

TANIS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. BEYOND the civilized regions of modern Egypt, past even the country palm-groves, where a stranger is rarely seen, there stretches out to the Mediterranean a desolation of mud and swamp, impassable in winter, and only dried into an impalpable salt dust by the heat of midsummer. To tell land from water, to say where the mud ends and the lakes begin, requires a long experience; the flat expanse, as level as the sea, covered with slowly drying salt pools, may be crossed for miles, with only the dreary changes of dust, black mud, water, and black mud again, which it is impossible to define as more land than water or more water than land. The only objects which break the flatness of the barren horizon are the low mounds of the cities of the dead; these alone remain to show that this region was once a living land, whose people prospered on the earth.

The reddened top of the highest of these mounds may be seen rising out of the flickering haze on the horizon, some hours before it is reached; that is the great city of San, the capital of Lower Egypt. And when the traveller has climbed the crackling heaps of potsherds which cover its mouldering houses, he sees around him towns whose modern names are not in books, and whose ancient history is still buried in their ruins. Tell Ginn, Tell Dibgu, Tell Sueilin, Tell Farun, Tell Gemáyemi, Tell Khatanah, all these have their past on a still unopened page in history; a past of which we

may see the sphinxes and sarcophagi, the houses and tombs, scarcely hidden in the dust.

San, Tanis, T'aan, Zoan, these forms of the name have each a history of a different age and a different race. The miserable Arab huts of San first meet the eye; huts which belong to a people whose very nature is nomadic, who have no notions of town life,—or civilization, in the literal sense,—whose dark and miserable mud rooms are huddled together without any plan or order, in the most unhealthy flat, with on the one side a muddy stream into which they throw their dead buffaloes, and from which they drink, and on the other a swamp full of rotting graves and filth. But the high mounds which rise behind this sickening mass of dead fish and live babies, fowls and flies, are the remains of the Roman and Greek Tanis, a city well built and well ordered, whose inhabitants show no small taste in their native pottery and their imported marbles, their statuettes, their delicate glass mosaics, and their fine metal work. And it is of this city that we know most at present, as during the long and flourishing dominion of the Western Powers, which gave Egypt new life and new vigour, the successive generations built again and again on the ruins left by their forefathers; thus the mounds at last rose some forty feet higher than they had been when the Assyrians and Ethiopians had stricken the place at the close of its older history.

T'aan, the city of Sheshonk, of Pisebkhanu, of

the usurping Si-amen, and of the magnificent egotist Ramessu II., is still unknown to us; and we can only yet imagine what interest may await us when we reach the dwellings of the people who lived around the splendid temple which lies in the midst of the mounds. This temple, a thousand feet from end to end, stood up above the surrounding houses; and over its long flat roof towered up the colossal statue of the second founder of the city, the great Ramessu, head, shoulders, and body even, above everything else, with stony eyes gazing across the vast plain. This temple was worthy of the capital of Lower Egypt, replete with noble statues of the older kings, of the most magnificent work, and dominated in every part by the royal splendour of the Smiter of Nations, the Strong Bull, the Destroyer of His Enemies, Ramessu, Beloved of Amon.

But beneath the capital of Ramessu there must lie the older town, the town of the bearded Hyksos, the fishy people, the worshippers of Sutekh, who honoured and adorned the early temple; and yet, beneath that again, the town of Amenemhat and Usertesen, of the great kings who first established this as their capital, to hold in check the pushing Semitic invaders; the kings who one by one, as they mounted the throne of the two lands, added their statues to the figures of the Great Gods in the temple—statues of colossal size, carved in the hardest rocks, with severe simplicity, and yet the most brilliant finish. And even before them some town existed here,—Zoan, built seven years after Hebron,—of which no trace is now visible. This large sand island in the midst of the mud, by the side of the river, doubtless had a settlement on it of either the invaders or the defenders from the first days when the Semitic tribes began to take their footing in Egypt, and to press on its rich and well-cultivated plains, which formed so tempting a prey.

2. To examine this district, and to excavate at San, I went down by boat from Fikus on the

4th of February, 1884, and lived at San, in tent or house, until the 23rd of June; only leaving for two short trips to neighbouring Tells during that time. Communication with the outer world was kept up by sending a man forty miles—to Fikus and back—every week, and only once did any European come down to that out of the way place while I was there.

For the first fortnight I lived in a tent, close by the village of San; but afterwards I moved up to a room that I had built on the top of the mounds, some sixty feet above the river level; and, gradually completing my house there, I had at last a little block of buildings of a defensible form, with only one outer door, and comprising six rooms around a courtyard; the rooms being about six by eight feet each, and four of them serving for me and the stores and finds, while the other two housed my overseers. From my room I could see the temple through the open doors, so as to watch the workers, with a telescope, when I needed to be up in the house. No difficulty was found in getting labourers; within a week of reaching San, I had over fifty, men girls and boys, and the numbers varied up to 180. During the harvest, of course, they had to work in their fields, and I had but thirty children left; but usually there was a party of new hands waiting to be taken on every morning. The difficulty was to avoid overstocking; as, in that case, so little attention could be given to each that they would not feel kept in hand, and would deteriorate, and become lazy. The engagement of each man, allotting the work to him, keeping account of his time, and paying him, was attended to by myself; thus there was no opening for native favouritism, bakhshish, or cheatery. The only duty of my Arab overseers was to watch the men, see that they kept to work, observe what was found, and make any little changes needed from hour to hour; but I saw every labourer at least twice, and often four times, a day. Thus I knew everyone about the place, and kept up a friendly intercourse with

them all, so that the smallest children were not afraid; while at the same time I held to necessary discipline, by means of dismissal for a longer or shorter time. So much did they dread losing work, that once dismissing the whole of the gang for half a day because they persistently came late, completely cured them; I never had a man late after that. A fair amount of work was got out of them; a man ordinarily cutting, in good ground, about 200 cubic feet, or seven and a half cubic yards, a day for his wages of 6*d.*; and three or four children, at fifteen or twenty pence a day, will carry this quantity about twenty yards in baskets on their heads. This cutting or this carrying is about equal to three quarters of a day of an English labourer with spade and wheelbarrow; so that a gang of a man and children, costing about two shillings a day, will do as much as an English labourer in a day and a half. Besides this, *bakhshish* was given for everything that was found; and though this did not amount to 5 per cent. on the wages, yet it ensured things being brought in to me, and was a good stimulus to the workers. It is advisable always to let them work in their own way, while allowing them to use such English tools as may be available. I found that chisel-ended crowbars were in constant request to pick up hard earth, and pickaxes were often wanted; while, in shifting loose sand and dust, spades could easily be got into use. The workers were always split up into small gangs, usually a man and two children, and hardly ever more than three men and six or eight boys and girls together. Thus the work went on slowly in a large number of places at once, so that it did not require such continuous attention as if it were rapidly finished; and each man's work could be checked. Trenches were mostly dug in levels about four feet apart, so that the position of any objects found could be readily known.

3. The general system of work was not by clearing out the whole of a square area down to

some fixed level, as that plan uses a large amount of labour, and, what is worse, encumbers the ground with a quantity of waste. On the contrary, narrow trenches were dug, and deep shafts sunk, so as to test the largest amount of ground in the time. On each side of the temple trenches were cut at intervals, reaching down to the original sandy island, from ten to twenty-six feet deep, and running for some way on either side. (See Plan, where all my excavations are shaded in.) In this way, we found a large part of the original limestone pavement of the temple on the north-east and south-east corners, a quantity of pieces of a highly decorated chapel (of the twenty-second dynasty?) on the north of the middle of the temple, and a large well, with staircase, of Ptolemaic or Roman age. It was also determined that there are no other buildings by the side of the temple, and that the remainder of the temple area was probably an open enclosure. Outside the temple area also pits were sunk to fifteen and twenty feet deep, in the valley leading up to the temple (showing the pavement of the road); and in other parts of the mounds, disclosing tombs, a large well, and various other remains. The other class of work was clearing out houses, of which the rooms were generally visible on the surface, having been filled up with dust and potsherds. Here the greatest care was needed, and the best men were always put to this work; it was much coveted by them, as they thus obtained more *bakhshish* by finding objects. Some labour was also spent on the detailed work of clearing out the sand between the stones in the temple, so as to examine all sides of them; and also in shifting the fallen blocks of the great pylon, so as to reach the outside of its wall, and examine the stones.

In other sites near San a little work was done, but as it was only exploratory, and we hope in future seasons to carry it out further, details of that had better be published all together in the future.

CHAPTER I.

SAN BEFORE THE EMPIRE.

4. The earliest knowledge of San that we at present have, is in the well-known statement in the Book of Numbers (xiii. 22), that Hebron was built seven years later than Zoan. This coupling of it with a Palestinian city shows that the building must refer to a settlement by Shemites, and not by Egyptians; and, considering the age of Hebron, it probably refers to the settlement before the eleventh dynasty. At the time of its settlement it was a saddle-shaped sandy island or "gezireh" in the midst of the delta mud; it lay beside the river, and the sea may then have reached up to it. The highest parts were on each side of the present temple, north and south of it, and rose some thirty or forty feet above the plain; this being the highest islet for many miles around. In the hollow between these dunes was a sandy plain, in which the temple of the twelfth dynasty stood, and which was probably the site of the earliest settlement. The temple of the first town being a sacred site, later temples would occupy it again, and as they spread in size and magnificence, they most likely obliterated the traces of the primitive town. Hence we can hardly expect to find much of any town before the twelfth dynasty, by which time the temple was of considerable size.

5. Among the ruins of the temple of San are, however, two blocks bearing inscriptions of Merira-Pepi; one known since the time of Burton (Plan 113, inscription No. 2), while the other I observed this year (Plan, 96, inscr. No. 1). It does not seem to be quite certain that these belong to the well-known Pepi of the sixth dynasty, as it is possible another king in the eighth dynasty may have adopted the throne name, and employed the variant of the personal name which is here used; since there was another king Pepi-Sneb in that later period. But this is, on the whole, unlikely, and we may accept these blocks as having

belonged to a building of Pepi, in the sixth dynasty. The titles also are the same as in the lower line of the horizontal inscription in the pyramid of Pepi. This, however, does not at all prove that there was a building of that age at San; and two circumstances render it more probable that these blocks (which have been reworked in later times) were brought down from ruins rather than from a quarry in Upper Egypt, and that their first use was before, and not after, their long journey to the coast. In the first place, Pepi is here called "son of Hathor, the lady of Ant," the modern Dendera. Now this variant is not at all usual; it nowhere occurs in the pyramid of Pepi (at Memphis, between Dendera and San), and the only instance of it that I can localize is an alabaster lid (see plate xii., fig. 1) which Prof. Sayce obtained at Keneh, just opposite the town named on it. This renders it more likely that this inscription belonged to Dendera or its neighbourhood, than to the far-distant San. Another point is that the quality of the granite is peculiar; it is very hard and unalterable, with green nuclei in it, and there is scarcely any other block of the same quality. If there had been a temple here, built by Pepi, the granite would probably be alike throughout, and there would be many pieces of the same nature, though re-used. Hence it seems that, until some more decisive proof of Pepi's work here can be obtained, it is most likely that the ruthless appropriator of obelisks and statues, Ramessu II., did not object to having a few convenient blocks looted from a ruined temple at Dendera, of which the founder had been then dead one or two thousand years.

6. The first piece of work as yet known to belong to San is the red granite colossus of Amenemhat I., the first king of the twelfth dynasty (Plan, 103). This is broken in three pieces, the head (pl. xiii. 1), chest, and throne. The granite is of a dull brick-red, and somewhat badly weathered on the feet, though the head is perfect. On the back Amenemhat is named

as beloved of Ptah (inscrip. 3 A), and a remarkable group surrounds the so-called "banner"* of the king. The greater part of the lower inscription has been hammered out by Merenptah I., in order to substitute a barren repetition of his own name in the rudest style, only the small strip of old titles being left in the middle. On the side of the throne (3 B) Merenptah has made a similar defacement, but the old group of the upper and lower Niles here appears perhaps for the first time; though the stems of the lotus and papyrus are shown twisted around the *sam* on the throne of Khafra, in the fourth dynasty. On the front of the throne are two strips of inscription (3 C, 3 D), which show Amenemhat as beloved of Ptah of the Southern Rampart, (Memphis) and Ptah Sokar. Along the base of the throne is an added inscription of Merenptah; the other side I did not see, as the statue is lying on it.

It seems certain that Amenemhat I. built a temple here, as his statue was doubtless placed in some large building, and there are many fragments of columns of red granite which appear to belong to him. They have been re-used in the colonnade in front of the sanctuary as late as Siamen, but are evidently of far earlier work. In the first place, they are clustered lotus columns, like those of Beni Hasan, a fact which almost assigns them to the twelfth dynasty; then they are polished far more brilliantly than any work after that period, and the delicacy with which the lines of the leaves around each stem are shown is of

* This form of title is usually called a banner; but it is really a false door, the inscription being the king's name on the panel over the door, and the so-called fringe representing the panelling on either side of the doorway. The earliest examples are a pot-lid of Senefru in Bulak, on which is distinctly a false door with the drum, the stripes of panelling, the architrave, and panel above it; and the tablet of Senefru at Wady Maghara, where it is far more like panelling than a fringe. On the tablet of Menkaura at Wady Maghara the details of the stripes of panelling are shown unmistakably, like the false doors of the early tombs. Even though the form became conventionally uniform, we still find a variation appearing as late as Ramessu II. at San (on the side of the triad inscrip. 43 A), which is certainly a doorway rather than any sort of fringe.

the finest style; while, finally, the colour of the granite is of the same dull vermilion brick-red as the statue of Amenemhat I. It is impossible to assign them to the Ramesside, or any late period.

7. The next king, Usertesen I., added his statue to the magnificent temple of his predecessor (Plan, 101); but instead of red granite it is in black granite, and of the highest possible finish and brilliancy. The inscriptions are cut most delicately, and the polish in the hollows of all the hieroglyphics is as fine as on the general surface. On the top and front of the throne are two lines running down each side (4 C, D), and the sides of the throne were ornamented with the same figures as the statue of Amenemhat (4 B). On the back is an inscription of Merenptah (4 A) in better style than is usual for him; the engraver was perhaps shamed into good work by the magnificence of the statue he was defacing; but on the shoulder is hammered in on the glass-like surface the cartouche of Merenptah. The statue itself has been broken at the chest; and the body is much flaked, and the head bruised (pl. xiii. 2). The fellow statue is now in Berlin.

8. To Amenemhat II., the successor of Usertesen, may be ascribed another colossus in black granite (Plan, 97). This is almost equal in finish to the last statue, and it is far more remarkable, having no back pilaster to the figure, which is wrought all round (pl. xiii. 3). It is the only Egyptian statue without a back support, so far as I know. The head is lost, and the torso is broken from the throne. The sides of the throne bore the old group of the two Niles, holding the lotus and papyrus twisted on the *sam* (pl. xiii. 4); and the front a strip of inscription, of which only a part remains (inscrip. 5 A, B, C). Merenptah I. has appropriated the back and lower part of the throne, and has hacked in a monstrous cartouche on the chest of the torso. Though no trace of the king's name remains, it is certain that this statue must belong to the

twelfth dynasty; and as it is more similar to the statue of Usertesen I. than to any other, we shall probably be right in attributing this—the finest Egyptian statue known in some respects—to Amenemhat II.

9. The colossus of the next king, Usertesen II., was in yellow quartzite sandstone, of very fine grain, and free from sand-holes or pebbles. The chest remains, and two small fragments of the throne, but no other pieces have come to light. On one of these pieces is part of the head-dress of the figure of the Lower Nile (6 A), showing that the usual group was placed on the side of the throne, and on the adjacent front (6 B) is a fragment of the side of the cartouche, showing just the edges of the characters Ra-kha-a This proves that the statue belonged to Usertesen II., of the twelfth, or Noferhotep or Sebakhotep III., of the thirteenth dynasty. From the style, the fullness of the trunk, and the decoration, it is to be assigned to the twelfth dynasty, and therefore to Usertesen II. Noferhotep is the only other claimant, as there were besides this a pair of granite colossi of Sebakhotep III. at San.

The statue of Nofert, the wife of Usertesen II., carved in black granite, is now at Bulak. It represents the queen, with a massive wig descending on each side of the face, and ending in a point curled round just above the breast. The eyes were inlaid. Her husband's throne name—*Ra-kha-kheper*—occurs on a pectoral plate on the chest, flanked by two vultures, each on the *nub*, and with the two sacred eyes above. The inscription is on either side of the front of the throne, descending beside the feet. The titles are the same as on the broken statue (inscrip. 11); they will be given in full in the inscriptions published next season. Beside this there is a bust of a similar statue also at Bulak.

10. There is a part of an architrave of Usertesen III. (who succeeded Usertesen II.) executed in pinkish granite (inscrip. 7); and it is remarkable that he is called “beloved of Osiris,” which seems opposed to the worship of Sutekh at

San. Osiris is only met with on one other monument of this place, Ptah being the most usual deity here, beside Har and Anup, in the early times. The other mention of Osiris is on the base of a seated colossus in close fine grey granite (Plan, 87). The upper line in inscrip. 8 A, on the top of the base, is of the twelfth dynasty, by the work of it; the lower line (8 A) is part of Merenptah's inscription, which is carried round the side (8 B). Merenptah has also hammered out the name of the original owner in the ancient inscription, and has roughly substituted his own. This statue is of the twelfth dynasty, as appears by the work, and must belong to Usertesen III. or Amenemhat III. or IV.; and from the mention of Osiris, as on the architrave of the first of these kings, it seems most likely that this statue was of Usertesen III.

11. Besides these attributable statues, there is a fragment of the foot of a statue in grey granite (Plan, 279), by the side of which is the end of an inscription (10 A), and on the front of which is an inscription (10 B) of the nineteenth dynasty. This might belong to some of the previous statues. There is also (in the sanctuary) a defaced head in the same material, which probably belonged to some statue of the twelfth dynasty. A block of similar grey granite (Plan, 95) bears the fragment of inscription (9) in large figures; it appears to have been part of a larger object cut up. There are two seated female statues here in black granite, probably belonging to the earlier part of the twelfth dynasty; they are princesses, and perhaps daughters of Usertesen II., as there is also a statue of his wife in the same material. One of these statues has a hand on the knee, and the other hand has been across the breast (Plan, 85), while on the front of the throne are the beginnings of inscriptions (12); this statue is broken off just below the knees, and across the body. The surface is smooth, representing plain drapery, and is well polished. The other princess (Plan, 99) has both hands resting on the knees, but otherwise appears to

have originally been similar to the previous statue. On the front of the throne (pl. xiv 1) are lines of inscription (11), but, unhappily, the lower part is lost, so that the name is unknown. Ramessu II. afterwards took this statue, and had all the dress worked up into a ribbed pattern of folds, leaving parts of the old smooth surface at a higher level, just in the hollows under the arms. The hair was also worked into wavy tresses, parts of the old surface remaining also here. The face appears to be untouched, judging by its style and high finish. There has been a metal head-dress, probably a Ramesside addition, and the tubular drill-holes for affixing this may be seen along the eyebrows, cut into the black granite, besides a large drill-hole in the top of the head. The outer part of the balls of the thumbs were cut away toward the wrists, apparently being considered too massive and heavy for Ramesside style, though they are rendered wholly unnatural by the alteration. Finally, a long inscription adopting the statue was cut on the back and both sides. The cutting is in the bold, coarse style general in the Ramesside period, quite unlike the delicate and highly polished hieroglyphics of the twelfth dynasty on the front of the throne. To try and unify the whole thing, and ignore the theft, the titles of the old princess were repeated on the sides by Ramessu II. as part of his mother's inscription. The body has been broken from the throne, and the base of the throne is lost, otherwise this curious example of misappropriation is in good condition.

Another monument of the same period, also appropriated by Ramessu II., is a red granite obelisk (Plan, 261). The original engraving of this was only on the upper part of one side (shown in inscrip. 13), but Ramessu added his names in two columns below that, and on all the other sides of this obelisk (see inscrip. 60): it will also be seen that he erased the names of the older king to substitute his own, and the trace of the older cartouche is visible on the upper part

between the two hawks, just below the shorter cartouche of Ra-user-ma, sotep-en-ra. Judging from the fact that the bee is also cut over an erasure, it seems as if the first name had had a different title, perhaps "nuter nofer," or "Sutekh nuter nofer;" if so, the obelisk would belong to the thirteenth or a later dynasty. The representation of Nishem, however, is not very common; but this occurs also on the gateway of Amenemhat I. at Esbet Helmy Pasha. Again, the style of the work is very good, and more like the twelfth than later periods. The adoration of Horus, Lord of the countries, is interesting, and seems to point to a conqueror in the twelfth rather than to the limited sovereignty of the later dynasties. The representation of hawks as regular supporters of the royal shield is not often seen. Altogether this is a curious monument, and makes us regret the insatiable egotism of its usurper.

To the twelfth dynasty also must be attributed the two great red granite sphinxes; one remaining at San (Plan, 51), broken in several pieces, and without the face, and the fellow, which is now the most striking object in the gallery of the Louvre. These sphinxes have passed through many appropriations, but they were executed in the twelfth dynasty, to judge by the fineness of the work, and the treatment of the details. On the chest of the sphinx in the Louvre may be seen traces of the so-called banner of a king, with a hawk above it. A fragment of the end of a sickle may be also distinguished on it, and this shows that it must be attributed to Amenemhat II. or Usertesen II. In the inscription (14 D) is shown the trace of the end of the standard, and of the lines of hair appearing in the midst of the later cartouche. The next name is that of the Hyksos Apepi (see De Rougé, *Notice des Monuments . . . au Musée du Louvre*, p. 22), of which I could only see the inscription (14 F) on the right side of the base; there is also an erased Hyksos inscription, beginning with "Sutekh," on the right shoulder. After this Merenptah appropriated it, cutting out the earlier names with his

usual brutality, and placing his cartouches on the right shoulder (14 c). Finally, Sheshonk I.—the great Shishak—occupied the left shoulder with his cartouches (14 E), and cut a long inscription all round the base (14 A, 14 B). The tip of the nose has been broken off and mended anciently, as there is a drill-hole in the surface where the piece has been affixed. The sphinx at San is more damaged, but there is evidence of its equal antiquity in the titles of an erased name by the left hind paw (15 A); these are cut with much fineness, and can hardly be attributed to a later time than the thirteenth dynasty, and yet they are on a defaced surface, showing that some earlier name has been erased. This seems to show that appropriation began as early as the thirteenth dynasty. After that Merenptah of course appropriated it with an inscription (15 B) on the *left* shoulder (so that both sphinxes showed his inscription to the spectator on approaching the temple), and Siamen followed his example by adding an inscription of his own by the side of it. It is curious to see how a good piece of old work would exercise an influence on later sculptors, and how the kings whose work is but rude if standing alone, have their names executed with almost the fineness of the earlier styles when the engraver had the early work alongside of his own. Sheshonk I. appropriated the base of this sphinx like the other, and perhaps also the right shoulder, but that part is now destroyed. One paw of this sphinx was taken by Mariette to the Bulak Museum.

There is also a smaller sphinx in red granite, very much weathered, and without any inscription visible. The fore-paws are broken off, and lie beside it, in the temple, near the sandstone shrines. From the work, it seems not improbable that this belongs also to the twelfth dynasty.

12. Turning now to the dark period after the twelfth dynasty, the first monuments that we find are two statues of Sebakhotep III. of the thirteenth dynasty; one in the Louvre, the other still at San (Plan, 102). That in the Louvre is stated by

De Rougé in the Notice Sommaire (1879, p. 37), to be from Tell Basta, or from Thebes; but in the Notice des Monuments (1880, p. 16), to be most probably from San. Considering that it is an exact duplicate of that now at San, and that there is similarly a pair of statues of Mermashau, it seems most likely to have come from here. The inscription on the San statue is the more perfect; and the statue is only broken across the body, but is otherwise in good condition. It shows well the style of that period, both in the thinness and elegance of the figure, and in the hieroglyphs, which have not a flat bottom, but are cut deeper just round the outline. The granite is peculiar in colour, being a brown-pink. These are the only early statues of San which have not been appropriated or marked by any later king.

A granite statue of Mentuhotep, son of Sebakhotep IV., is said by Brugsch Bey to have been found at San (Histoire); and a statue of Sebakhotep VI., unknown before, is said by Mariette to have been found here (Rev. Arch., 1862); these figures were reburied by their discoverer, to preserve them.

13. The next monument is an obelisk of Prince Nehesi (inscr. 19 A; Plan, 198), who is probably connected with the king Nehesi-ra of the Turin papyrus (first on fragment 97, No. 278, Königsb.). This, though partially above ground, has not been noticed or published before, and it is interesting, as giving the name of a district, Ro-ahtu, of which Set is called lord. By the side of this block, on the south side of the sanctuary, is the top of an obelisk, perhaps the same as Nehesi's (Plan, 197), with part of a figure of Khem, and an inscription (19 E); and in the same neighbourhood are three fragments of obelisks of the same style and the same whitish granite (Plan, 208, 217; 19 B, C, D), which may all belong to the obelisk of Nehesi.

Next after this come the pair of seated statues of Mermashau (Plan, 86, 98); these are the largest of the early statues at San, being over 12 feet high, and are executed in black granite

(inscrip. 17 B). What the exact historic position of Mermashau is, does not seem certain. Mariette supposed him to be a Hyksos king, from his name, read by Brugsch as Mer-shos-u, or Chief of the Shos, a name similar to Hak-shos-u, or Hyksos. But the face is not at all like that of the Hyksos figures, and is closely like that of Sebakhotep. If, therefore, this reading had been correct, it would rather seem to refer to his being the suzerain of the Shasu before they conquered Egypt. Lieblein identifies him with the first king of frag. 78 Turin Papyrus (260, Königsb.), solely from the *Masha* there legible, since merely the *ka* is left in the cartouche. This would place him just before Sebakhotep III., but it seems scarcely likely from the style, which is different, and rather inferior. There is another king of the Turin Papyrus to whom this may be referred, Ra smen, the last of frag. 101. On the whole, this latter may be the more likely, from two small considerations: first, Apepi inscribed this alone of all the statues, and hence it may probably be the last statue before his time; and secondly, it is of grey granite, more alike to the Hyksos figures than to any other work at San. On the right shoulder of each of the statues Apepi has inscribed his cartouches and titles: *nuter nofer Ra-ua-a-akh-tawi* (or *abtau* or *qenen*) *si ra Apapa, ta ankh, meri sutekh* (inscr. 17 c) (Pl. xiii. 6). On the side and back of each statue, Ramessu has added his name and titles, copying and modifying the old group of the two Niles with the lotus and papyrus, and introducing also Neshem and Uati; on the lower inscription of the side, we find the name of Sutekh spelled full length.

14. A fragment of the feet of a similar statue is lying in front of the pylon; it has had an inscription, now entirely cut out, by the side of the feet, as is shown by the hollow and by the incompleteness of the bows beneath the feet. A Ramesside inscription appears on the front.

At Bulak there is also a statue of the

thirteenth or fourteenth dynasty, appropriated by Ramessu II., brought by Mariette from San.

An obelisk of a king unknown in the lists, Aa-ark-ra, was found during Mariette's excavations, and carefully re-buried, so that I did not light upon it in clearing the stones this year. A copy of the inscription, as shown in Mon. Div. pl. 103, is given here in inscrip. 20 A, B, C, D. It appears to commemorate the king, and his mother Per....; and the formula, *mennu-f en*, is the same as occurs on the obelisk of Nehesi.

Among the lesser obelisks in the temple are two (Plan, 117, 136) which are palimpsests, Ramessu II. having erased the older inscription, in order to appropriate them. I have copied what figures I could see in slanting sunlight, and from these copies and photographs the inscriptions 21 A and 21 B are here given. The palimpsest can only be traced clearly on just the top of two sides of one obelisk; but there are the signs of erasures in the irregular surfaces of the rest of this and the fellow obelisk. The Ramesside inscription, though of course by far the plainest, is here only outlined, while the older inscription is entered in full as far as it can be traced. There appears to have been a deep hole in the middle of the top of each face of the two obelisks, but it can hardly be the *ra* of a cartouche, as it comes too close to part of a banner name on 21 B; perhaps it was for affixing some metal work. On 21 A there was a group of a king offering to a god; and on 21 B we can see fragments of inscription mentioning Ra, and Tenu, probably from the title of Tum. Once again we must execrate the destructions of the nineteenth dynasty. Seeing that two obelisks have been certainly reworked, we may thus understand how some of the other obelisks of San (Plan, 163, 167, 168), inscribed by Ramessu II., come to have their peculiar shape. They are rounded on the faces of the pyramidion, and their extreme apices have been in separate pieces, fastened on with groove and tongue. Now this device is wholly unnecessary, in order to get a foot or two more length, since

these are all small obelisks, under twenty feet, while there are many other obelisks here all in one piece of forty to fifty feet in length. The explanation seems to be that these are old obelisks, like that of Prince Nehesi, and with designs like the old obelisk (inscrip. 13); and that these, having been damaged, and the points broken, were re-cut by Ramessu II.; adding a new point dovetailed on, rather than cut the whole end down; and curving the pyramidal face in order to swallow some of the side, and so make a triangle large enough for the Ramesside scenes of offerings, which took up more room than the older designs.

Amongst the chaos of blocks in the sanctuary are two very remarkable pieces, apparently parts of two false doors of red granite. The larger door (Plan, 180; inscr. 22) has just a fragment of the edge of the inscription on its centre panel remaining, and from the style of the work and the separation of the *pet* and *tam*, it would seem more likely to belong to the twelfth than to any later dynasty. But the other fragment (Plan, 183; inscr. 23) is more important. It is part of a regular sepulchral false door, and therefore suggests that it belonged to a royal tomb at San; if so, some early kings buried at San have been disinterred, and their sepulchres destroyed. On the defaced drum can be seen traces of the upper and under lines of a cartouche, and two *t*'s, which probably belonged to the regular royal title. Another fragment (Plan, 152; inscr. 24) of the end of an early inscription (the block of which was reversed and used by Ramessu II.) seems as if it had belonged to a very large scene enclosed in the *pet* and *tam*.

15. A pair of sphinxes may be here described, the original age of which is somewhat uncertain. One is now in the Louvre, the central object in the gallery, at the end next to the staircase; and the other is in the garden of the Bulak Museum, with a plaster imitation facing it. These sphinxes have the hair dressed in quite a different way to that on the great pair of sphinxes of the twelfth,

or the smaller sphinxes of the Hyksos dynasty. Instead of a close mass of short locks, it is represented by parallel lines, running in curves, like the sea-shading round the coast in maps; and there is a long pointed and curved lap of hair on the shoulders. These are certainly older than Ramessu II., since his name is over an erasure; and De Rougé compares the style of that in the Louvre to the statue of Sebakhoteb III. They are very different from the larger sphinxes, both originally, and in their later history; and the pointed lock of hair is like that on a sphinx which I discovered last year at Tell Khatanah. It is, however, remarkable that there is no Hyksos inscription erased from the shoulder, no Hyksos inscription on the base, and the chest inscription (which is erased) has not had a large hawk over it, as on the great sphinx. Ramessu II. appropriated these sphinxes by cutting his names over the erasure on the chest (25 c), but the erasure is not deep, and hence the original inscription must have been but lightly cut. He also put his names and a long inscription around the base (25 A, 25 B), in which he is said to be "like his father Ptah," and "beloved of Set." Afterwards Merenptah placed his names on the right shoulder (25 D). These inscriptions are from the Louvre sphinx. This closes the pre-Hyksos monuments known to belong to San.

16. The monuments of the Hyksos are among the most curious in Egypt; and it is to San that we owe the greater number of those brought to light. They are all distinguished by an entirely different type of face to any that can be found on other Egyptian monuments, a type which cannot be attributed to any other known period; and it is therefore all the more certain that they belong to the foreign race whose names they bear. Another peculiarity is that they are without exception executed in black or dark grey granite; no monument of this type is known in other material. Such cannot be said of any other epoch, and this alone may serve as a useful test of the originality of any supposed Hyksos monu-