

exist because it cannot be proved that they do not, viz.

P. 2 = K. 1; P. 27 = K. 14; P. 38 = K. 5; P. 39 = K. 6;

then, indeed, a plausible case may be made out. Yet, after all these arbitrary assumptions, there are still insuperable difficulties, as it appears to me, in the way of receiving this hypothesis. The 2nd, and again the 11th and 13th Karnak shields, can by no management be made to coincide with those in the papyrus, to which, according to the hypothesis, they should correspond.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it appears to me that we are reduced to an alternative very similar to that at which I arrived in my former Paper. If the papyrus be admitted to be an authentic document, the Karnak tablet must be abandoned, as being nothing more than a collection of figures and names of former kings, placed together without any regard to chronological order. If, on the other hand, any one chooses to uphold the Karnak tablet as an historical document, he must, in order to be consistent, reject the papyrus as of no authority.

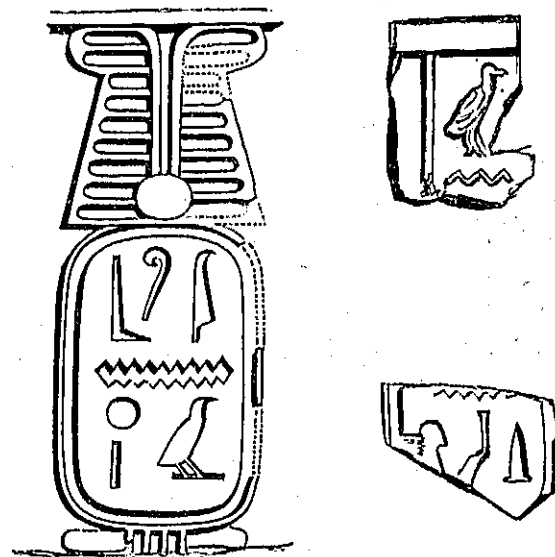
EDWARD HINCKS.

Killyleagh, 5th May, 1846.

IV.—OBSERVATIONS ON TWO EGYPTIAN CARTOUCHES AND SOME OTHER IVORY ORNAMENTS, FOUND AT NIMROUD.

BY S. BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read January 27th, 1848.)



I HAVE the honour of transmitting to the Society a copy of the cartouches recently discovered by Mr. Layard amidst the ruins of the mound at Nimroud; and before describing and making any remarks on these important remains, which connect the Egyptian

and Assyrian empires, will succinctly mention the circumstances under which they were discovered. These have been orally communicated to me by the discoverer, with that kindness and liberality with which he has imparted the results of his brilliant discoveries.

The so-called mound of Nineveh consists of a rectangular enceinte of 900 yards wide by 1800 long, having at the north end an elevated conical mound of about 90 feet high: within the enceinte were discovered the remains of five edifices,—palaces, temples, or tombs,—which had at an early period fallen to decay, or been laid waste. Amidst the débris of the mound, covering the most ancient of the three palaces, were found the ivories, some of which were literally dug or picked out of the rubbish. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine for what purpose they were placed there,—whether as boxes, or panels for inlaying furniture in an upper room, or for ornamenting the walls, or as the decorations of chests, or sepulchral coffers (*πίελοι*). For this last purpose, however, they appear to be too small; but there is considerable reason for supposing, from their number and subject, that they were arranged along a rectangular coffer or cubical stand. Many of them, indeed, which are rectangular panels, appear to have been worked in with wood, as they have tenons for that purpose, and others have mortises, for tenons of the substance to which they were attached. This was probably a wood such as cedar or ebony, both of which were used not only in Assyria, but also in Greece, at an early period. These chests could not have been much thicker than the ivory, as tenons are useless for the purpose of veneering, and at all events were not so employed by the Egyptians for that purpose. Many

of the animals carved in bas-relief were applied as distinct parts of a composition, and their repetition suggests that they were disposed in continuous friezes or bands, a mode of treatment adopted at an early period in Greece. Their effect was, no doubt, increased by the application of gold, which has always entered into artistic combinations with this material.

I will now describe the fragments.


1. Head of a man, full face, and a left cheek, of style peculiarly Egyptian; the eyes sunk for the purpose of inlaying; the brows incuse, and prolonged towards the ears, and filled with blue colour: the back of the head, which is flat, has been inlaid into wood: the face measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high.—2. A pendent left arm,—the hand clenched: on the shoulder of this arm is the border of the garment, represented by pendent drops, and incused; these are inlaid with blue paint, and the part just below them is gilded, showing that the garment was gold: the length of this arm is $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and as the distance from the elbow to the knuckles is equal to two faces, it formed part of a figure of the same proportions.—3. Fore-part of a foot, completely carved, and which has been inlaid and projected: there is rather a deep hole between the great and first toe, but its use is uncertain.—4. A head, much decomposed, from a similar figure.—5, 6. Two pairs of hands, clasping each other, perhaps from a figure in a dignified action, like that of the kings of Nimroud and Khorsabad, $2\frac{4}{8}$ inches long.—5.* Garment with disked uræi inlaid. These fragments seem to have come from figures whose bodies were of ebony or cedar, covered with an imitation of drapery, which was gilded, while the exposed parts of the body, similar to the wooden statues with stone extremities, called

ἀκρολιθοί by the Greeks, were executed in ivory. There is no trace of staining, which is the more remarkable, as it was an art known at an early period.

The following were applied as bas-reliefs, and either inlaid or else fixed by a glue.—7. Jaws of a lion or panther, 2 inches high and 2 inches wide.—8. A stag, grazing, and going to the left; incomplete, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.—9. Heads of two other stags, proceeding in the reverse direction, to the right.—10. Anterior part of a stag, nearly in full relief, head raised.—11-16. A cow, and portions of others, standing towards the right, but turning back its head, and licking its calf; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.—17. Similar cow, turned to the left, 3 inches long.—18. Calves, which have apparently formed part of a group with the cows, which they may have been sucking; $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.—19, 20. Bodies of winged gryphons, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. These portions, from their rounded edges, which are entirely relieved, and from their flatness behind, have evidently been applied on a surface of another material. It is possible that they were disposed in friezes, alternating with each other through the series, along the upper sides of coffers or even chairs. Animal friezes, probably derived from Asiatic art, appear among the earliest efforts of Greek artists, and were derived from the barbarous and grotesque forms which were introduced by the tapestries and other objects of Asiatic luxury and commerce.¹ The gryphon is a monster, the invention of which can be distinctly traced to Central Asia.² Of nearly the same

¹ Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie-der Kunst*, § 237, 3, s. 287. *Philostr. Imagg.* xi. 5, 32. Euripides, *Ion*, 1196.

² The silver object brought by the Kfa (Hoskins's *Æthiopia*, Pl. Tomb at Thebes; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Ser. i. vol. i. Pl. iv.) is a vase terminating in the head of a gryphon—a prototype

proportions are (21), the fragment of a bull, going to the right, the eye inlaid with blue, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch high; (22), a fragment of another bull, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long.—The remainder are all portions of flat panels, of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with tenons above and below; they are all carved in bas-relief, of a round and Egyptian style; the accessories, such as the eyes, draperies, and portions of the chair, inlaid with a deep-blue glass, probably an imitation of lapis lazuli, and some of the more important parts gilded. They are evidently the prototype of the toreutic work of the Greeks.—23, 24, 25. Three panels, which represent each the same subject, a monarch unbearded, wearing on his head the Egyptian *khepr* or helmet, which is ornamented with a series of annulations or rings, perhaps to show that it was of chain or scale armour, and has in front the uræus serpent, emblem of royalty, with an Assyrian garment round the loins, like the Egyptian *shenti*, apparently, from its corrugated folds, intended to represent wool, with a long pendent fold on the left side; the whole with a border of oval drops; the legs bare, and unshod, advancing to the right; holding in his left hand a tall flower of the lotus, which rises out of a clod of earth; the whole representing the Egyptian symbol  for the upper country. As pendants to these are three other panels (26, 27, 28), on which a figure, exactly the same, advances to the right: these, which are nearly of equal size, measuring $3\frac{5}{8}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, have evidently been placed in composition with one another, probably arranged in pairs

of the rhyton: for similar vases terminating below in the heads of lions, cf. Botta, *Nineveh*, Pl. 16 and 25.

or else in series, facing to the right and left.—29. Two figures in Egyptian style, with hair falling in locks from the crown of the head; squared at the base; wearing the shenti round the loins; standing face to face, and cording up between them a double flower of the papyrus: each figure places one foot on a flower of the papyrus. These figures are apparently imitated from the ordinary representation of the Nile, cording up the flowers of the lotus and papyrus common to the sides of Egyptian thrones. There is half of a similar panel with the figure on the left side (30): the large panel measures $3\frac{1}{11}$ inches wide and 3 inches high; the fragment $2\frac{1}{11}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{11}$ inch.—31. Portion of another panel, representing an Assyrian deity, bearded and draped, standing, looking to the left, and holding in his pendent left hand a symbol of life; probably the god Baal or Belus; $2\frac{7}{12}$ inches high.—32-35. Three panels, and head from another, also of style peculiarly Egyptian: they represent a kind of window with three plain mouldings, in which is a head carved in Egyptian style in very salient relief, the locks falling in regular rows of curls: in some instances these curls are tied at the ends; the neck has a collar round it, and is placed on a stand, supported by four pillars, with capitals in shape of the lily lotus.³ These measure $3\frac{7}{12}$ inches square, and were probably disposed at the triangular or gable end of whatever object they decorated. There are four other heads (36), of most exquisite style, and in good preservation, which seem to have belonged to a similar








³ If the columns of Beni-Hassan are proto-doric (Champ. Lett. Ecr. Pl. v. p. 75), these are proto-ionic: similar columns will be seen on a distyle edifice in a pleasure-ground on a bas-relief at Khorsabad.—Botta, Nineveh, fo. Paris, 1848, Pl. 114.

panel. The ears in these panels follow the Egyptian canon, being placed above the eyes.—37. An imperfect panel, of large size: two winged sphinxes, placed back to back, facing outwards; their hair in pendent Egyptian locks, and in front of them palmettes; 6 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.—38. Part of another sphinx and emblem *tet*, from a similar panel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Here we also have unequivocally an Egyptian symbol; for among the Egyptians the sphinx, whose first appearance is about the time of Thothmes III., represented their monarch the man-lion, the terror of shepherds, and it was probably introduced into Assyrian art in the same sense. The sphinxes are winged, from which an attempt may be made to draw an inference respecting the age of these carvings, but without sufficient data; for a scarabæus in the collections of the British Museum has the monarch *Thothmes III.* represented as a *winged* sphinx, trampling on a fallen Asiatic; and on a monument at Turin, the queen *Mu-t-shem-t* is painted as a female sphinx, with the body of a lioness, winged.⁴ No conclusion can be drawn from this circumstance against the ivories being as old as the eighteenth dynasty. I must place with these pieces (39), part of a large panel, of very fine style, representing a lion advancing to the right amidst the tall reeds of some river, five of the stems of which remain. This fragment, which rivals many of the archaic remains of Greece, has been embellished with blue and gold: it measures 3.5 inches by 6 inches. Some smaller portions, representing a man in a chariot (40); a chain border, exactly like the Greek (41); a fleurette of

⁴ Champollion, Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, 8vo, Paris, 1824, Pl. 1.

eight petals, $\frac{11}{12}$ ths of an inch in diameter (42); and another of twelve, $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch in diameter (43), must close my description of this part of these ivories.

I now come to what is of superlative interest,—the epigraphical or inscribed portion of these remains, especially the two cartouches. The first of these panels, which is the most complete, measures 9 inches long by 6 inches high. It has the cartouche (A) placed vertically in the centre, surmounted by a solar disk, gilded, flanked by two ostrich feathers which are inlaid with narrow horizontal strips of opaque blue glass, probably imitations of lapis lazuli, with some few bars in green. The area of the cartouche is gilded, and the hieroglyphics are incused, and inlaid with blue glass. At each side is a divinity, beardless, wearing the long hair-dress called *namms*, also inlaid with blue, and draped in linen garments, enveloping the whole of the form, with a border of inlaid blue ovals. The seats on which they sit are the usual Egyptian throne, the sides decorated with scales alternately of blue and opaque green pastes, inlaid into the ivory, and intended to imitate lapis lazuli and felspar. At the lower corner, in a compartment in gilded ivory on a blue back-ground, is a symbol of life. Each divinity holds in one hand a *tam* or *lcucupha* sceptre, and holds up the other with the palm turned towards the cartouche. No name is attached to either of these figures, which are probably intended for deities of an inferior rank, such as the Persian Izjeds. Like all the Egyptian figures, they are unbearded, but their drapery is not that of Egyptian females. The hieroglyphics in the cartouche face from right to left, and consist of the following symbols:

1.  the reed A.
2.  the cord or boat-head U.
3.  the leg B.
4.  water N.
5.  the duckling U.
6.  the sun's disk.
7.  the determinative bar.

The whole consequently reads AUBNU, or, as the *b* is in sound like our *v*, AUVNU.

If Nos. 6 and 7 are determinative, as they usually are, it is to be merely read *Auvnu*; but if they are to be pronounced as they occasionally were at the end of certain names, they must be read RA, and the whole is then AUBNU-RA, or AUVNU-RA.

It is, of course, of the highest importance in this inquiry to decide what is to be understood by this cartouche. Considered as a mere Egyptian word, and as having the paragogic reed || *a*, it is UBNU, 'the Shining,' to which the sun's disk and bar may be considered as an addition equivalent to RA, "Ἡλιος, 'the Sun,' in the same manner as these symbols are added after

Amen	}	-ra,
Num		
Mentu		
Atmu		
Aten		
Sebak		

to connect them with the solar cycle of gods.

There is no especial deity of the Egyptian Pantheon called UBNU; yet as this word is constructed in the same manner as the names of Egyptian deities, it may be that of an Assyrian deity, translated or

transcribed into hieroglyphics. The name ΩΑΝΝΗΣ, the Chaldæan god, half man, half fish, is the nearest approximation to it of the Assyrian names which have reached us. Oannes, according to the legends of the true Berossos,⁵ was the mythic founder of the Chaldæan empire, who issued from the Red Sea, and communicated a knowledge of the arts and sciences to the people of Babylon. His identity with the Sun seems alluded to by the fact of his nightly retiring into the sea, τοῦ δ' ἡλίου δύνατος τὸ ζῶον τουτουὶ Ὡάννην δῦναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει διανᾶσθαι.⁶ As a series of similar deities, such as Baal, Astaruta, Sydyk, and Dagon, appear to have possessed a common worship, extending from the Euphrates to the coast of Syria, there is no reason why Oannes, although described by Berossos from the wall-paintings at Babylon, may not have been worshipped at an early period as far north as Nineveh. Both nations undoubtedly possessed a pure Sabæanism, and it is highly probable that the Chaldees derived their religion from their Assyrian predecessors. Although the accounts of Semiramis are legendary, yet it must be supposed that the names in connection with her are of Assyrian origin, and that of her original husband Onnes, Ὀννης,⁷ approaches closely the Chaldæan Oannes.

⁵ Syncellus, Chronographia, p. 28, *et seq.* Eusebius, Ex Interpr. Armen. Chron. i. 2.

⁶ Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, B. III. Urkundbuch, p. 93.

⁷ Ctesias, à Müller, 8vo, Paris, 1844, p. 17, s. 6. p. 18, extr. Anonymi Tract. de Mulieribus quæ bello claruerunt. Ὀννέφ in the dative.—Diod. ii. 6. Cf. the name ΟΒΝΟΣ (Obnos) of the last king of the fifth or sixth Egyptian dynasty, in Africanus (Sync. pp. 57, 58). Bunsen, Aeg. St. B. III. Urkundbuch, s. 16, reads Onnos.—*Ibid.* Taf. II.

Two modes of transcription may have been adopted by the Assyrian artists. I. A direct transcription into phonetic elements, without reference to the sense. II. A transcription by the nearest similar word in Egyptian. Should this latter be the case here, it suggests that Oannes must have signified the 'Sunshine,' the 'Sunlight,' the Sabæan intellectual and physical creator of existing nature.

It is hardly probable that the name of an Assyrian or Chaldæan god should have been translated into hieroglyphics; for in all the instances of the names which can be recognized, such as the Assyrian gods Baal⁸ and Astarta,⁹ the Phœnician Renpu¹⁰ or Reseph, the Moabitish Ken,¹¹ the Armenian and Assyrian Anata,¹²

⁸ Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 122.

⁹ Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, B. I. s. 479. In the Egyptian collections of the British Museum are several objects made of ivory, or with ivory inlaid in them,—such as a small figure of uncertain age from Memphis; a chair of ebony inlaid with ivory; some hair-pins; a scribe's palette; a box inlaid with ivory and porcelain, the ivory stained pink; several elegant spoons in shape of divinities, ducks, &c.; the tips of the handles of poniards, and some semicircular engraved objects. In the Louvre also are some objects of ivory hair-pins.—Champollion, Notice descriptive des Monumens du Musée Charles X. p. 70, h. 8, 13, 14; hair-pins, p. 75, 14–18; bracelets, p. 84, No. 326–331; scribe's palette, p. 101; a little doll, p. 107, No. 175; a knuckle bone, p. 180; a bolt, p. 108, No. 210, in the Berlin Museum, Passalacqua Catalogue Raisonné et Historique, 8vo, Paris, 1826.

It is interesting to compare with these ivories those in Hieratic Greek style, executed in Etruria.—Musco-Etrusco-Vaticano, fo. Romæ, 1846, Pt. II. Tav. CVI.

¹⁰ Lanci, Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes, 8vo, Paris, 1847, p. 19. Prisse, Mon. Pl. xxvii.

¹¹ Cf. Prisse, Mon. Pl. xxvii. Lanci, Lettre sur les Hiéroglyphes, 8vo, Paris, 1847, p. 19.

¹² Birch, Gallery. Lanci, *loc. cit.* 21. Bunsen, Aeg. Stelle, B. I. s. 479. Cf. Wilkinson, M. C. Ser. II. Pl. 70, Pt. I.

or Anaitis, the foreign names of the god Amen-ra, as well as the names and titles of the Persian rulers of Egypt,—a direct transcription, and not a translation into hieroglyphics,¹³ is always found. The introduction of these divinities into Egypt, which can be traced to the XVIII.-XIX. dynasty, is coeval with the epoch of the great conquests of Egypt in Central Asia.

There is, however, another hypothesis applicable to this cartouche—that *it represents the name of an Assyrian king, transcribed into hieroglyphics*. In order to identify it, if possible, with such a name, I have collated it carefully with the lists of names of Assyrian monarchs which have reached us, from Eusebius, the Syncellus, Moses of Chorrene, and other chronographers of a later period. The names of the second or Chaldaean dynasty may be considered to be authentic; but those of the first line, with the exception of a few names, such as Ninus, Ninyas, and Sardanapalus, which may be called historical, are in such a state, owing to ignorant and careless scribes and designing compilers, that no reliance can be placed upon them, nor a deduction safely drawn from an isolated coincidence, if such existed. What credence, for example, can we give to successions into which are introduced such names as Xerxes (Persian), Sethos (Egyptian), Lamprides and Laosthenes (Greek)? It is in vain that we should endeavour to detach from such a mass the true elements of Assyrian history. Neither is the name philologically composed, like the

¹³ Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, c. 165, Taf. LXXIX. in the chapter appended to the great ritual, and probably added at a later time: one of the names of the god (line 9), reading *Sharsha-takata*, commences with a name having the same elements as *Σάρπηρς*: in *takata* is probably the form *ταργατης*, as in *Ἀταργέτης*.

name of a king; and if it is supposed to be a prænomen which the Assyrian monarch might have assumed in imitation of his Egyptian contemporaries, there is scarcely one in the whole Egyptian series constructed in the same manner; for in these the disk of the sun is universally placed first. It is much more probable that it is a prænomen than a name; and in this case the fragment of the other name, which will be subsequently discussed, might be the name of the monarch. As it is exceedingly desirable that the age of the cartouche should, if possible, be determined, in order to fix the period of the palaces of Nimroud, there are the following considerations to guide the inquiry: its artistic style,—philological peculiarities,—and the state of political relations between Egypt and Assyria.

The style of art of the hieroglyphics is not purely Egyptian; but rather resembles an imitation by foreign artists than the workmanship of native carvers of the sacred character. This is particularly shown in the unusual length of the second character and the thickness of the fourth. The cartouche is surmounted by a solar disk and two plumes, a mode of ornamentation adopted not earlier than the XVIII. dynasty,¹⁴—the first example being in the reign of Thothmes III., and Amenophis III. has his prænomen on the bricks thus decorated; as are the cartouches¹⁵ of Sethos I. of the XVIII.-XIX. dynasty, and his successors. At the time of the XXVI. dynasty, cartouches thus surmounted are introduced into the texts,¹⁶ and the Persian rulers of Egypt have their names thus inscribed.¹⁷ The custom seems more prevalent at this latter period, and probably in

¹⁴ Prisse, *Monumens Egyptiens*, Pl. XXIII.

¹⁵ Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Pl. II.: at Gournah.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Pl. IV.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. VIII.

the first instance arose from the artistic arrangement of cartouches in the cornices of the temples and palaces. The head attire of the king cannot be older than the xviii. dynasty; it bears some resemblance to that of Amenophis III. at Karnak,¹⁸ and the *khepr* appears at the commencement of the same line: the absence of peaked sandals and of the masses of locks of side hair precludes the idea of their having been imitated from works of art of the xix. or xx. dynasty, when the hair was rounded beneath, a custom which prevailed till the xxvi. dynasty. It might possibly be in the fashion of the xxii. dynasty.

I have already pointed out the state of political relations existing between Egypt and Assyria, when Thebes, Babylon, and Nineveh were united by commerce and conquest from the commencement of the xviii. dynasty to its close. Naharaina and Saenkar, or Singara, appear at the head of the conquests of Sethos I., and Carchemish joined the grand central Asiatic league against his son and successor. Perhaps a petty chieftain of Assyria may be mentioned in the same reign.¹⁹ Traffic brought the wares of the same countries into the hands of his successors, and this is the earliest period to which these ivories could be referred.



There is nothing in the philological construction of the cartouches which can guide us to their precise era. The second character, the *u*,²⁰ begins to be extensively used at the period of the xx. dynasty;

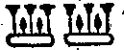
¹⁸ Prisse, *Monuments Egyptiens*, Pl. xxiii.

¹⁹ *Select Papyri*, Pl. lviii. line 6: 'thy name will be made like Kata-ru-ti, the chief of Asar.' Cf. Hincks, *Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* Winchester Congress, 1846.

²⁰ Cf. Hincks, *Trans. Roy. Irish Academy*, vol. xxi. Pt. II. p. 56; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, 8vo. Lond. 1848, p. 570.



but it was employed as early as the xviii., although I doubt if it were so otherwise than exceptionally before that time. The other symbols are in use at all times from the iv. dynasty till the Romans. Still the age of the xxii. dynasty would well suit the cartouche, if stress may be laid upon this fact.

The first indication of the restoration of political relations between the two countries occurs in the xxi. dynasty of Tanite kings. The monarch commonly called Pehor, or Pehar, had a family of nineteen sons, two of whom bear names evidently of foreign origin, for the seventh is called  Ma-swa-ha [r] ta, and the eighth  Ma-swa-ka-hata. These names appear to be Semitic; for their initial and final syllables are those introduced into other Semitic names which had become inserted, as it were, into the Egyptian language. The first part, indeed, which is common to both names, is essentially the same as that of the Maasu or Masii, a nation lying to the north of Nineveh. Under the following dynasty, the xxii. or Bubastite, there are more undeniable traces of Assyrian connection in the names of the monarchs and princes of this line.

The name of *Sheshank* is by no means referable to Egyptian roots. His name in hieroglyphics is  SHSHNK;²¹ or, attributing to the characters their inherent syllabic value, SHASHANKA. There are, however, certain external traces of the name of this monarch being foreign: his name is written by Manetho *Σεσόγγωσις*, or *Σέσωγγις*,²² and in

²¹ Rosellini, *M. St.* tomo iv. p. 149.

²² Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle*, Buch. III. s. 133. Boeckh, *Manetho*,

the Armenian version Sesonchusis,—while barbarized variations occur, as Sysonchosis, Sensecoris, Sensecorus, Senscoris; and in Africanus, Sesonchis or Sesonchis,—in the Hebrew, שָׁשָׁאק, Shashaq, with the Masoretic punctuation,—and in the Septuagint, and Laterculus, Σουσακείμ, Susakeim. This is plural; but why introduced—for it differs from the Hebrew form—unless to mark a dynastic name? The name Sheshak, which differs only slightly from Shashaq²³ in its radical elements, is applied in two places to a country given by the Septuagint as Babylon; at which place were also celebrated a national festival called the *Sesacea*.²⁴ Solomon had previously married an Egyptian princess when Jeroboam fled to Egypt, to the court of Shishak, and married, according to some editions of the Septuagint, a relation of Shishak's; or, according to the Syncellus, his sister.²⁵ The monarch of the preceding Egyptian dynasty had married a princess of the foreign nation of the Bashten,²⁶ and there is no reason why the name of Sheshank might not be derived from foreign sources. There is, however, indication of a foreign element in the names of the sons of Sheshank; that of the eldest is  or ²⁷ *Shau-puata*, or *Shuput*, which may be read Shapud,

u. die Hundsternperiode, s. 314, u. f. For the genealogy of this branch, see Bunsen, *loc. cit.*



²³ Jeremiah xxv. 26; li. 41.

²⁴ Ctesias, à Müller, 8vo, Par. 1844, p. 33, s. 16. Athenæus, xiv. p. 639.

²⁵ Boeckh, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Prisse, Mon. Egypt. Pl. iv. Champollion, Gr. Egypt. p. 398. Champollion-Figac, Egypte, p. 225.

²⁷ Cf. Champollion, Mon. tome iv. Pl. cxxii. bis. Rosellini, M. St. tome iv. p. 165, reads *Usecept* or *Ousepot*; Lepsius, in Bunsen's Aegyptens Stelle, Buch II. s. 133, *Schuopt*.

following the analogy of other Assyrian names, such as Arphaxad or Nimrud, which latter name, it will be seen, was subsequently introduced into this line, and is not referable to Egyptian roots. The second son of Shishak was named  Usorchon,²⁸ or rather  Ua-svarken I.;²⁹ the Osorthon, Ὀσορθῶν, or Osorchon, Ὀσορχῶ[ν], of the Greek lists. The Egyptian name varies considerably, as it appears in the lists of Manetho, Africanus, and the Syncellus:³⁰ the true form is the last, restored by Boeckh from the name of the king of the XXI. dynasty. Manetho's observation, δὲ Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκάλεσαν, shows that the name was peculiar, and not familiar; apparently foreign,—for, as written in hieroglyphics, it differs entirely from the name of *Chons*. The identity of this name with that of Serak,³¹ סַרַך, proposed by Champollion, and assented to by M. Bunsen,³² seems to me improbable from the genealogy: סַרַך is probably a false reading, for it differs considerably from *Osorchon*, and may be a mistake for סַבַך, *Sebak*. I consider that it has been formed upon the Assyrian name which we have in the Hellenised form of *Sargon*. Nor would the prefixed syllable *Ua* or *Va* militate against such a supposition; as it appears in a cognate language to the Assyrian, in names which the Greeks have transcribed with the *K*, as *Uçrava* for *Kûpos* or *Cyrus*, *Uvarsamija* for *Χορασμία* or *Chorasmia*,

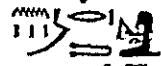

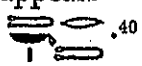
²⁸ Cf. Rosellini, M. tomo ii. VII. 138. M. R. No. CXLIX. 2, tomo iv. p. 169, reads *Osorkon*.

²⁹ Rosellini, *loc. cit.* 135, 137.

³⁰ Manetho, u. die Hundsternperiode, s. 320.

³¹ Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle, Buch. III. s. 133.

³² Cf. Boeckh and Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

and *Uwahasara* for *Κυαξάρης* or Cyaxares.³⁴ The same observation as to foreign origin applies to the queen *Lekamat* or *Rekamat*, with which I am only acquainted through the genealogical table given by Lepsius.³⁵ This also ends with the Semitic *ת*, and resembles a form of the Hebrew *רקמות*, *Rikamut* (Ps. XLV. 13)—*vestis acu picta*,—a Semitic word which, considering the renown of the Assyrian looms, might have easily been conferred on an Assyrian female. According to the genealogy already cited, the son of Osorchon II. was named  Nim-rot,³⁶ which is also the name of the son of Takelothis II. As the Egyptians had no *D*, but employed the same homophone of the *T* to express this sound in foreign names, this name is unequivocally the Assyrian Nimroud, *נִמְרוֹד*, the *Νεβρώδης* of the Septuagint, a word now known to signify 'lord' in the Assyrian, and unlikely to have been introduced into an Egyptian dynasty, except through intermarriage with an Assyrian house. The son of Sheshank II. was  Takiluta,³⁷ according to the syllabic, and TKLT, following the alphabetic value of the symbols. The Greek transcription of this name is *Τακέλοθις*,³⁸ both in the version of Africanus and in Eusebius: in the *Latérculus*³⁹ we have *Τακαλώφης*, evidently a *σφάλμα* of the scribe for *Τακαλώθις*. This name appears a second time in the dynasty, when it is written .

³⁴ Oppert, *Revue Archéologique*, Dec. 1847, p. 633.

³⁵ Bunsen, *Aegyptens Stelle*, Buch III, s. 133.



³⁶ Rosellini, *M. St.* tomo ii. vii. 137 b.

³⁷ Idem, *M. St.* tomo iv. 169, *Takelot*.

³⁸ Bunsen, *loc. cit.* s. 34–35. Boeckh, *loc. cit.* s. 314.

³⁹ *Ibid.* s. 80.

⁴⁰ Rosellini, *M. St.* tomo ii. vii. 137 a.

In its elements it is as purely phonetic, and unpreferable to Egyptian roots, as the cartouches of Ptolemy or Cæsar. Bearing in mind the Assyrian appellation Nimrud, introduced at this period, it appears highly probable that this monarch was named in honour of the family of his Aramæan mother. In fact, this name may conceal the Assyrian word Tiglath or Diglath, the old name of the Tigris, the Hebrew *דגלא*, *Digla*, or *דקל*; for the *ה* in Hiddekel may, after all, be only a preformant, and the form Hiddekel may only differ from Tigris in the same inverse manner as *Εὐφράτης* from *פרת*. Traces of the final *ת* in the name are found in Josephus, who states *Τίγρης δὲ Διγλὰθ*, and in the reading Diglito of Pliny,⁴¹ which approach nearer the Chaldee form. The existence of a similar name in the 2nd or Chaldæan dynasty is proved from that of *תגלת*,⁴² Tiglath, or *תלגת*, Tilgath (Pileser),⁴³ as the name is written in the corresponding passages, avowedly not of Hebrew etymology.⁴⁴ To either of these forms of Diglath or Tiglath, that of Takiluta or Takeloth is equally near; for while the last sign is by preference, on account of its syllabic power *ta*, employed to transcribe the Hebrew *ת* and Aramaic *ת* *ta*,⁴⁵ the  is in similar instances employed for the *d* or soft *t*. I consequently recognize in Takelothis, the Aramæan Tiglath introduced into an Egyptian dynasty. The names of some of the queens of this line appear also to be of foreign origin: thus the queen  Karu-ma-ma, Kar-

⁴¹ H. N. vi. 27. ⁴² 2 Kings xvi. 7. ⁴³ 1 Chron. v. 26.

⁴⁴ Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* p. 57, who cites the authorities above given for this word.

⁴⁵ I conclude the existence of this syllable from the transcriptions.

⁴⁶ Rosellini, *M. St.* tomo ii. 137 b.

mam or Kalmim, 'daughter of the prince Nimroud,' is by no means an Egyptian name, although I do not assert that it is Assyrian. She was the wife of Takelothis I.⁴⁷ According to the Chevalier Lepsius, the wife of Takelothis II. bears the name of Tatepor.⁴⁸ Unfortunately the cartouche of this queen is not published, but an inspection of its transcription will show that it is not Egyptian. As the *r* and *l* are expressed by the same characters in the hieroglyphics, it seems probable that the final part of this word is the Assyrian *P'hul*, which enters into the composition of the names of some princes of the Chaldæan line. Nor will this conjecture appear too hazardous when it is remembered that their son is the prince *Nimroud*.

I have entered into this philological detail because I think it demonstrates, by a new route, an alliance between the Assyrian and Egyptian courts, and shows that at the period connections of blood must have existed between the two royal houses. The little that is possessed of this period, either from good historical sources or from monumental remains, leaves much to be desired. The march of Sheshank to Jerusalem, the pillage of the temple, and subsequent ruin of the Egyptians when Nechao was defeated at Carchemish, point to political relations strengthened and then interrupted by the rising of new dynasties. The indications of alliance point to a probable epoch, viz. that of the tenth century B. C., for the assignment of such works of art found at Nineveh, executed in Egyptian style, and in imitation of Egyptian pantheism and royalty. They cannot be later than the seventh century, when Nineveh fell (B. C. 605), and was utterly destroyed by the Medes. Yet even then

⁴⁷ Bunsen, *Aeg. Stell.* s. 133.

⁴⁸ Bunsen, *loc. cit.*

the monarchs of Egypt appear to have contracted an alliance with the Chaldæan dynasty, then rising into power in Central Asia,—a relationship indicated by the Egyptian name Nitocris, found both in Egypt and at Babylon, and found catalogued in one of the earliest dynasties. It is highly probable that at this period Egyptian artists were sent to embellish "the ivory palaces fragrant with myrrh, aloes, and cassia," in the same manner as the Phœnician workmen aided in the building and decoration of the temple of Solomon, and as the Egyptians themselves subsequently made alabaster coffins and vases⁴⁹ for their Persian rulers, inscribed with their names in hieroglyphics, and the three arrow-headed writings. Conquest, it is true, often dragged hosts of foreign artificers at the chariot wheels of the victors, as in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyses, who transferred the workmen of the conquered nations to their capitals; but there is no *monumental* proof that Egypt was overrun by the Assyrians; and the invasions recorded by the Chaldæan and Greek historians were either unsuccessful, or ended in a temporary occupation of the Delta, and perhaps the appointment of tributary princes.

The early conquests of the Assyrians in India had made them familiar with the products of that country,—its valuable metals, precious stones, ivory, spices, wools, and its rare gums and woods. Egypt, at a

⁴⁹ For the Paris vase, cf. Caylus, *Rec. Antiq.* tom. v. Pl. xxx.; and for that at Venice, *Lit. Gaz.* 1844; *Revue Arch.* 1844, p. 445. The Persians much admired this material, which was found in the *περὶ Θήβας*. A finer quality, like ivory, called the *χερνίτης*, was used for the coffin of Darius, *καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὅμοιος ὁ χερνίτης καλούμενος* ἐν ἡ πύελφ φασὶ καὶ Δαρείον κείσθαι.—Theophr. *de Lap.* c. 15.

very early period of her history, was acquainted with the adaptation of valuable materials in embellishment. In the Egyptian collections of the Louvre is a small ivory box,⁵⁰ the cover of which is inscribed with the prænomen *Nefer-ka-re*, or Nepercheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth.⁵¹ On a tablet in the same collection, dated in the reign of *Mentuhept*,⁵²—a king found on the Karnak tablet, placed before the kings of the XII., and one of the great ancestors of the XIX. dynasty,—his statue being carried in their processions along with that of Menes,⁵³—probably the Mentesouphis of Eratosthenes, and placed by M. Bunsen as a king of the sixth line,—an object is mentioned, whose “arms are to be made of precious stones, silver and gold, and the two hinder parts of ivory and ebony.” In the time of Thothmes III., ivory⁵⁴ was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either in “boats laden with ivory and ebony” from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. In a tomb at Thebes,⁵⁵ executed about the XVIII. or XIX. dynasty, mention is made of a statue composed of “ebony and ivory, with a collar of gold.” The celebrated car at Florence has its lynch-pins tipped with ivory.⁵⁶ In the principal museums of Europe are

⁵⁰ Rosellini, M. St. tom. iii. Pt. I. p. 15.

⁵¹ Aegyptens Stelle, Buch. III. Taf. II.

⁵² Rosellini, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. new series, p. 317, *et seq.*

⁵⁴ Champollion, Monumens Egyptiens, fo. Par. 1846. Texte, p. 500. The word *habuir* in the Gram. Egypt. p. 77, taken from this passage, is an error from *habni*, ‘ebony,’ or ‘and having’ *uskh* ‘a collar’ en ‘of’ *neb* ‘gold.’

⁵⁶ I give here an extract from a letter addressed to me by the

various objects, either made entirely of ivory, such as figures, spoons, astragali, bracelets, scribes’ palettes, circular bands or collars, hair-pins,⁵⁷ &c.; or else inlaid with this material, such as chairs, boxes, handles of daggers, sticks, and other objects of the same kind. Most of these objects are antecedent to the domination of the Persians; some are undoubtedly as early as the XVIII. dynasty. Although the accounts of Semiramis are too legendary to be received otherwise than as the confusion of the national traditions of Assyrian conquests in general, yet the present remains demonstrate that they are based on the actual state of art, amongst the Assyrians, at the time when they were written. Thus, in the *Periegesis* of Dionysius she is described as erecting a temple to the god Belus, decorated with gold; silver, and ivory—*χρυσῶ, τῆδ’ ἐλέφαντι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκήσασα*,⁵⁸ which has been thus paraphrased by Rufus Festus Avienus:⁵⁹

“Stat maxima Beli

Aula quoque argento, domus Indo dente nitescit,
Aurum tecta operit, sola late contigit aurum.”

learned Professor Migliarini, of Florence. “Voici un petit extrait de mon catalogue; *Fraxinus excelsior* (*common ash*), *quercus ilex* (*evergreen oak*), *cortex betulæ albæ* (*bark of the common birch*), *carpinus orientalis* (*oriental horn-bean*), et des ornemens en os fossiles: tous ceux-ci sont pour la construction du char *Seythe*.” The birch-bark is so large that it could not have come from a more southern latitude than Mount Ararat. The ivory is probably fossilized through age; for the fragments from Nineveh were so deprived of their albumen as to be indistinguishable from fossil ivory found in alluvial deposits, while it is evident from their sculptures they must have been recent when executed. By the care of Professor Owen and the Dean of Westminster they have been subjected to a process by which they have regained much of their pristine condition.

⁵⁷ See note 9.

⁵⁸ V. 1008. Cf. Priscian:

⁵⁹ *Perieg.* v. 930, *et seq.* Cf. also the Scholiast to Dionysius, *loc. cit.*, and Eustathius *ad eund.*

In the heroic ages of Greece, ivory, plain⁶⁰ or stained with scarlet,⁶¹ was employed for several purposes; as, for horse trappings, for the inlaying of bedsteads,⁶² for the handles of keys,⁶³ the studs or ornaments of shields,⁶⁴ also for the panellings of doors, as in Penelope's description of those through which the dreams proceed from Hades.⁶⁵ The Greeks had probably become acquainted with this material through the Phœnicians, who, as early as the tenth century B. C., had made Solomon's throne of ivory, plated with gold in parts, and decorated at the sides with lions; also parts of galleys, ornamented with ivory; and had exported smaller objects of this material by commerce to Greece. Only a little later, Ahab had an ivory house. This taste the Phœnicians must have derived from Egypt and Assyria, where the arts were developed at an earlier period, and whence they obtained their supplies of this material. The earliest known work in this style among the Greeks (called by them toreutic) is the chest of Cypselus, which was a rectangular or oval box of cedar, inlaid with figures of ivory and gold, much in the manner of these Assyrian ivories, and which cannot be earlier than the xxx. Olympiad (660 B. C.).⁶⁶ In the I. Olympiad (B. C. 580), Diopœnos and Scyllis executed ivory statues of the Dioscuri females and children at Sicyon, Argos, and Ambracia; the material continuing to be extensively

⁶⁰ Il. v. 583.

⁶¹ Il. iv. 141. Schol. *ad eund.* The Homeric passage is imitated, Ovid Met. iv. 332. See Letronne, *Lettres d'un Antiquaire à un Artiste*, Appendice, 8vo, Par. 1838, p. 113.

⁶² Odyss. xxiii. 200.

⁶⁴ Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 141, 142.

⁶⁶ Cf. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, s. 37, c. LVII. 2.

⁶³ xxi. 7.

⁶⁵ Odyss. xix. 562-4.

employed by the *τορευταί*, or inlayers. In the LV. Olympiad, Endoos⁶⁷ of Athens had carved an ivory statue at Tegea. From this date commenced the making of chryselephantine statues with a cone of wood, veneered, and inlaid with gold and ivory, by Dorycleides, Theocles, Medon, and Menæchmus,—an art which attained its highest developement under Phidias,⁶⁸ and which continued till the time of the Romans, who inlaid their walls, ceilings, and articles of furniture⁶⁹ with this material,⁷⁰—a taste derived from the more luxurious modes of decorating their houses used by the Phœnicians and Assyrians.

The other panel of the box, which corresponded to that just described, is unfortunately exceedingly mutilated. Part of the divinity seated on the left hand only remains, and the lower half of the cartouche B. This contains three symbols, the undulating line of which, the lower portion, is just visible;—N, another

⁶⁷ Müller, *Handbuch*, s. 49, c. LXX. 2. Welcker, *Kunstblatt*, st. 39.

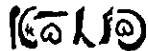
⁶⁸ Cf. Plutarch in Pericle, c. 12. Letronne, *Lettres*, &c. p. 470, reads *βαφεῖς χρυσοῦ, μαλακτῆρες ἐλέφαντος*, 'gilders and ivory softeners.' Müller, *Handbuch*, s. 98. n. 1, *μαλακτῆρες χρυσοῦ, βαφεῖς ἐλέφαντος*, 'gilders,' or rather 'gold beaters and ivory stainers.' Cf. the animated passage of the description of Lucian; and the Inscription (Boeckh Corp. Inscr. No. 150, line 16), *Παλλάδιον ἐλεφάντινον περίχρυσον*, 'a statue of Pallas, with gold accessories,' probably a copy of that of Phidias; also *Εἰρήνη ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος*, 'an ivory figure of Peace, gilded;' all cited by Letronne, *Sup.* p. 113.

⁶⁹ Pliny, N. H. xvi. 43, 84, *nec satis: cœpere tingi animalium cornua, dentes secari, lignumque edore distingui, mox operiri.* Also Dio Chrysostomus: *Ἐπὶ δὲ [τῶν Ῥωμαίων] ἐν οἰκῶν ὀροφαῖς καὶ τοίχοις, καὶ ἐδάφει, τὰ μὲν χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ λίθοις, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντι ποικιλλόντων, τὰ δὲ αὐ τοίχων γλυφαῖς.*

⁷⁰ See also, for some account of these cartouches, my letter to M. Letronne, '*Revue Archéologique*,' 8vo, Paris, 1848, p. 770, and M. Letronne's observations on the same, p. 771; also Gerhard, *Archäologische Zeitung; Beilage*, No. 5, März. 1848, s. 70*.

symbol, resembling that used to express the title of priest and monarch, or else intended for the vase on its stand, used for the syllable TA. The last is a divinity, uncertain whether male or female, seated, and holding a lotus sceptre. The whole read NTA, or NATH, as the end of some Assyrian name. On another fragment, and at the corner of a panel, are the duckling and water line, not in a cartouche, reading UN, perhaps the name of an Assyrian deity.

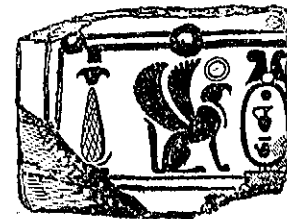
I am aware of the names of two Egyptian kings which correspond in a remarkable degree with that before us. They occur in column ix., lines 8 and 12, of the Chevalier Lepsius's arrangement of the Hieratical Canon of Turin.⁷¹ One is RA-UBN—



Sol splendens—'the shining Sun:' the other, which is on the fragment marked 99, is only part of a cartouche, a prænomen into the composition of which the word *ubn*, or 'shine,' enters; but there are some important differences. In the first name the solar disk appears as in all Egyptian prænomens, while in the Assyrian cartouche there is no such disk: the word *ubn* in the second, line 12, is only part of a prænomen, and it is impossible to say what preceded it. Had it been a repetition of the prænomen, line 12, it would, for the sake of distinction, have been accompanied by the king's name: such, at least, is the rule of the papyrus in other instances. The whole cartouche was probably Ra-em-ubn, or Ra-neb-ubn, Ra-tet-ubn, &c. But supposing the Assyrian cartouche to be identical with that in line 8, there are then the following difficulties: the monarchs of

⁷¹ Auswahl, Taf. v.

this dynasty are anterior to the xviii., and were ephemeral rulers, whose reigns varied from a few months to only four years, showing either an epoch of political confusion, or a series of reigns improperly recorded. Now the Nimroud cartouche can hardly be referred to so early a period, although the Hykshos invasion is considered by some to be represented by this part of the canon. These kings cannot be connected with the Shepherds. There is one period which must not be omitted in the consideration of these Assyrian cartouches,—that of the worship of the *Aten*, or sun's disk, introduced during the xviii. dynasty; but there is no internal evidence that the kings of this dynasty were Assyrians.



Portion of a porcelain box, in Assyrian style, bearing the prænomen of Amasis II. xxvi. dynasty.