worden war, in Zusammenhang gebracht. Die Überlieferung bei Diod. XXVII 4, nach der die Stadt der Isis erbaut sein sollte, erklärt sich, wenn sie überhaupt glaubwürdig ist, vielleicht aus der Identification der Bubastis (Nr.1) mit dieser Göttin. Schon unter der zweiten Dynastie soll B. nach Manethos (bei Synkell. p. 54 D. 55 D = FHG II 542f.) Schauplatz eines Naturereignisses gewesen sein. Es haben haben sich auch in den Ruinen des Tempels Baureste aus der ältesten, uns bekannten Zeit, der der Pyramidenerbauer, gefunden. Grössere historische Bedeutung erlangte die Stadt durch die zweiundzwanzigste aus Libyen stammende Dynastie (etwa 950—750 v. Chr.), die von Manethos (bei Synkell. p. 73 D. 74 D = FHG II 590) als bubastitische bezeichnet ist, was indirect durch ihre Fürsorge für den Tempel von B. und durch die Namen mehrerer ihrer Mitglieder („Sohn der Baste“, „der Kater“) bestätigt wird. Unterhalb von B., bis zur pelusischen Mündung hin, siedelte Psammetich I die karischen und ionischen Söldner an (s. Στρατόπεδα), Herod. II 154. Bei der Eroberung Ägyptens durch Ochos (um 350 v. Chr.) spielte die Stadt insofern eine Rolle, als sie sich zuerst den Persern ergab, welchem Beispiel dann die übrigen Städte folgten, Diod. XVI49, 7ff. In christlicher Zeit Bischofssitz von Augustamnica II, Lequien Oriens christianus II vgl. Hierokl. Über die Ruinen von Tell Bastah bei Zagazig s. Naville Bubastis, 1891. [Sethe.]

Βουβαστίτης νομός

unterägyptischer Gau, benannt nach seiner Hauptstadt Bubastis Nr. 2

(s. d.). [Sethe.]

Bubastos. 1) Die bei den meisten griechischen

Schriftstellern (Polybios, Manethos, Strabon, Diodor, Ptolemaios, Aelian, Epiphanios, Steph. Byz.) gebräuchliche Form des Namens der Stadt Bubastis Nr.2, zum Unterschied von der gleichnamigen Göttin Bubastis Nr. 1. [Sethe.]

PLANCHES XLIII-LV.

THE TREASURE OF TELL BASTA.

CAMPELL C. EDGAR

The objects shown on these plates form the greater part of two magnificent hoards of gold and silver lately found at Tell Basta near Zagazig, the site of the ancient Boubastis. During the last two years the Railways Administration, by agreement with the Service des Antiquités, has been removing large quantities of earth from the tell. The high mounds which formerly surrounded the granite ruins are disappearing rapidly, and the visitor will no longer be able to realize Herodotus' description of the most charming temple in Egypt, which, being in the middle of the city, κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιμόντι ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν εκκεχωσμένης ὕψου, τοῦ δ' ἰσοπέδου κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτον ἔστί.

However profitable the work of the Railways may have been to the Zagazig dealers, up to the 22nd of September 1906 no antiquities of any importance had been secured by the Museum to compensate for the destruction of the site. It happened on that day that some of the workmen, levelling the ground beside the temporary railway, suddenly caught sight of a buried treasure. The story goes that they quietly shuffled some earth over the spot so as not to attract the attention of the guards and of the other workmen, and returning to the tell by night excavated and divided the spoil. In the morning there were rumours in Zagazig, not much exaggerated as it turned out, of a great discovery of gold and silver vases.

On the day of the find I happened to be at the neighbouring tell of Toukh el-Qaramous with the Inspector of Zagazig, trying to get some information about another case of stolen treasure, of which no one will ever know the whole history. The Inspector returned to Zagazig on the 23rd and heard from the *ghafirs* about the new affair at Tell Basta. He at once got the police to search the houses of the suspected persons. The beautiful jug reproduced on plate XLIII, together with one

or two fragments of a similar vase, was found in the possession of a native dealer, who had not yet had time to pass it over to his European accomplices. When I arrived in Zagazig next day, the police had just seized another unique vase, the gold cup on plate XLIV, which they had found hidden in the ceiling of a house belonging to one of the thieves. This was all of the treasure that we managed to lay hands on, though the country was searched from Zagazig to Bordein and though rewards were offered to likely persons. The examination of the suspected men went on for several days, but produced* nothing except imaginative and contradictory stories. But as the main facts were clear, the Parquet at once handed over the vases to the Service des Antiquités.

For some time after this event, Zagazig was infested by the bigger antiquity-dealers, and during the winter several gold and silver vases were shown and sold in Cairo, quite openly, as part of the stolen treasure. A few fragments of the silver jug on plate XLIV were bought by the Museum from one of the Cairo dealers, other pieces of the same vase having been already seized for us by the police. The objects which escaped us from this find¹ were more in number but less good, so far as I have seen or heard, than those which we recovered.

Trading in antiquities is a business which has its risks as well as its rewards. A few weeks after the find certain inhabitants of Asloughi, the village of the thieves, sent word to one of the dealers that they had part of the treasure hidden and wished to dispose of it. An agent was accordingly sent at the appointed hour of night with the sum required. Between Zagazig

¹ See a brief list of them in MASPERO, *Causeries d'Égypte*, p. 337.

and Aslougi he was waylaid by men in disguise, robbed of all his money and severely beaten. His assailants, no doubt the very people who had made the appointment with him, were so well pleased with the success of their plan that they repeated it next week. This time they were slightly less fortunate: they got the money and beat the messenger, but they were recognized and were afterwards arrested. But nothing was found in their houses, neither money nor antiquities.

As soon as the vases had been lodged in the Museum, I began a small excavation at Tell Basta. We knew whereabouts the treasure must have been found, though not the exact spot, and we worked there for some time but without any immediate success. The tell was being demolished by the Railways workmen in a perpendicular section, in which one saw remains both of houses and of burials: as we afterwards learned, the treasure must have been discovered in the low ground level with the railway at the foot of this perpendicular cutting. On the second day of the excavation we made a good find, but in a different part of the site, a little north of the temple, at the place where another train of the Railways was being filled with earth. The workmen here uncovered some small pieces of gold, and this being observed by the ghafir in charge our own people were summoned to clear out the spot. The gold objects turned out to be the scattered pieces of a necklace (see pl. LV); besides these we found two small figures, one of gold and one of electrum, apparently made for attachment against a flat surface; and from the mouth of one of the workmen a flat piece* of silver covered with gold leaf was extracted with some difficulty. These things were found at a slightly higher level than the great treasure, in ground which contained no distinguishable remains of buildings. The mound here at the time of the discovery was still very high, though even the highest layer was pre-Roman, and I should judge the stratum in which the necklace lay to be of the Ramesside age. A large reward was promised for this little find, and the ghafirs became very keen and expectant.

For several weeks after this I kept a few of our workmen employed in the neighbourhood of the places where the finds had been made. They were engaged for the most part in clearing out some peculiar buildings of Roman date close to the north-west end of the temple between the two temporary lines of the Railways.

These buildings, which will be described more fully in the *Annales*, stood on practically the same level as the temple itself, which shows that they must have lain within the precincts on ground which had been kept clear down to the date of their erection, though in later times they were covered by a deep mass of earth and rubbish. Meanwhile the Railways continued to demolish the mounds, and the perpendicular cliffs formed by their work were gradually receding.

It was on the morning of October 17th that the second hoard was discovered. One of the Railways workmen, scraping with his *fas* in the level ground near the base of the perpendicular cutting, laid bare some fragments of silver. It is said that he tried to conceal them; and if he had managed to do so, in all probability the whole treasure would have been lost to us. Luckily the ghafir noticed what had happened and called up his comrades. The Inspector, who was in Zagazig, was sent for and rightly decided to excavate the spot immediately. A ring of guards kept back the excited crowd, and the treasure was soon got out and placed in safety. It lay in one heap, just below the surface of the ground; the lesser silver objects were at the top; the gold was found below, amid the silver bowls. When I reached Zagazig in the afternoon, the excavation was finished, though our men were still searching for the tiny gold beads which were scattered about in the soil. I do not believe that any of the objects subsequently sold in Cairo came from this find: practically nothing was lost.

The spot where the second treasure lay was quite close to the place where the first is supposed to have been found. But the two

hoards must have been at least several metres distant from each other, for at the time when the first was discovered the mound under which the second lay buried had not yet been cut away. The first treasure must have lain a little nearer to the temple.*

After the find had been taken to the Museum, I made our workmen clear a large space round the spot from which the treasure had been extracted, and also sifted all the earth from the excavation in order to recover more of the small gold beads. The surrounding space turned out to be remarkably bare of antiquities. We found no walls or traces of rooms. There was very little pottery, the only distinctive pieces being a painted fragment of New Empire style and part of a portable brasier like those which Mr. Petrie found at Tell el-Retabeh¹. One large block of limestone was found close by, but not in position as part of a building, and near it was a smaller stone with a fragment of inscription:



There were marks of burning in the earth beneath the treasure.

The spot where, the treasure was found lies west of the temple, 160 metres from the west corner of the ruins and 100 metres from the more north-westerly of the two circular chambers in the Roman building. Herodotus tells us that the temple of Bubastis was surrounded by a stone wall and isolated from the town by a canal. There is no trace of a great mud-brick wall as at San or Behbit; but before the Railways began work, the mounds were separated from the temple by a stretch of low ground which we may suppose to be the site of the canal². Beyond the canal rose high mounds, covered in the time of Herodotus by houses and streets, from which

he looked down on the hollow area where the temple lay. The treasure was embedded under one of these mounds at a level not much higher than that of the granite ruins.

The gold bracelets from the second hoard bear the cartouche of Ramses II and the gold cup from the first hoard that of Tausert. The cartouche of Ramses occurs also on a badly preserved fragment of silver from the second find. The natural inference is that the whole treasure belongs to the XIXth dynasty and was abandoned towards the close of it. But from the character of some of the objects it has been conjectured that the various pieces of the hoard date from different times and that the whole was put together at quite a late period. And it is true that some of the minor objects do not strike one as being distinctively of the same date as the finer things in the collection. For instance if the earring shown on plate L in the upper right hand corner had been of unknown provenance, one might naturally have put it down as Roman, for exactly similar earrings have been found in the Delta³ together with coins** of the IIIrd century A. D. Still, similar forms occur at a much earlier period⁴; and we scarcely know enough about the history of Egyptian jewellery to say definitely that any object from the treasure cannot be Ramesside. And on the other hand, if we assume that the treasure was deposited at a late period, it is difficult to explain how it came to be buried so deep, twenty or more metres below the Roman stratum. Judging simply from what I saw of the site, both before and after the removal of the mounds, I cannot but believe that the whole treasure really dates from the XIXth dynasty.

¹ *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pl. XXXVI B, 53-56.

² Cf. NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, p. 3.

³ At Medawara in 1906, of gold, now in the Museum.

⁴ Earrings with granular pendants are found at least as early as the Mycenaean age (cf. MYRES, *Catalogue of Cyprus Museum*, p. 184). For a Phoenician example see PERROT et CHIPIEZ, *Phénicie*, fig. 584. It was a wide-spread and long-lived type.

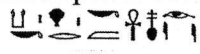
Our excavation merely disclosed the poverty of the surrounding ground and did not make it evident how it was that the treasure had come to be deposited in this place, outside the temple area and without any traces round about of a palace or other building. The hoard consisted of a strange mixture of things, which had been packed together, probably in a sack or box, the more valuable articles nested near the bottom: together with the beautifully wrought vases and jewellery, inscribed with cartouches, were all sorts of odds and ends of silver, several of them unfinished and bent about¹. If certain things might have come straight from the royal treasury, others again look simply like the stock-in-hand of a metal-worker. Surveying the collection as a whole, one might fancy oneself in the atelier of a goldsmith employed by the court. But whether the various objects come from one workshop or have been gathered together from different sources, I am inclined to think that the treasure was actually hidden in the ground for safety and by some accident left there.


The gold for the most part is in admirable preservation. Not so the silver, which is badly broken and oxidized. Most of it has been cleaned and mended, but plate XLVII will give an idea of its appearance when found.

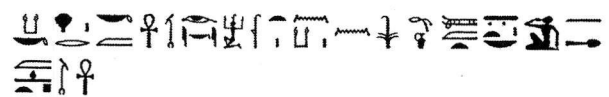
I proceed now to an explanation of the plates. Though the illustrations do not comprise the whole of the treasure, they include all the more striking objects, and what is omitted is of minor interest except for the specialist. The present article does not of course pretend to be a complete catalogue of the treasure. It is merely an account of the discovery with some description of the better pieces.*

PLANCHE XLIII. — This beautiful vase comes from the first hoard and was rescued by aid of the police as I have described above. It is numbered 39805 in the *Journal d'entrée*. Its height is 0 m. 175 mill. It is made of silver, but the handle is of gold and a strip of thin gold is fastened over the rim. As regards the general shape of the vase, it is of a common Egyptian type. But the decoration is

something novel. From shoulder to base it is covered by rows of sharp-pointed scales, like those of a pine-cone, overlapping each other from above². The scales are in *repoussé* or, more correctly, the surface round about them has been beaten inwards leaving them in relief. The rest of the ornamentation is merely engraved. On the base is a flower of blue lotus, which fills up the whole of the round space. On the front of the shoulder an offering-scene is engraved within a square panel, and on each side of the shoulder there is a line of inscription between the panel and

the handle : 





The offering-scene is very similar to that on pl. XLIV, no 2. The figure of the worshipper is almost exactly the same, except that both his hands are open in adoration. The divinity, who is a goddess, holds in her advanced hand a papyrus-sceptre surmounted by a falcon (?), and her coiffure is like that of the sphinxes on plate XLVIII: otherwise she does not differ from the similar figure on the other vase. An offering-table stands between the goddess and the worshipper. There are two friezes round the neck, but a large portion of them is covered by incrustation and they cannot be properly described until the vase has been cleaned. The lower frieze contains scenes of fowling and fishing. The upper frieze is divided up by fantastic trees with volutes and palmettes, and between each pair of these is an animal or group of animals, among which

¹ If the hoard dates partly from one period and partly from another, one must suppose that the unfinished articles belong to the later group. Yet the unfinished strainer pl. LI, which was evidently to take the form of those shown on plate XLIX, is of a New Empire type (see BISSING, *Metallgefässe*, no. 3536).

² They have an accidental resemblance to a common Mycenaean pattern which consists of rows of ivy-leaves (cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. XXIX).

one recognizes a griffin tearing a lion¹.

But the chief beauty of the vase is the admirably modelled handle in the form of a goat. Animal-shaped handles were not uncommon in antiquity, and this is far from being the earliest example². But if not the earliest, it* is perhaps the most charming. The little creature has leaped up and stands nearly erect on its hindlegs peering over the rim. There is a gold ring through its nose, by which the vessel might be hung up. Its foreknees rest against the neck of the vase, and on each side of them the calyx of a flower springs out horizontally. This part of the handle is fastened to the neck by three gold nails, and the lower end is also nailed to the shoulder of the vase. The goat is hollow, but the gold is fairly thick, and presumably it has been cast: the surface, however, has been worked over and all the markings added by hand. Some or all of the projecting parts have been made separately and attached. The horns and ears have been stuck into prepared holes, their inner ends protruding on the inside and the junction on the outside being smoothed by soldering. There is a rather large triangular hole in the forehead, the object of which is not clear: it may have been used for some practical purpose such as the removal of the core.

The vase when it came into our hands was broken in several pieces, and part of the body is still wanting. The surface is incrustated in parts and covered with a green oxide. For the present it has been left in the condition in which it was found; but it will gain a great deal by being cleaned, sufficiently at least to show the fine engraving on the neck and shoulder.

PLANCHE XLIV. — No 1. A gold cup from the first find (see p. 93), in the form of a half-opened flower of blue lotus. The petals are impressed on the bowl of the cup, and the cartouche of the queen Tausert is engraved on the long stem. There are four rings round the foot of the stem, and below these a calyx of inverted petals. Cups of similar form are very common in blue-glazed ware³.

The vase has been made in two parts, the stem, which is hollow, being soldered on to the bowl. The ornamentation is not in relief, but is merely impressed. There is a little point of technique which deserves to be noted.

The outlines of the lotus petals have been first of all sketched by means of short, lightly engraved strokes, and this preliminary sketch is still visible here and there, where the artist has not followed it exactly.

The height of the cup is 0 m. 095 mill., and its number in the *Journal d'entrée* is 30708.

No. 2. On plate XLIV is a fragmentary vase which also belongs to the first** hoard. A few of the pieces were seized by the police in Zagazig the day after the find, and the others were afterwards bought from a dealer in Cairo. A gold handle which is said to be part of the same vase is in an American collection. The height of the part preserved is 0 m. 15 cent. and its number in the *Journal d'entrée* is 38720.

It is a companion-vase to the jug with the goat-handle. The lower part is covered with the same embossed pattern and a lotus flower is engraved on the base. On the front of the shoulder a scene of adoration is engraved in a square panel. The divinity is a warrior goddess standing to left, holding spear and shield in one hand and the *ankh* in the other. Her dress and jewellery are of the usual Egyptian type, but she has a singular coiffure, the form of which is fairly distinct in the

¹ The same subject occurs on a bronze plaque which used to be called Phoenician, but which is clearly an Egyptian work (PERROT et CHIPIEZ, *La Phénicie*, p. 813, fig. 565). It has much affinity to the Tell Basta vases.

² In Egypt they are found not only on representations of vases, but also on actual vases, *e. g.*, BISSING, *Steingefässe*, pl. IX, no 18486; MASPERO, *Archéologie égyptienne*, fig. 284. The goat-handle from the Oxus treasure is a striking, decorative work, but less natural and pleasing than ours.

³ Cf. BISSING, *Fayencegefässe*, p. XVI.

photograph: the surface of it is engraved with small dots. There is an uraeus in front of her forehead, and a pigtail, with a round lump at the end, hangs over her shoulder. The name



is engraved in the space between the goddess and her worshipper. The latter, who has a shaven head and long drapery, approaches with both hands upraised, the stem of some object appearing in his left. There is a line of inscription, engraved, on each side of the shoulder, starting from the panel:



and



The neck is covered with friezes of engraved ornamentation, separated from each other by bands of vertical strokes. At the top one sees a fragment of a frieze of lotus flowers and grapes. Below is a spiral chain. Below this has been the principal frieze, of which all that remains is a duck flying through a papyrus thicket, two horses running wild(?) and the forelegs of a third horse. There has been another frieze below, but only a tiny fragment of it is left.

PLANCHE XLV. - A gold vase, 0 m. 115 mill. high, no 38706 in the *Journal d'entrée*. This, like all the succeeding things except the necklace pl. LV, comes from the second hoard, and like most of the other gold objects is in splendid preservation.

It is of the same general form as the silver vases described above. Like them too it is covered from shoulder to base by an embossed pattern, but here the pattern consists of small, elliptical protuberances in place of the overlapping scales. On the base is engraved a blossom of blue lotus, almost exactly the same as those on the silver jugs. The neck is decorated with four engraved friezes of petals, flowers and fruit, the details of which are shown very clearly* in the photograph. A slightly projecting rim has

been formed by turning over the top of the neck.

The fixed part of the handle, fastened to the neck by three rivets, is in the form of a calf lying on its left side, just below the rim of the vase, its head turned upwards to its right and its tail curled over its back; and from each end of the calf springs a conventional lily. This part of the handle, which is fairly solid, may have been cast, but in any case the surface has been carefully worked over, and the details are chased. A movable ring is fastened through a wide hole in the calf. Fairly thick below, it tapers gradually into long ends of wire which have been passed through the hole and then wound round each other.

PLANCHE XLVI. — This is a small jug, 0 m. 075 mill. in height, of the same form as the other. Its number in the *Journal d'entrée* is 38707.

It is made of beaten gold, and the ornamentation is engraved. The neck is surrounded by three floral friezes. On the front of the shoulder is a necklace of lotus petals, a device which often occurs on the painted vases of this period. The strings of the necklace hang over on each side. There is a lotus flower in the middle of it; and below hangs a large blossom of blue lotus, on each side of which is a duck with upraised wings. On each side of the shoulder a cat (the sacred animal of Bubastis) sits looking towards the necklace. The base is plain and flat.

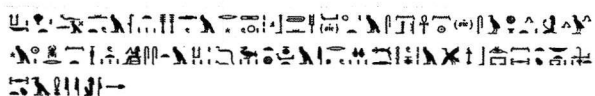
The handle is attached by three gold rivets, and the ring is made like that of the other gold vase. The fixed part of the handle consists of a barrel-shaped bead of fayence (much decayed) in a gold setting, with a conventional lily on each side: the setting has a row of dots along top and bottom and a rope pattern at each end (very roughly finished on one side).

PLANCHE XLVII. — Three badly damaged silver vases, shown in the condition in which they were found. The largest is 0 m. 23 cent.

in diameter. If really finished, it is a plain bowl without ornamentation of any sort. The other two are of the same shape and size as the vase on plate XLVIII, and like it they have gold handles and a casing of gold round the rim; but there are no remains of relief or engraving on the silver surface, at least on the parts which are preserved. The treasure contained several other broken bowls, of not quite the same shape as those which are photographed here. They are made of silver, with gold handles, and one of them has a gold cone in the centre, like that shown on plate XLVIII.* *PLANCHE XLVIII.* — This fine vase, one of the best surviving examples of Egyptian toreutic, is made of silver, with a gold ornament in the centre, a gold handle and a gold covering round the rim. The diameter of the bowl is 0 m. 16 cent. It is numbered 38709 in the *Journal d'entrée*.

The gold ornament in the centre consists of a hollow cone surrounded by textile patterns in gold thread. The shape and details of the gold handle are clearly shown in the photograph and need no explanation.

The following inscription, running from right to left, is engraved round the outside of the neck:



But the chief interest of the vase consists in the scenes in the interior. These, unlike the friezes on the silver jugs, are in *repoussé* though the relief is not very deep and parts are merely engraved. The zone in the bottom of the vase contains a water-scene. The stream is represented by a strip of water round the central ornament, but the things beyond it are supposed to be partly in the water and partly in the air. A boatman, with a small animal on board, is poling his vessel through water and water-plants. On the other side two girls, who remind us of the contemporary figures carved in wood as handles of spoons, are swimming across the stream, as if to gather a bouquet of lotus

flowers. Fishes, ducks and lotus plants fill up the scene.

The outer frieze, which is bordered by a circle of small studs, is composed of animals in realistic and heraldic groups. It is a landscape or series of scenes. A slight attempt at a perspective background may be detected in the long-stemmed plants which spring both from the inner and the outer side of the zone¹ (so too the lotus flowers in the water-scene): and the animals also are represented more or less in perspective, the lower ones being always supposed to be the nearer. The frieze is divided up by four trees of a conventional species. Except in one case two animals are grouped heraldically about each tree. Here it is two winged female sphinxes², each holding out a foreleg: here** again it is a pair of goats or of some other horned animals³. The same heraldic arrangement of animals, real and imaginary, on each side of a fantastic tree is found again on the Phoenician paterae, which probably owe so much to Egyptian models. The naturalistic groups consist mostly of a calf at full gallop attacked by a dog or a leopard, but here and there another kind of beast is introduced. The whole frieze is neither a formal procession of animals, of the sort which is so common in archaic Greek art, nor yet a connected scene. It is a decorative medley, of which every separate part is full of life and realism.

The style of the work is masterly. The figures are beaten in low relief, the outlines and inner markings strongly and surely engraved, without elaboration.

¹As on the bronze plaque mentioned above (p. 98, note 2). This is one of several features which it has in common with the Tell Basta vases.

²Much the same type occurs on a Theban ostrakon, DARESSY, *Ostraca*, pl. XVIII, no 25090. Probably the female sphinx was common enough in popular Egyptian art.

³Cf. EDGAR, *Sculptors' studies*, pl. XXXIX, no 33470, B. For an example of the same subject in Mycenaean art see *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1907, p. 118, fig. 2. The same scheme treated realistically, occurs on the Beni Hassan paintings.

PLANCHE XLIX. — Three silver strainers, no doubt to be held over the drinking-cup when wine or other liquor was being poured out. They are all of about the same size, being from 10 to 11 centimetres in diameter. They are entered in the Journal d'entrée under no 38716.

The topmost one in the photograph has a rather deep, hemispherical bottom. A good many of the little holes, especially of those near the top, are not pierced right through. The handle, which is broken off short, has a fluting on each side: probably it curved in below and was soldered to the outside of the bowl, though no trace of the junction remains.

The second strainer is of the same shape as the first, but the flat handle has a lotus flower engraved upon it, a common device in Egyptian metal-work. The lower part of the handle, which is broken off, has got separated by mistake and is photographed among the miscellaneous objects on plate L (top row, second from right): it has apparently been soldered to the side of the bowl.

The third strainer is much shallower than the other two¹. The handle, like that of the second, has a flower of blue lotus engraved upon it, and the lower end is attached to the bowl by a rivet.

PLANCHE L. — These are specimens of the minor objects of silver, an almost random selection of bangles, pins, finger-rings, earrings, etc. The scale of the photograph is about 4:5.*

The treasure contained a great many bangles of the same type as those shown, made of solid beaten silver². Below are two finger-rings, one with a plain bezel, the other with a representation in intaglio of a long-tailed animal with a collar walking to right. There are about twenty finger-rings in the collection, but the others are of a different type, without flat bezel or seal: the hoop merely broadens out on one side, and on this broader part is engraved a religious subject, such as an uraeus or a mystic eye or a head of Hathor. The ring shown in the middle of the

photograph attached to a bent bar of silver has three goats engraved upon it. The earring with the pendant bunch of grapes has been already mentioned (p. 96): there is another one like it, but the two are not a pair. Another common type has a pendant in the form of a small nail broadening out below³. But the commonest sort of earring consisted of a plain hoop with thin ends (not fastened together) and a swelling on the lower side⁴. Among the other objects which are here illustrated may be noticed a fragment engraved with hieroglyphics, probably from a vase.

The things shown here and on the next plate can surely be nothing but the contents of a silversmith's workshop.

PLANCHE LI. — The object at the top is an ingot of solid silver, 0 m. 14 cent. long. Below on the left is a fragment of another. Beside it is a flattened-out, doubled-up cylinder of silver, which looks like part of an unfinished vase: the edge is turned in at one end, the other end is broken. The larger object in the bottom row is apparently a round sheet of silver doubled-up, with a circular space in the middle in which a great number of little holes have begun to be punched: it seems to have been intended for a strainer like Chose on plate XLIX, but the work has not been carried very far. The last object shown on the plate is a fragment of a vase with chased design probably representing a scene in a papyrus thicket: part of a bird can be distinguished on the side which is bent back and not visible in the photograph.

PLANCHE LII. — The beads which have thus been strung together were found scattered amid the treasure, and it took several days to pick them out of the sand and soil with which they were mixed. The tiny beads and those of filigrane are all made of gold, but some of the pendants and of the

¹ Cf. BISSING, *Metallgefäße*, no 3536.

² There is a similar bracelet from Cyprus in the Louvre.

³ Cf. MYRES and RICHTER, *Catalogue of Cyprus Museum*, pl. VII, no 4013 (for the pendant only).

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no 4008.

disk-shaped* beads are of carnelian: these can be distinguished by their darker colour in the photograph. The gold pendants are hollow, being made in two pieces with flat backs. In restringing the whole as a necklace M. Daressy has taken as a guide the necklace worn by a statue in Cairo representing a daughter of Ramses II (Guide, 1906, p. 154, no 313).

Numbered 38713 in the *Journal d'entrée*.

PLANCHE LIII. — The object shown above is the clasp of a large bracelet or of some other ornament. It is 0 m. 084 mill. long. Each of the two parts is hollow and is made of a sheet of gold bent into shape. Their outer sides are each pierced, one by thirty six, the other by thirty seven holes for the attachment of strings of beads. The lower piece (as they are placed in the photograph) has a groove on each side for the other to slide along. The other piece has projecting bars which fit into the grooves, and a little farther inwards it is closed in by a flat strip of gold. The grooved piece is partly open at the back.

The clasp is made entirely of gold, the various parts being soldered together. It is possible that a great many of the small beads which were found scattered all about the treasure originally belonged to this clasp.

The three objects below are probably large earrings, though it is not clear how exactly they were worn. The earrings which one sees represented in the tomb-paintings of the New Empire are often quite as large as these. Their form is not fully shown in the photograph. They each consist of two hollow hemispheres united by a cylindrical stem in such a way that a little space is left between them. Round each hemisphere is a flat border covered by two or three rings either plain or dentated, the rings being made of narrow gold tubing.

1. The largest is 0 m. 06 cent. in diameter. The centre has been inlaid with turquoise or enamel. All the ornamentation on the front half is soldered on and not in repoussé. The back is rather plainer, having a dot-rosette in the centre (like that an no 3) and only two rings round the edge. The stem which unites

the two parts is merely a thin sheet of gold folded into a cylinder, with a few impressed lines round it.

2. 0 m. 05 cent. in diameter. It has had an inlaid gem in front. The ring round the gem is soldered on, but the rest of the ornamentation round the centre is repoussé. The back is like no 3.

3. Back of a similar earring with dot-rosette in repoussé. The front half was also found, but is much broken.** Being so thin and fragile the earrings have suffered more damage than the other gold objects. They are entered in the *Journal d'entrée* as nos 38711 and 38712.

PLANCHE LIV. — The two magnificent bracelets of which several views are here shown are 0 m. 06 cent. high and about 0 m. 06 cent. in diameter. They are numbered 38710 in the *Journal d'entrée*.

They open and shut by means of a hinge on one side and a gold pin which fastens the two ends together on the other side. The principal ornament on the front half consists of two geese, or a two-headed goose, in relief, the heads being turned inwards. The heads are of beaten gold, hollow, and the eyes have been inlaid, while the body is made of a large piece of lapis lazuli. All round about the surface is thickly covered with patterns in filigrane, and in the space between the geese's heads and the hinge the cartouche of Ramses II appears on a thin inserted band of gold. The ornamentation of the back part consists of narrow bands, plain and dentated alternately, like the bands round the earrings on plate LIII, which may very well have been made by the same hand.

With the exception of the eyes and body of the geese the bracelets are made entirely of gold. Their construction, the way in which the different pieces have been wrought and joined together and the small separate details of the design attached all over the surface, is very elaborate and I shall not attempt to describe it. They are works of great labour and of great effect. Big and gorgeous they strike one as

eminently worthy of the King whose name they bear.

The lapis lazuli is rather loose in its setting, and one or two small details are broken; but otherwise the bracelets are in perfect preservation.

PLANCHE LV. — This necklace was found a few days after the first hoard, but in a different part of the tell (see p. 94). It does not therefore belong to the treasure, though it is probably of much the same age. It is numbered 38675 in the *Journal d'entré.*

The present necklace is of a very common Egyptian type. Like the necklace from the treasure (pl. LII) it was found all in pieces, but in this case the general reconstruction is clear. The top row consists of gold tubes with round heads surmounted by small rings. Besides the ring there are two holes through each tube, at top and bottom, for the threads to pass through. Below there have been four rows of gold tubes, ranging slightly in size according to their position, and these have been separated by four rows of round green-glazed beads. Not many of the beads, however, are preserved whole, and others of similar size* have been inserted to fill up the vacant spaces. Each tube is pierced horizontally through top and bottom, and a silver wire shaped like a narrow 8 is fastened vertically through each bead: thus the thread, passing through the loop of the wire, draws it inside the tube and holds the bead in position at the mouth of the tube. The pendants below are of gold, inlaid in front: at each end is a piece of lapis lazuli and in the middle a curving band of green enamel. A small gold ball, perforated and surmounted by a small ring, is soldered to the top of each pendant; and lower down there are two more holes for threads to pass through and to hold the pendants in place. The intermediate spaces are filled by small gold beads like those on the top of the pendants. A few of the gold beads have a small ring below as well as above; but it is not clear what place these have occupied or what was attached to the lower ring. Necklaces of this type usually end in rounded attachments, which are often made

in the form of falcons' heads; but of such attachments we found no traces.

The better pieces in the collection are by no means unconnected works of different styles gathered from far and wide. There is a close bond of kinship between them all. Thus the gold vase (pl. XLV) has an embossed pattern on its body much the same as that of the two silver jugs and has the base engraved in exactly the same manner as they, while the calf which forms the handle is very similar in style to the goat (pl. XLIII). Or compare again the decoration of the gold centre-piece in the silver bowl (pl. XVIII) with the similar work on the bracelets of Ramses, and the details of the bracelets with those of the gold earrings. All the fine pieces in fact might very well have come from the same atelier, and they at least belong to the same school of art. And the more one studies the minor objects from the find, the less, it seems to me, will one be inclined to separate them from the show-pieces and assign to them a different date and origin.

As regards the question of origin, Bubastis, the place where they were found and one of the greatest Cities in Lower Egypt, is most likely to have been the place where they were made, though there is no internal evidence except a dedication to Bastit on one of the stolen vases. The lesser and unfinished articles at least are not likely to have been brought from far away. One is tempted to regard the whole find as the contents of the court goldsmith's atelier at Bubastis at some critical moment in the XIXth dynasty.

The treasure is not only a collection of fine Museum specimens, but is of exceptional value to the student of ancient art. The bracelets with the cartouche** of Ramses II are a new and striking landmark in the history of jewellery, and among the minor personal ornaments there is much well-dated material, with interesting foreign connections, for comparative study. Above all, the chased vases are a welcome addition to our knowledge. Previously we had only a few isolated things of the same sort before the

Ptolemaic period, to which belong the finds of Timai and Toukh el-Qarmous. The best of the earlier examples are the gold and silver bowls of Thothmes III in the Louvre and the bronze bowl from Qournah (*Annales*, II, p. 10, fig. 10). Bronze vases of course are abundant, but they are usually plain and do not count for much. The study of Egyptian toreutic had, and indeed always will have, to depend very largely on the representations of metal vases in tombs and temples and on imitations of them in other materials, such as glazed ware. We learn a great deal from these about forms and subjects, but they cannot give us a faithful idea of the style of the work. For this we need actual examples in metal, and in this respect the silver bowl (pl. XLVIII) is of far more value than all the paintings put together.

On some of these representations the vases are foreign vases brought to Egypt by subject peoples, gold and silver vessels being a very common form of tribute and plunder. Hence it has been supposed that the Egyptian goldsmiths of the New Empire were much influenced by the work of Syrians, Cretans and other nations with whom gifts were exchanged and from whom tribute was taken. And no doubt there was some interchange of ideas between the artists of the various countries then in contact with each other. We can often detect Egyptian influence abroad, and there are some undoubted traces of foreign influence in the industrial arts of Egypt. Several of the motifs which occur on the Tell Basta vases have been conjectured, at one time or another, to be of foreign origin; but in such matters it is difficult to define with any precision what is really due to the foreigner. On the whole, as M. Maspero pointed out at the time of the discovery¹, the treasure is genuine Egyptian work and if any elements of the ornamentation came originally from abroad, they have been completely naturalized on the banks of the Nile. The art which produced these masterpieces was strongly local, but at the same time not isolated from the arts of the neighbouring countries, as we see for instance by the points of connection between such

works as these and the Phoenician paterae of the succeeding period. They are in the main line of development of ancient toreutic.

- C. C. EDGAR.

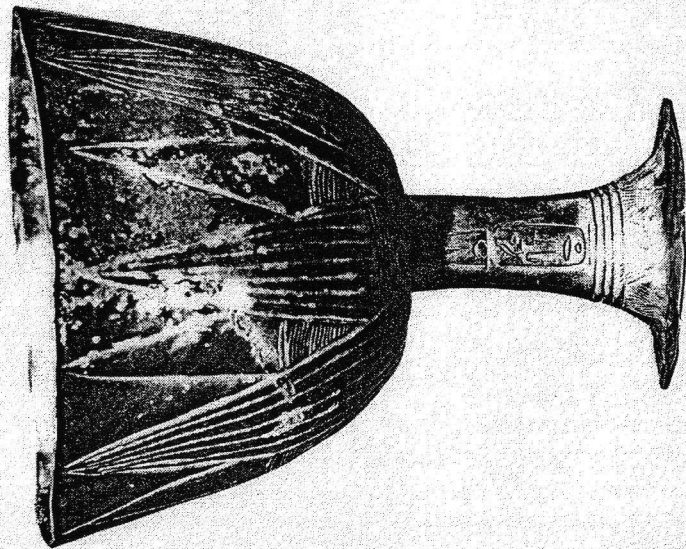
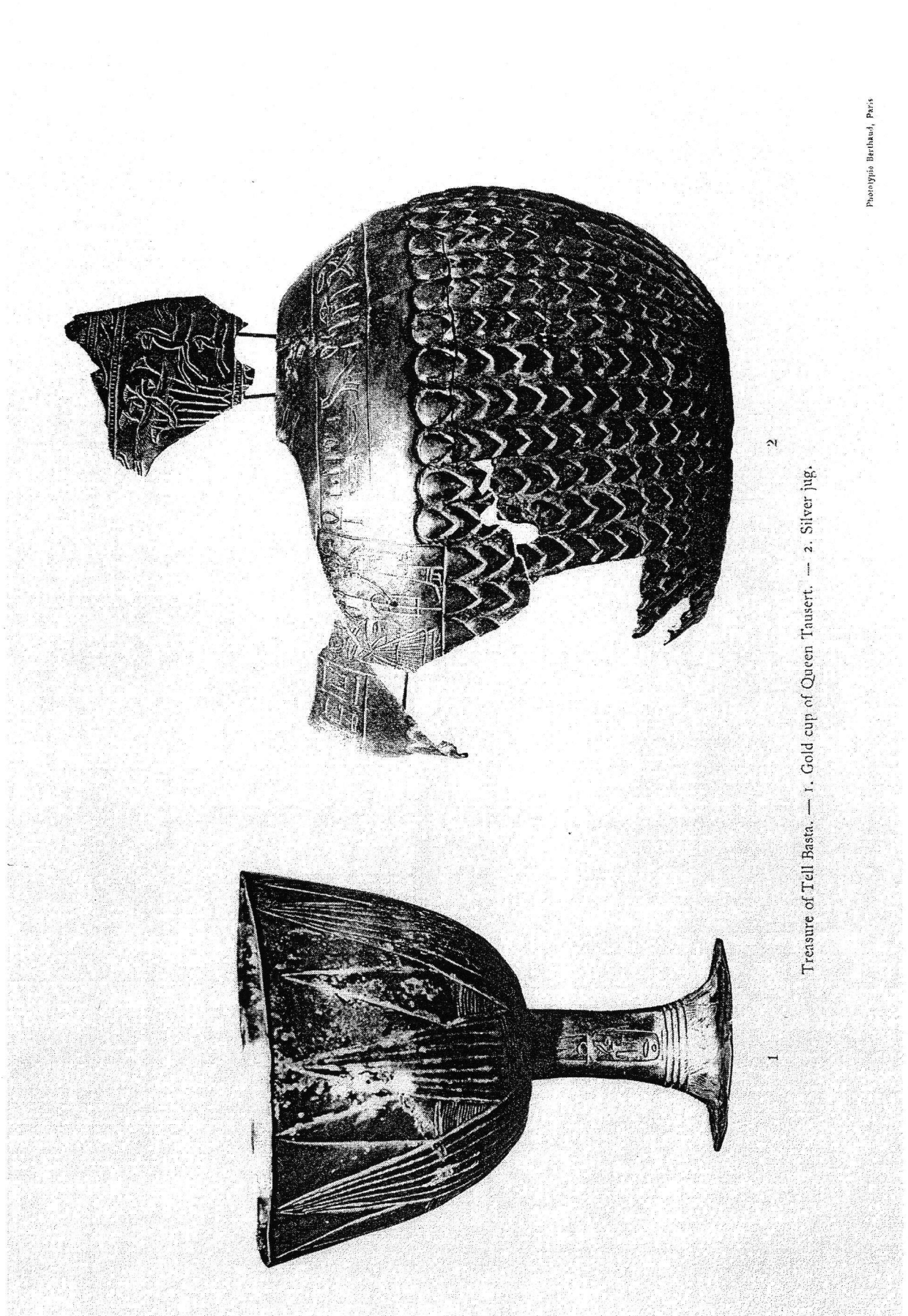
¹ *Causeries d'Égypte*, p. 341.

MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

Pl. XLIII



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Silver vase with gold handle.

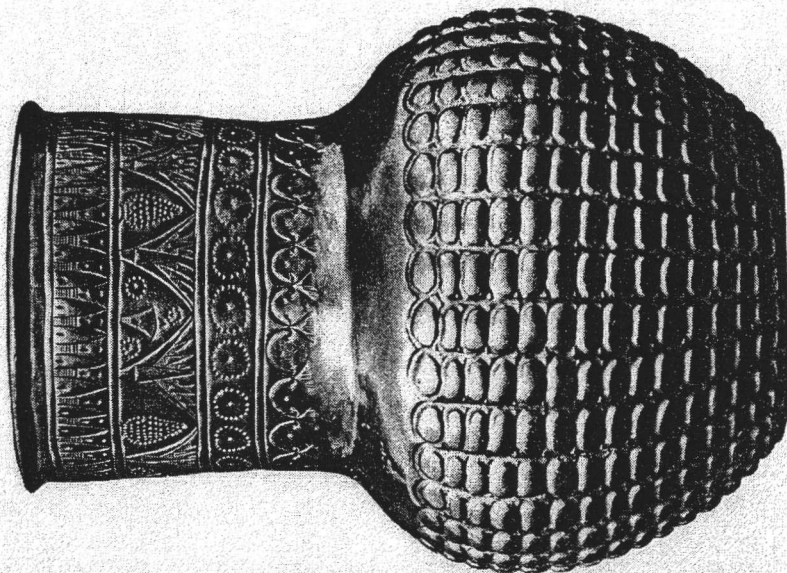
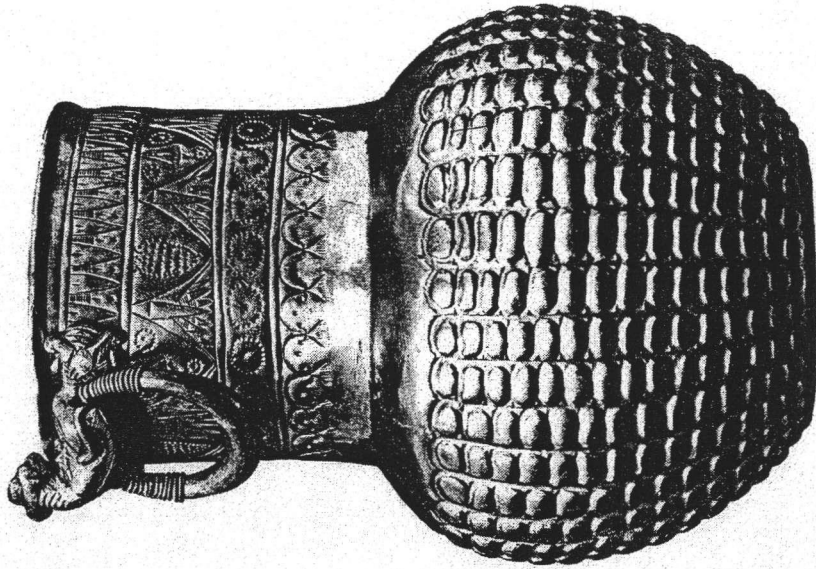


2

1

Treasure of Tell Basta. — 1. Gold cup of Queen Tausert. — 2. Silver jug.

Phototypio Berhaud, Paris

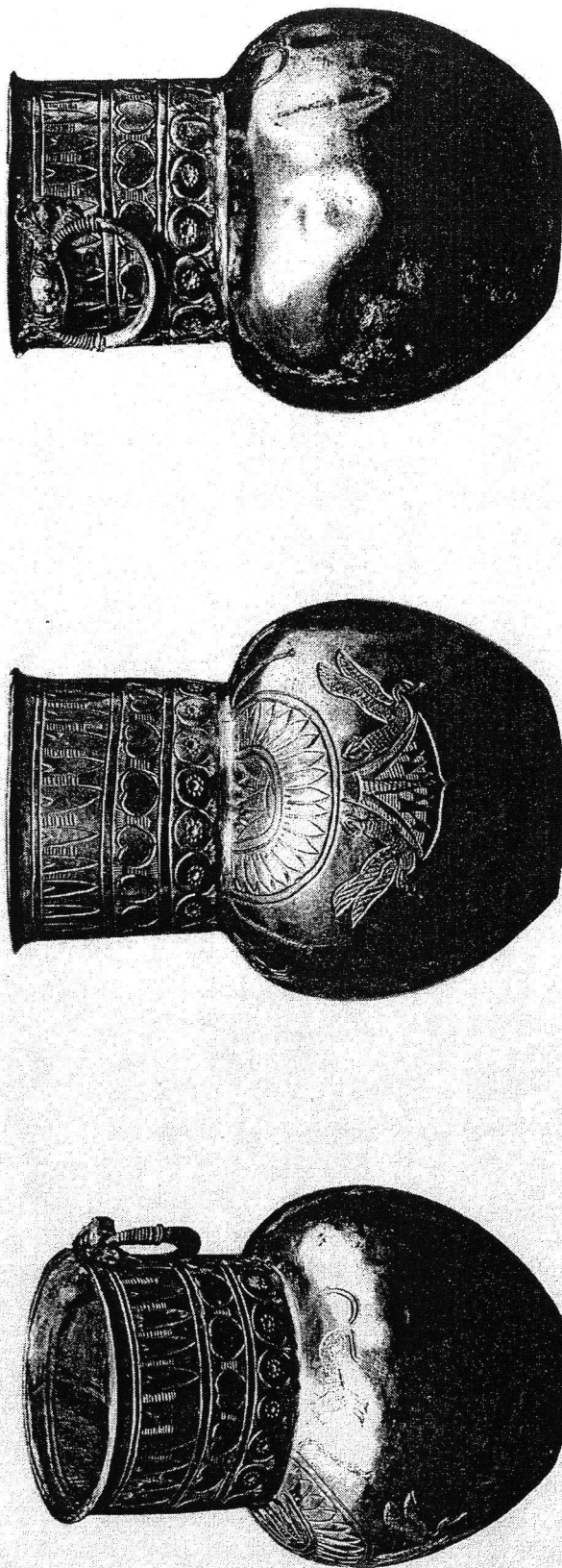


Treasure of Tell Basta. — Gold vase (two views).

Phototypie Borthaud, Paris

MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

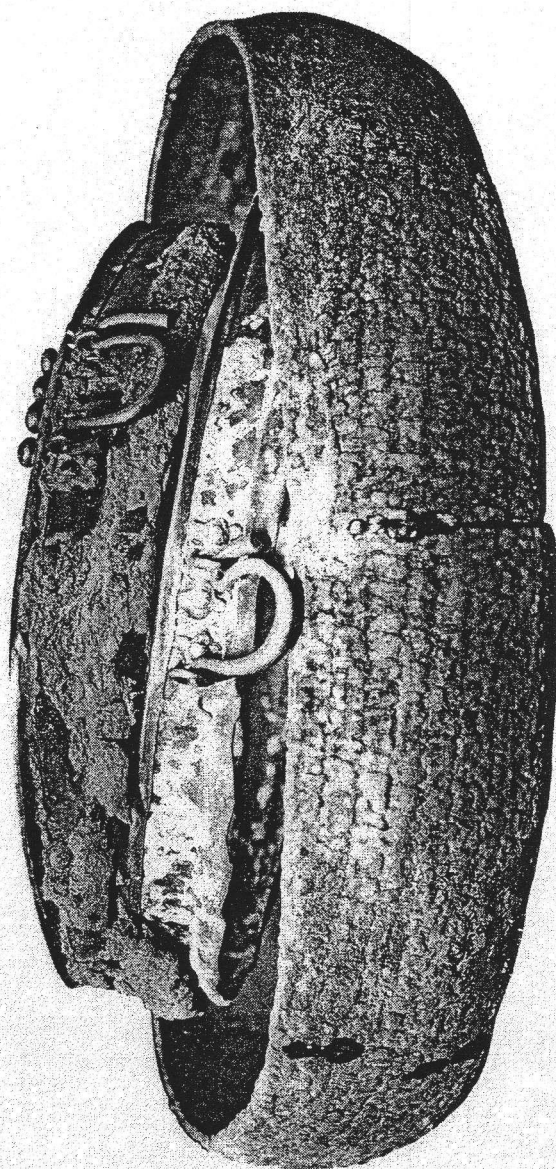
Pl. XLVI



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Gold vase (three views).

Pl. XLVII

Phototypie Berthaus, Paris

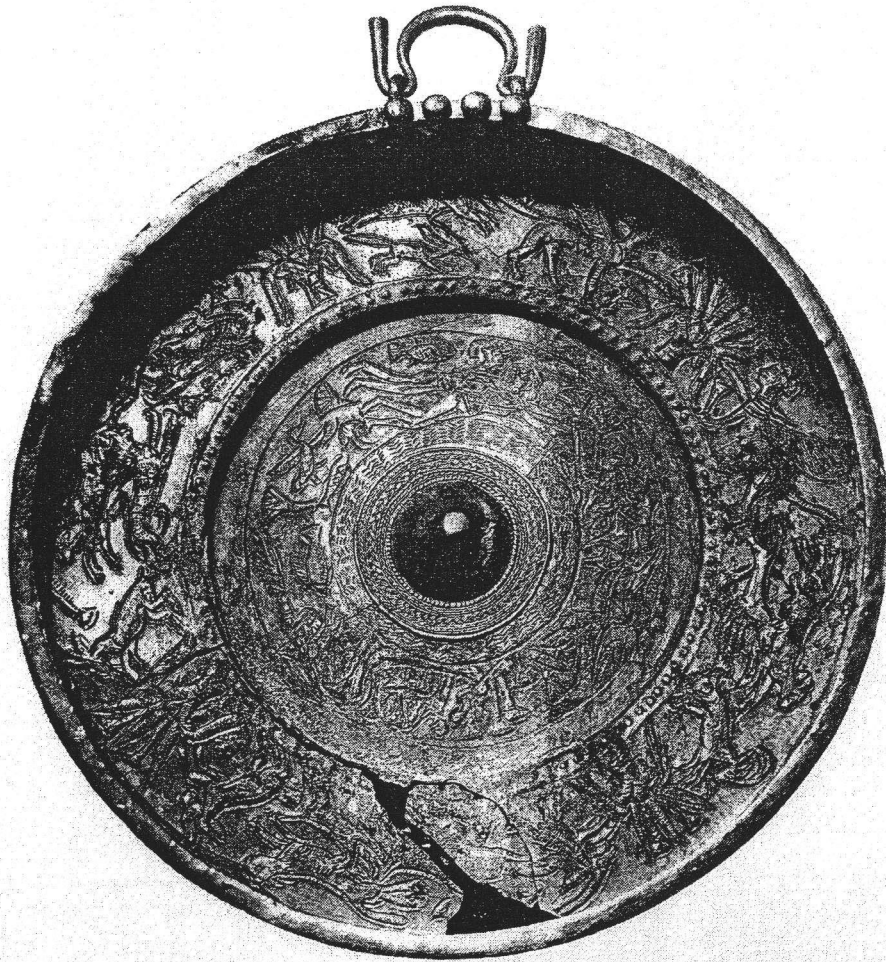


Treasure of Tell Basta. — Three broken silver bowls.

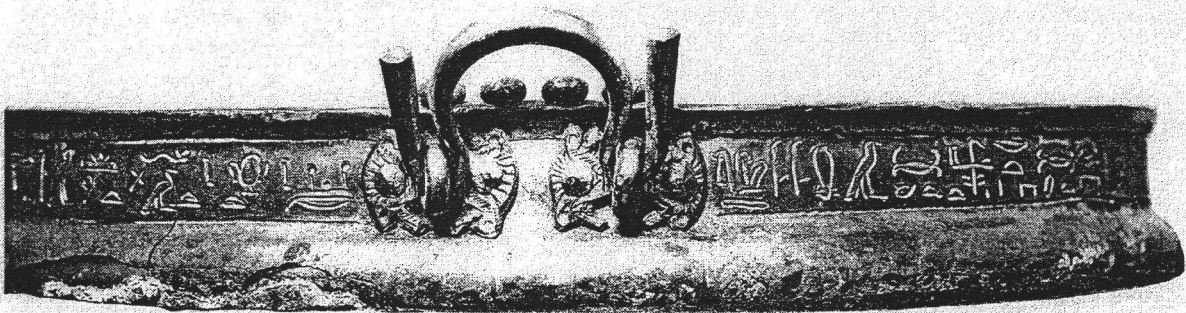
MUSEE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN. T. II.

PL. XLVIII



a



b

Treasure of Tell Basta. — Silver bowl, *a* inside, *b* outside.

MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

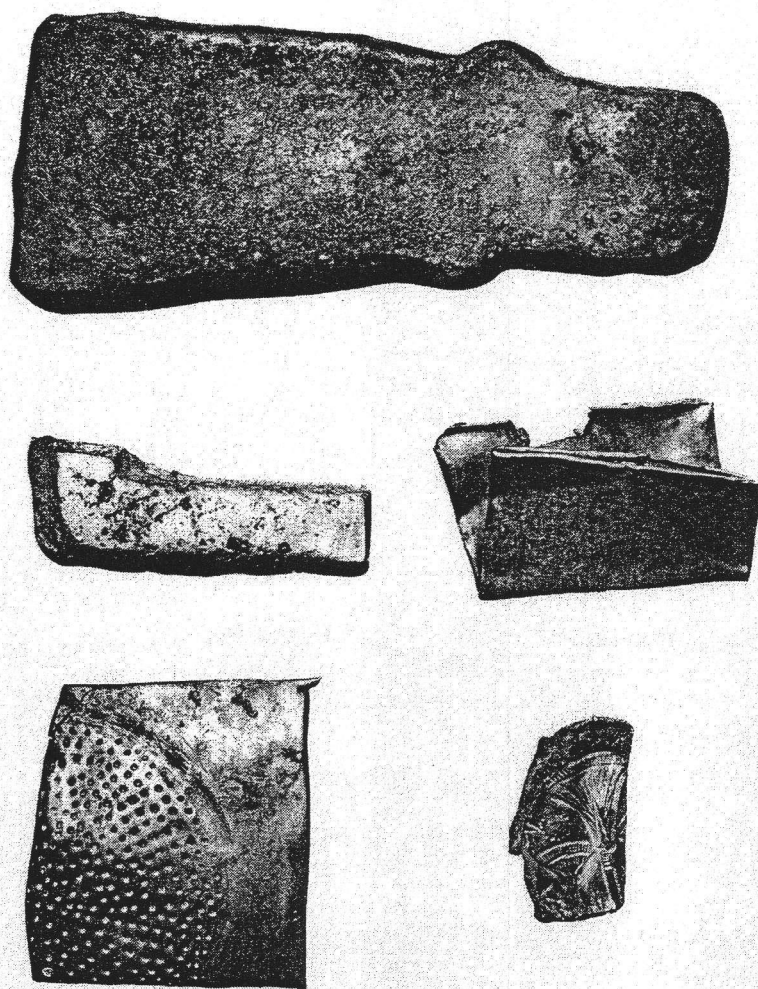
PL. XLIX



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Three silver strainers.

MUSEE EGYPTIEN, T. II.

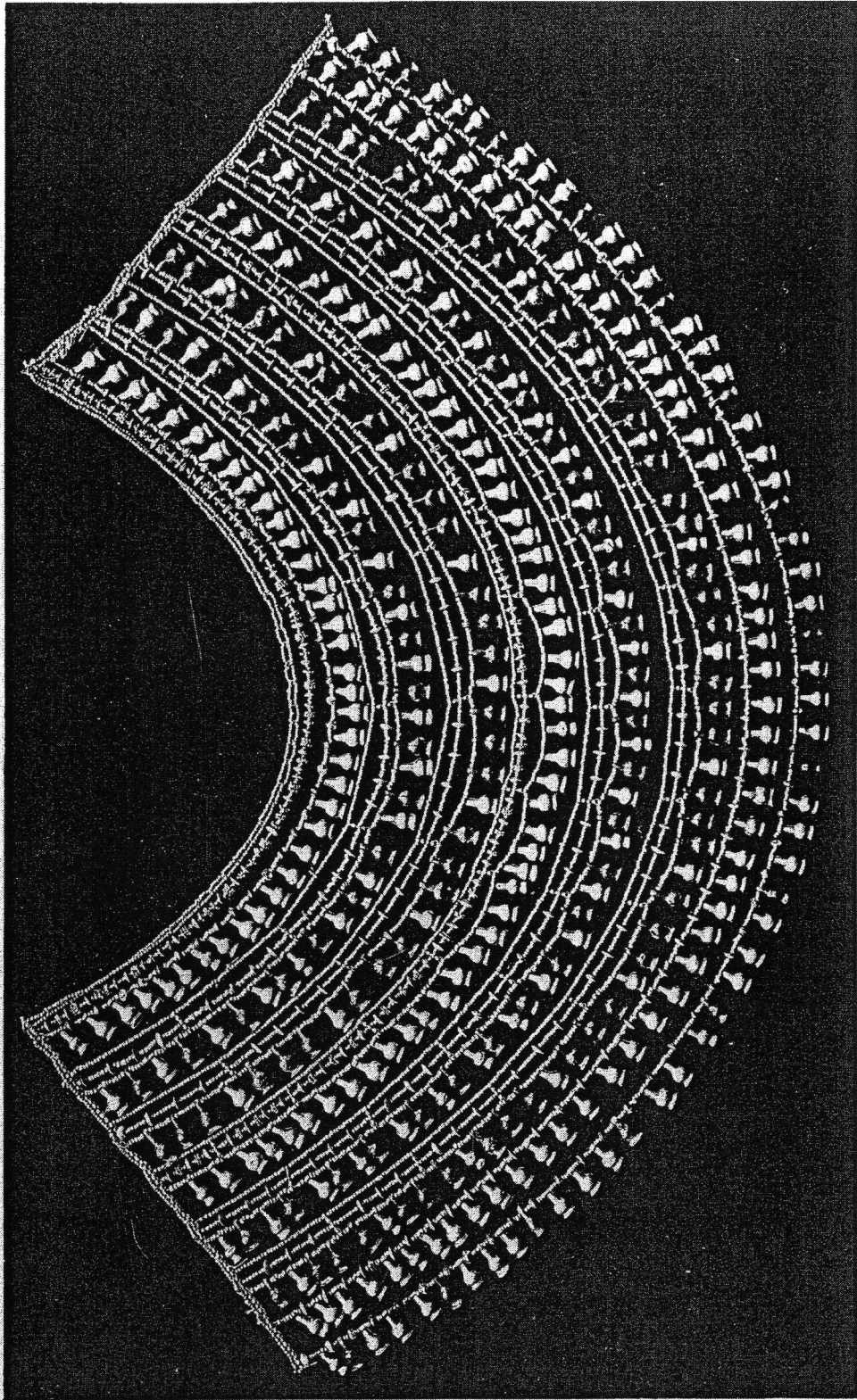
PL. LI



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Miscellaneous silver objects.

Pl. LII

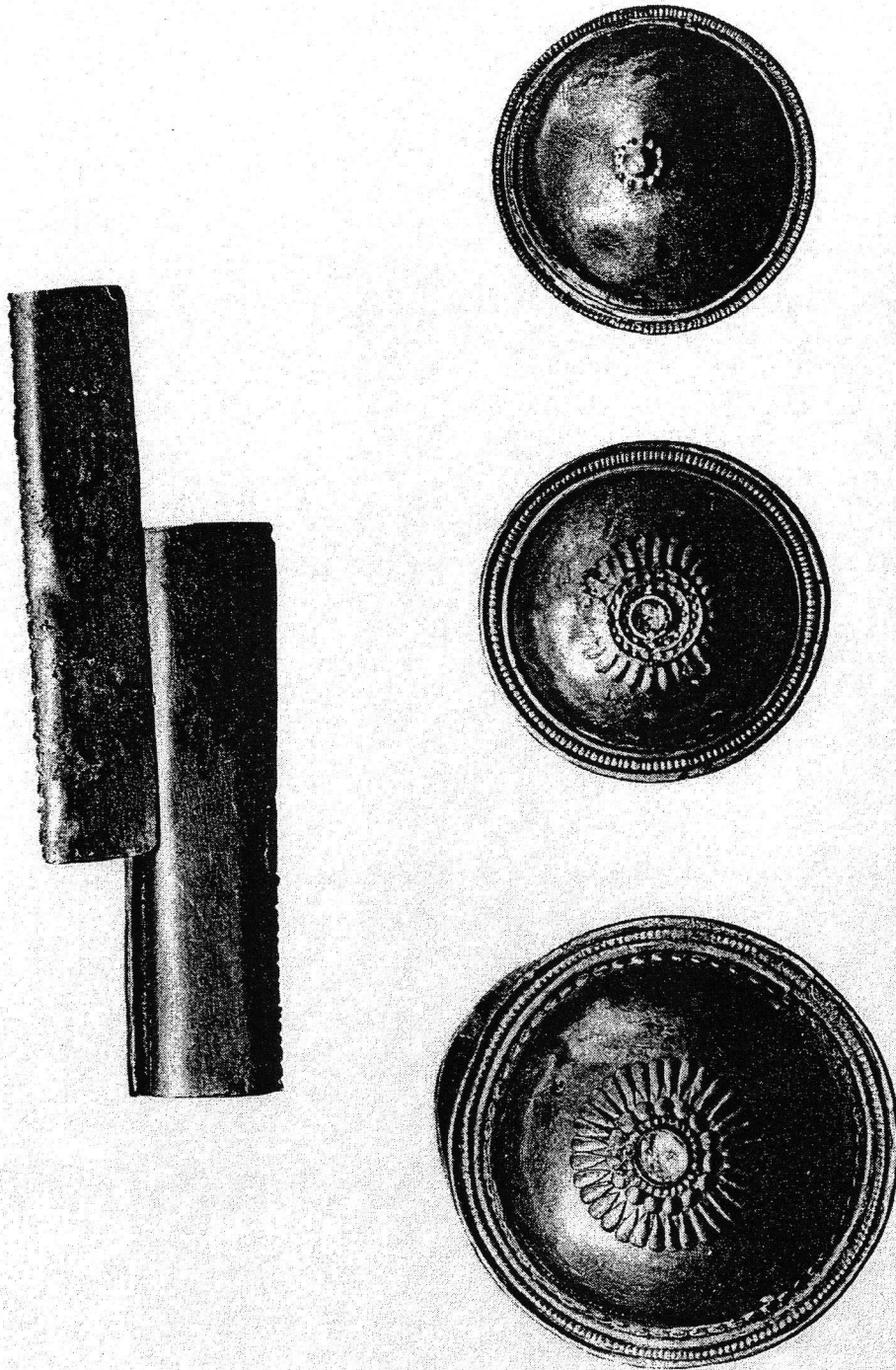
MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Gold necklace.

Pl. LIII

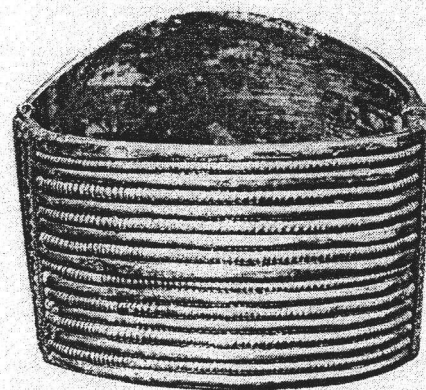
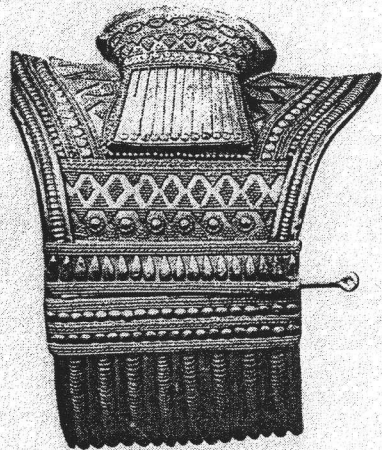
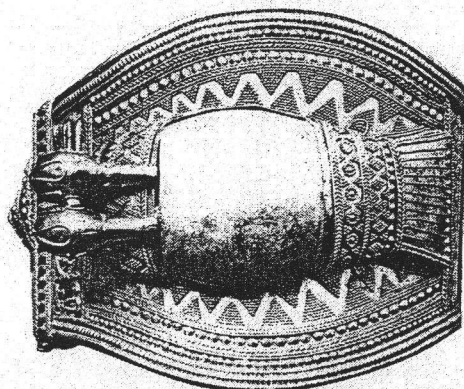
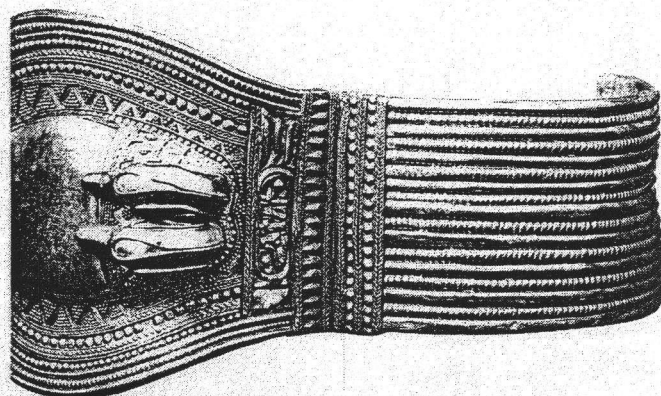
MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.



Treasure of Tell Basta. — Gold clasp and three gold earrings.

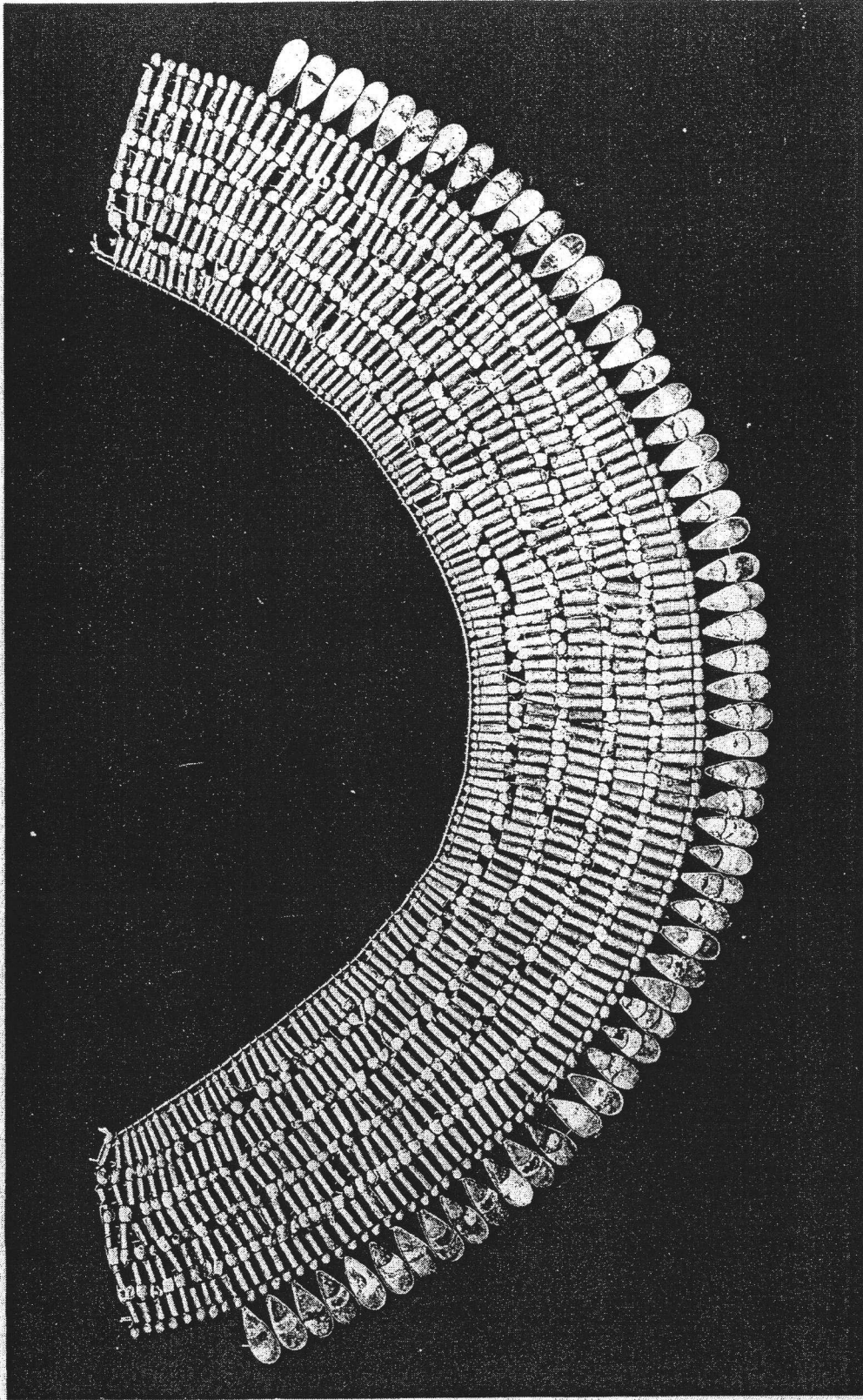
MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

PL. LIV



Pl. LV

MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN, T. II.

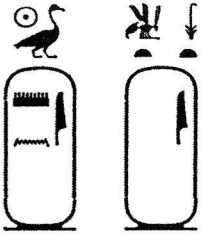


Gold necklace found at Tell Basta.

NOTES PRISES AUX COURS DES INSPECTIONS

AHMED BEY KAMAL

* Vase en argile émaillé provenant de Tell-Basta (Zagazig). – Hauteur 0 m. 18 cent. No 39504. Époque saïtique(?).



On voit, sur ce vase ansé, deux cartouches tracés à l'encre noire et qui sont très difficiles à déchiffrer. Je n'y lis que le début de chacun d'eux : d'autres seront peut-être plus heureux que moi (voir la planche).

C'est un des vases qui faisaient partie des ustensiles du temple de Baste. Il a été consacré par le pharaon à la suite d'une cérémonie religieuse qui a dû avoir lieu en l'honneur de la déesse.

A. KAMAL.

Annales du Service des Antiquités. T. IX.

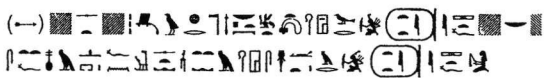
Pl. I



Vase en terre cuite portant deux cartouches.
(Tel-Basta).

MONUMENTS
RECUEILLIS PENDANT MES
INSPECTIONS
PAR
MOHAMMED EFFENDI CHABÂN.


§ I. — Au mois de juillet 1907, quelques paysans de Temay, qui prenaient le *sebakh* au nord-ouest de Tell-el-Rob, découvrirent un sarcophage en calcaire. Prévenu aussitôt par le gaffir du Musée, je me rendis à l'endroit signalé et j'y trouvai le sarcophage encore enfoui à sa place primitive; j'en avisai M. Edgar, inspecteur en chef de la Basse-Égypte, qui consentit à m'envoyer les fonds dont j'avais besoin pour le dégager. Je constatai que, dès l'antiquité, des voleurs avaient brisé le couvercle du côté nord et mis la momie en pièces; je trouvai même, devant le trou qu'ils avaient pratiqué, les débris des feuilles d'or dont la momie avait été couverte, quelques perles également en or et une tête de statue en granit rouge. J'en conclus que, pendant leur opération, les voleurs, après avoir dépouillé la momie, avaient tout déposé sur le sol, tandis qu'ils enlevaient les menus objets. Le sarcophage ne porte que les inscriptions suivantes :



Il est en calcaire, et il mesure 2 m. 10 cent. de longueur sur 0 m. 60 cent. de largeur et 0 m. 70 cent. de hauteur.

§ II. — Au commencement de l'année 1908, un certain Hosseïn Abdallah obtint l'autorisation de faire quelques sondages dans une nécropole antique à Tell-Tiblah, district de Dikernès. Il y recueillit successivement quelques scarabées au nom

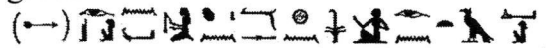


de , un casque de bronze en mauvais état, une hache en bronze, quelques statuette en bronze représentant Osiris, le tout dans une tombe bâtie en briques crues, enfin une statuette en* calcaire siliceux de 0 m. 70 cent. de hauteur. Elle est assise, tête chauve, nez

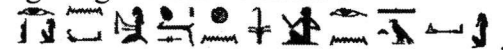
mutilé, et le bras droit manque; elle est vêtue de la *shenti*, avec un socle long de 0 m. 30 cent. et large de 0 m. 215 mill. Elle est brisée en morceaux, puis recollée, et un fragment manque dans la région des reins, sous le coude gauche¹. Elle est de facture correcte, bien proportionnée, et l'on voit encore quelques traces de la peinture jaune dont elle était couverte. Elle porte plusieurs inscriptions. En premier lieu, sur le devant de la chaise :



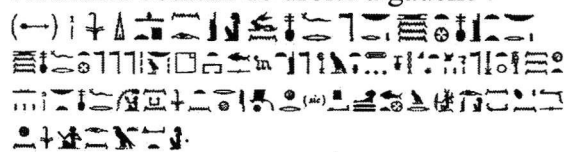
Ensuite, sur le côté gauche de la chaise, une ligne verticale courant de droite à gauche :



Enfin, sur le côté droit de la chaise, une ligne également verticale :



On lit, de plus, sur le dossier, deux lignes verticales courant de droite à gauche :



Les tombes qu'on trouve à Tell-Tiblah sont toutes bâties en briques : celles-ci étaient crues à l'origine, mais elles ont été cuites fortement par un incendie qui a transformé les murs en *homrah*. Les momies y ont presque toutes des masques en terre cuite.

La nécropole a un feddan de superficie. A la suite de ces constatations je m'y rendis avec M. Edgar, et j'y fis des fouilles qui donnèrent, à la profondeur de 3 mètres, sous un petit tertre, un grand sarcophage de

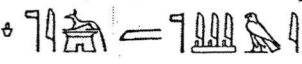
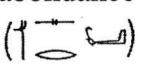
¹Elle est inscrite au *Livre d'entrée* sous le no. 40041.

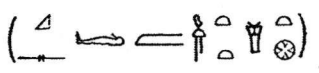
UN PELERINAGE A BOUBASTE.

Par

HENRY MADSEN.

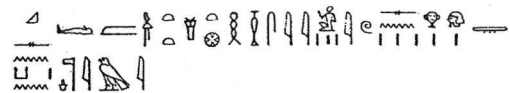
Sur le portai de son tombeau, qui sans doute était situé dans le voisinage de Boubaste, un prêtre *Hori*,


le , qui était «pur de ses mains et excellent dans son métier», nous raconte, qu'il a entrepris un pèlerinage à Boubaste, qu'il a vu sa maîtresse (la statue sacrée de la déesse Bast), qu'il l'a adorée, qu'il s'est satié des aliments ^(sic) de la déesse, qu'il les avait même en abondance et qu'enfin il s'est fortifié  avec les bonnes choses de la déesse. Maintenant il sera heureux de reposer après sa mort tout près de la déesse et d'avoir un tombeau dans la nécropole de

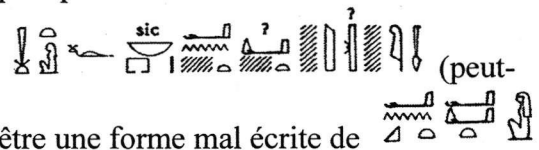
Boubaste .

Le monument date sans aucun doute de la XIXe dynastie - le style le prouve assez clairement. C'est impossible de lire l'inscription du vieux prêtre sans aussitôt se rappeler les pèlerinages à Boubaste et les fêtes d'amour si gais de l'époque saïte, dont Hérodote nous raconte. Sans doute nous avons ici le récit d'un pèlerinage analogue, mais du vieux temps pharaonique.*

Des deux inscriptions, que porte le monument, l'une (B) est assez obscure¹ et je renonce à donner une traduction pour me borner à la transcription:





Tout en haut du portai on voit un petit relief: le  assis sur une chaise, devant lui une femme, dont le nom est presque illisible:



Henry Madsen.

¹ Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg à Copenhague, B. 90. - Calcaire; hauteur: 2, 40

² La traduction, que M. VALD. SCHMIDT a essayé de donner dans le catalogue de la collection (1908, p. 154), est très douteuse.


³  ou 

QUELQUES INSCRIPTIONS PROVENANT DE BUBASTIS

PAR
M. GEORGES DARESSY.

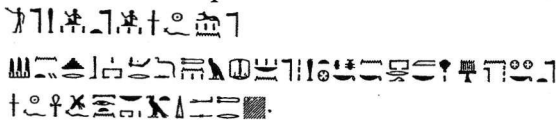
Pendant l'été dernier le Tell Basta a livré au Musée quelques monuments saïtes qui méritent d'être signalés : trois statues et une stèle.

STATUE EN BASALTE , ACÉPHALE ¹.

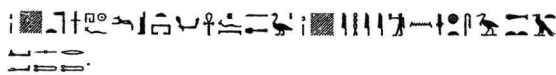
- Le personnage enveloppé dans sa robe est assis sur un petit coussin, les bras croisés sur les genoux. Sur le devant de la robe on lit une inscription de huit lignes horizontales: 




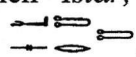
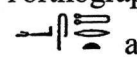
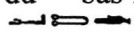
Une autre inscription fait le tour du socle :

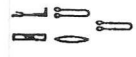
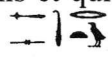


Enfin sur le pilier dorsal il reste le bas de deux colonnes d'hieroglyphes:



Indépendamment des renseignements sur le sacerdoce de Bast, il y a * à noter le nom de la mère du personnage, composé avec celui de la déesse Astarté. Les Égyptiens avaient plusieurs formes orthographiques du nom de cette déesse, correspondant aux variétés dialectales des peuples sémitiques qui leur avaient fourni ce membre du panthéon. Le papyrus Amherst² écrit




, *Estartet*, voisin de l'Assyrien *Istar*; l'orthographe de notre statue ,  ainsi que celle du bas-relief du temple d'Edfou³  sont équivalentes, avec

prononciation ouw de la seconde lettre; au contraire la stèle d'Horus sur les crocodiles⁴ donne la leçon  conforme à l'orthographe hébraïque et phénicienne עשתרה; enfin sur une amande en cornaline provenant de Memphis et qui est au Musée de Berlin⁵ on lit :  correspondant à la lecture 'Astartot paraissant copiée sur une forme plurielle עשתרות.

II

TORSE DE STATUE EN SCHISTE NOIR COUVERT DE TEXTES MAGIQUES⁶.

- La pièce était analogue à la statue reproduite dans le *Dictionnaire de mythologie* de Lanzone, pl. CCXVII, mais la tête manque ainsi que tous le bas du corps, un peu au-dessous du sommet du naos que tenait le personnage. Celui-ci est vêtu de deux robes, l'une montant jusqu'au cou, l'autre s'arrêtant au-dessous des seins et serrée par une sorte de ceinture à extrémité retombante. Des textes analogues à ceux de la stèle de Metternich, mais qui ne figurent pas sur ce monument, et des images de divinités sont gravés sur toutes les parties de la statue; vu son état, il est impossible de voir dans quel ordre ces inscriptions se suivaient.

Au cou du personnage est passé un cordon supportant une sorte de médaillon⁷ dans lequel on voit un dieu panthée accroupi, à quatre têtes de bélier, à queue d'oiseau, ailes déployées, tenant la crosse et le fouet et coiffé . Ce disque est placé dans un  sous lequel il y a  Au-dessus des**

¹ *Journal d'entrée*, n° 41671. Hauteur 0 m. 27 cent.

² *The Amherst papyri*, p. 47, pi. XIX- XXI.



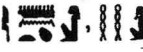
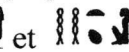

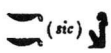


³ BRUGSCH, *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 2;
LANZONE, *Dizionario*, p. 146, p. XLVII.

⁴ *Catalogue général du Musée du Caire, Textes et inscriptions magiques*, n° 9402.


⁵ *Denkmäler*, Texte, t. I, p. 15.





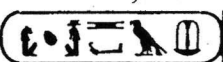



⁶ *Journal d'entrée*, no. 41677.


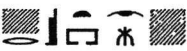
⁷ Le même médaillon figure en tête de la stèle Metternich (pl. 1).

mais du ka sont deux cartouches verticaux symétriques  (cf. LANZONE, *op. cit.*, p. 593). Sur les côtés figurent les huit dieux élémentaires debout, adorant, placés deux par deux, homme et femme à tête de grenouille et de serpent, en deux rangs superposés¹. A gauche:  et  et  à droite:  et  (sic),  et .


Au-dessus du monument, stèle ou naos que le personnage tenait devant ses jambes on voit les cartouches de Nectanébo I er: dans

la moitié droite: 

fait vis-à-vis à  la déesse  posée sur  et une ligne verticale à la suite donne ; dans la moitié gauche,  est affronté avec  sur , l'uraeus étant appelé .

Sur le côté gauche du naos ne restent que des hauts de lignes:  et à droite: .




Les inscriptions sur le corps sont en colonnes transversales, commençant au milieu de la poitrine, se poursuivant sur les bras, et se terminant par des colonnes verticales surmontant une ligne verticale dans le dos.



Côté gauche: 

* 

Les figures de divinités couvraient le bas de la robe et le dossier. Celles qui subsistent sont :

A gauche : *Premier registre.*


- 1° Le personnage debout, vêtu d'une grande robe, les bras baissés en adoration: 
- 2° Bast assise, tenant I et ♀, nommée 
- 3° Dieu  debout, léontocéphale, tenant ♀, la main gauche sur la poitrine, coiffé d'un disque avec deux uraeus.

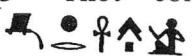
4° Harchefi  coiffé , une grande canne à la main.



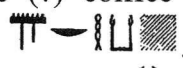
Deuxième registre. Il n'en reste que le haut.


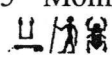
1° Image détruite de  **

¹ Sur la stèle Melternich les dieux élémentaires sont remplacés par huit singes en adoration.
² Ce commencement de texte a déjà été publié, il y a trente-cinq ans, par M. Golénischeff dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1876 p. 79, d'après l'inscription d'une statue de Turin.


2° Horus dont il ne reste que *pchent* : 

3° Thot coiffé de *l'atef*, parlant : 


4° Déesse assise (?) coiffée  tenant deux  Légende: 





5° Momie d'homme avec  sur la tête : 

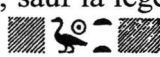

A droite : *Premier registre.*

1° Le personnage  adorant comme à gauche.


2° Bast assise 

3° Isis debout coiffée du disque et des cornes posant la main sur la tête d'Harpocrate assis à terre: 

4° Râ hiéracocéphale coiffé , tenant  et . Légende: 


Deuxième registre. Détruit, sauf la légende de l'avant-dernière divinité  et en dernier Amon debout  tenant en chaque main deux serpents.



DOSSIER. —

Premier registre. Il ne subsiste qu'une série de 

Deuxième registre.



1° Thouéris coiffée , tenant un couteau.

2° Nekhabit à tête de vautour (?) coiffée de la couronne blanche, tenant un arc et des flèches: 

3° Une Thouéris à tête de crocodile coiffée , tenant un couteau : 




Troisième registre.



1° La déesse  avec un scorpion tenant des  sur la tête.

2°  sous forme d'une Thouéris léontocéphale, couronnée , un couteau à la patte.




3° Momie avec  sur la tête : 

Quatrième registre.

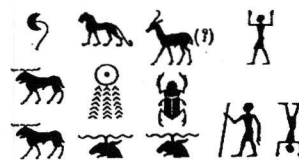
1°  est une vache ailée, marchant sur un serpent , au pis de laquelle boit un crocodile. Elle a sur la tête un scorpion et .

2° Une déesse  coiffée du scorpion et , tenant des serpents.



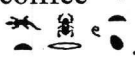
Cinquième registre.



1°  coiffée , accroupie sur un socle orné de , allaitant Horus.*

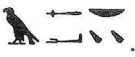
2° Coffre sur lequel sont posées une tête de bélier coiffée du disque solaire et une tête de crocodile surmontée de deux plumes. Dans le coffre on voit¹:



Sixième registre.

1° Déesse qui a un scorpion au lieu de tête, coiffée  portant  et un serpent-bâton: 

2° Anhour, vêtu de sa grande robe, perce avec une lance un serpent . Légende : 

Septième registre. Dieu panthée (?) à double tête d'homme et faucon, brandissant un couteau : .
Le reste n'existe plus.

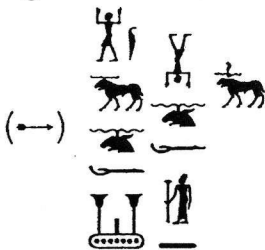
III

STATUETTE EN TERRE ÉMAILLÉE², haute de 0 m. 075 mill., d'une de ces divinités composites appelées tantôt Amon et tantôt Harsiési, dont le rôle était surtout d'éloigner les animaux malfaisants, tout comme les stèles d'Horus sur les crocodiles où sont du reste représentés des dieux du même genre.

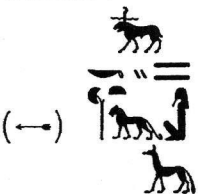
A l'avant un dieu vêtu de la *chent* est debout sur des crocodiles tournant la tête; il tient dans chaque main un serpent. La tête est brisée, mais me semble avoir été celle d'un bélier. Aux épaules du personnage s'attache un corps de faucon sur le dos duquel est gravé un scorpion.

Sur les côtés, dans l'espace entre les jambes et la queue sont gravées des figures évidemment à influence magique qui rappellent celles qui sont gravées sur le dossier du torse ci-dessus décrit, cinquième registre.

A gauche:



A droite :





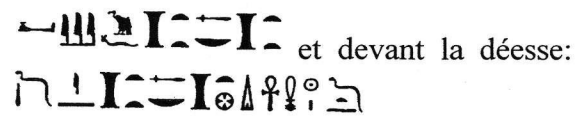
* Autour de la base une inscription nous donnait le nom du dieu, Harsiési, et celui du propriétaire de l'amulette:



Un petit évidemment d'un centimètre et demi de profondeur existe sous la base et a servi soit à conserver une relique, soit pour fixer la statuette sur un socle.

IV

STÈLE EN CALCAIRE⁴ de 0 m. 58 cent. de hauteur et 0 m. 32 cent. de largeur, à sommet arrondi, dont la gravure laisse fort à désirer. — Sous le disque ailé un tableau occupe le cintre : le roi Psamétik, appelé seulement  coiffé du *pchent*, présente  à la déesse Bast debout, la tige de papyrus à la main. Sous les bras du roi on lit verticalement⁵:




Plus bas est le texte relatif à la donation de terrain, dont la lecture n'est pas aisée tant les signes sont mal formés :



Les signes qu'on voit placés ici en sens contraire du reste de l'inscription sont bien ainsi sur l'original.

G.DARESSY .

¹ Sur la stèle Metternich, 5e registre, un coffre semblable renferme seulement quatre hommes  et quatre béliers.

² *Journal d'entrée*, n° 41670.

³ La déesse est à tête de lionne surmontée d'un uraeus. [*Anm. d. Hrsg.: Der Autor oder Verleger vergaß diese Fußnote dem Text zuzuordnen*]

⁴ *Journal d'entrée*, n° 4680.

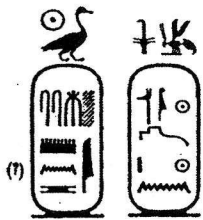
⁵ La partie soulignée est tracée en sens inverse.

* NOTE ADDITIONNELLE

PAR

AHMED BEY KAMAL.

Après une lecture plus attentive, j'ai reconnu que les deux cartouches qui sont tracés sur la panse du vase de Tell-Basta¹, contiennent les noms de Ramsès II. Ils se lisent ainsi:



A. KAMAL.

¹ Annales du Service, t. IX, p. 91.

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