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BY NILE AND TIGRIS

VOLUME I.

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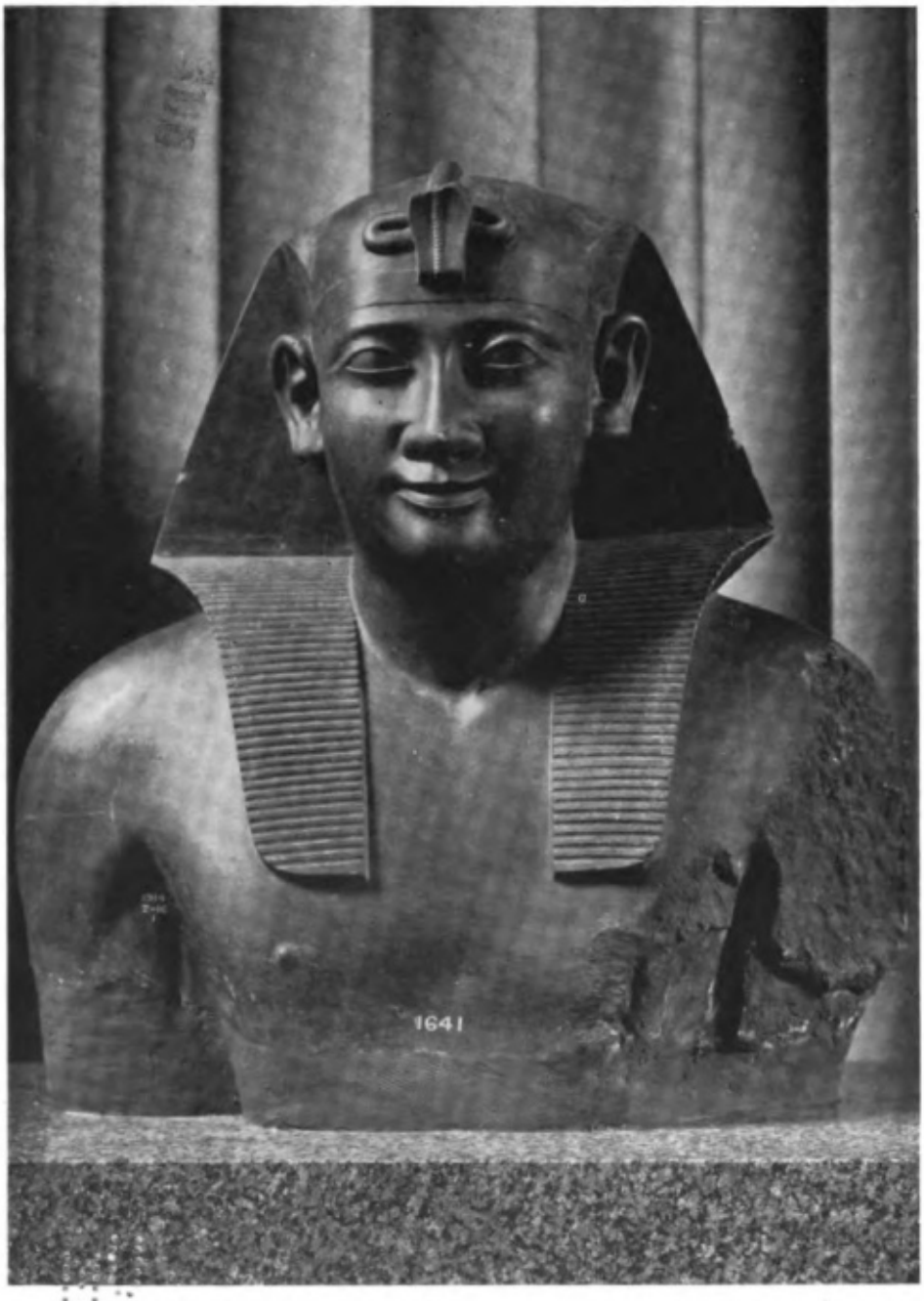
Frontispiece, vol. i.



Head of a black basalt portrait statue of Ptolemy XIII (?).
Brit. Mus., No. 1641.

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BY NILE AND TIGRIS

A NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM BETWEEN THE YEARS 1886 AND 1913.

By SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt.,

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KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOLUME I.

With numerous Illustrations.

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PREFACE.

IN 1907 I published a work entitled "The Egyptian Sûdân," in which I gave some account of the history of that country in ancient and modern times, and a description of the excavations which I had made on the pyramid-fields of Napata and the Island of Meroë, during the years 1899–1905, for the Trustees of the British Museum. After the publication of that work, I decided to put on record, when circumstances should permit, a narrative of my three Missions to Mesopotamia in 1887, 1888 and 1890, and of my many Missions to Egypt to excavate and to acquire antiquities for the Trustees of the British Museum, and the present volume is the result of this decision. At the suggestion of friends I have prefaced my narrative by some notes on the influences and circumstances which led me to study the ancient languages of Western Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and determined the work of my life in the Department of Oriental Antiquities,[1] in the British Museum.

In the present volume, as in my work on the Egyptian Sûdân, the narrative is based on series of letters written to my wife. With one exception, these letters all reached home, thanks to the arrangements that I made personally with the Tattarîyîn, or Turkish postal couriers; and my note-books furnish the main facts in the period covered by the missing letter.

In the course of my narrative, I have often given the names of people who have helped me in my work abroad. But there are many others whom I have not named,

[1] The title of the Department was changed by the Trustees in 1886 to "Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities."

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both Europeans and natives, who also helped me there; and to them all I offer my thanks. Furthermore, my grateful thanks are due to three devoted friends who read the proof-sheets of this book, and, though in their criticisms of it they dealt very faithfully with me, its completion is largely due to their encouragement and sympathy.

With regard to the illustrations, I beg to offer my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting me to photograph some of the objects that I acquired for them in these journeys; and to my colleague, Mr. Idris Bell, for selecting the most suitable passages in the Greek papyri. I would also thank my old friend, Mr. A. B. Holland, for placing at my disposal a number of photographs that he took on the Tigris, Euphrates and Kârûn, on which rivers his official position gave him unrivalled opportunities; and likewise Captain the Rev. H. R. Cooke, M.C., Vicar of Princetown, for photographs of Môṣul and Sâmarrâ.

Whilst writing the description of the "Arch" of Ctesiphon I asked Mr. Holland to make enquiries in Baghdâd with the view of finding out when the side of it which is wanting collapsed, and the reason for its collapse. In a letter recently received from him he tells me that a friend of his in Baghdâd has found in a diary kept by the late Mr. Svoboda of that city, a statement to the effect that one half of the "Arch" of Ctesiphon fell down in the spring of 1887. The Tigris rose in that year to a very great height, and its waters spread in all directions for miles, and flooded the site of the "Arch," causing one side of it to collapse.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

January 2nd, 1920.

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PROLEGOMENA (EARLY STUDIES)

1865–1883.

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PROLEGOMENA.

(EARLY STUDIES.)

LOVE for the East and for the things of the East was born in me, and this is not surprising seeing that several generations of my forbears served the Honourable East India Company in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and at Al-Baṣrah (Busra) on the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab, and at various ports in the Persian Gulf. My earliest recollections are associated with figures of Indian gods, sandal wood and red lacquer boxes, inlaid stands, curious plaques inlaid with mother-of-pearl and coloured woods, carved brass vessels of weird shapes, strange objects from China, Japan, and Java, which filled me with wonder, and bundles of strips of inscribed palm leaves, which I was told were books. These last were a perpetual marvel to me, and even in those days I was fascinated by the strange-looking characters, and longed for someone to explain them to me, and help me to read and understand them.

In 1865 I was sent to school, and we were worked hard, for the masters spared neither themselves nor us. We began work at six in the morning, winter and summer, and the periods allowed for games and recreation were not so generous as those which schoolboys enjoy at the present time. The head master, who was a kinsman of mine, believed that it was good for boys to read books on any subject unconnected with their lessons when the tasks for the day were satisfactorily disposed of, and to a few of the older boys he practically gave the run of his own private library. This library he inherited from one of my Quaker forbears, who had been an eager but non-productive student of the Languages and Literatures of Semitic peoples, and it contained many hundreds of volumes, all connected with the subjects of his special study. The Greek, Latin, French and Italian classics,

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standard annotated editions of the works of ancient authors, etc., were kept in another of the school houses for general use. I looked for books which would tell me about India and China, and the things from these countries which I had been accustomed to see, but I looked in vain. More than one half of the books in the library were devoted to systems of religion invented by European theologians, whose views were of a very rigid and uncompromising character. Besides these there was a whole row of old hymn books,[1] chiefly of the eighteenth century, and scores of volumes and pamphlets explaining and commenting on the views and tenets of the Quakers, Muggletonians, Sandemanians, Glassites, Wesleyans, Swedenborgians, Calvinists, Scotch Covenanters, Welsh Evangelists, Baptists of many kinds, Plymouth Brethren, etc. Among the Oriental books were the famous Lexicons of Golius and Freytag (Arabic), Castell and Schaff (Syriac), Buxtorf and Gesenius (Hebrew), and Ludolf (Ethiopic), many printed editions of Semitic versions of the Old and New Testaments, Buxtorf's Treatise on the Hebrew Vowel Points, the Polyglot of Walton, a Latin translation of the Ḳur'ân, and a number of elementary books and grammars by writers whose names are now rarely mentioned.

Every boy who had the run of this library was

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[1] The books which treated of theology and systems of salvation I found dull, and a few of them were terrifying, but there was much in the hymn books which interested and amused me, and many verses of them I committed to memory. Thus Mr. John Peat, in singing of the end of the world, says:—

"The bishops will then lodge with devils and swine
Instead of a silk gown to clothe the false rubbish,
Or bottle of claret to please his proud heart,
Or fine high-cocked mitre to make him look bobbish,
The waters of death will new torments impart."

Of Eve Mr. J. Miller wrote:—

"Before she did a being come
She was by God designed,
A net to catch the Devil in,
And propagate mankind."

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expected to choose a subject, and to study it systematically, and once a week the head master asked him questions about his reading, with the view of finding out if the books were being used by him to the best advantage. As I wanted to learn all I could about the wars of the kings of Israel and Judah, and as the idea of being able to read the Books of Samuel and the Books of the Kings in the original attracted me greatly, I determined to learn Hebrew. The head master consulted Mr. Charles W. Seager,[1] the distinguished translator of the Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of Simonis, at that time a famous work, and by his advice I was allowed to work regularly at Wolff's Hebrew Grammar, and at some of the easier passages in the Hebrew text of the Five Books of Moses. After I had worked at Hebrew for a couple of years, Mr. Seager added Syriac to my studies, and under his guidance I read the Four Gospels in the Pĕshîṭṭâ Version, as edited by Dr. Lee for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was a firm believer in the value of the study of Semitic languages educationally as well as theologically, and every one who was brought into close contact with him caught some of the fire of his enthusiasm, and worked willingly for him, and strove to win his approval.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Seager devoted much time and attention to the cuneiform inscriptions, which the translations of George Smith had helped to bring prominently before the learned public.

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[1] He was an Oxford man, and lectured on Hebrew and other Semitic dialects under Dr. Pusey. He went over to Rome, and in 1874 Monsignor Capel (died 1911) appointed him to the chair of Hebrew and Comparative Philology in the College of Higher Studies at Kensington, which was intended to be the nucleus of a Roman Catholic University. From 1869–1877 he was one of the ablest and most trusted advisers of Dr. Samuel Birch on the affairs of the Society of Biblical Archæology. I continued to work under him for several years, and visited him at his house on Brook Green weekly for the purpose. I received my last lessons from him during the summer of the year in which he died (1878). I found in him a kind, helpful, and judicious friend. He made no attempt to modify or change my religious views, as he believed me to be "invincibly ignorant."

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In the study of these he saw great educational advantages, but he was convinced that no student had any prospect of mastering their contents unless he was equipped with a good working knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and Syriac. By his advice I obtained in 1871 Smith's "Phonetic Values of Cuneiform Characters"[1] and his "Annals of Ashur-bani-pal," and began to copy out the cuneiform characters, and to learn their values. In December, 1872, Smith read before the Society of Biblical Archæology his translation of the "Chaldean Account of the Deluge," three fragmentary copies of which existed in the British Museum. The value of the contents of several of the larger fragments had been recognized by Rawlinson and Oppert[2] some years previously, but Smith was the first to arrange the fragments in their proper order, and to give a connected rendering of the legend in English. The paper was read in the very large room at 9, Conduit Street, which was usually employed for exhibitions of pictures. The portion of the room set apart for the general public was crowded, and the platform was packed with scholars, theologians, archæologists, and politicians, including Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. Childers, and the audience listened breathlessly whilst Smith, with characteristic modesty, described the Legend of the Sumerian Noah. The discussion which followed was worthy of the paper, and was most unusually interesting.[3]

The immediate result of Smith's paper, which marks

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[1] This list contained all cuneiform signs of which the values had been deduced by Hincks, and all the signs in the list which Sir Henry Rawlinson had compiled for his own private use, and the additions made to it by Smith himself.

[2] See *The Times*, December 8th, 1872, where Rawlinson is reported to have said that 12 or 15 years ago (*i.e.*, between 1857 and 1860) he had just escaped discovering the bit of the tablet which actually mentioned the Flood.

[3] Sir Henry Rawlinson presided, and among those on the platform were Dean and Lady Augusta Stanley, Mr. Giffard, Q.C. (the present Lord Halsbury), J. M. Rodwell, Samuel Birch, and Emmanuel Deutsch. *The Times* remarks (December 14th, 1872, p. 7) "The meeting concluded at a late hour."

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an epoch in the annals of Assyriology, was a rush to the British Museum by the public to see the baked clay tablets from Nineveh, from which the Legend had been recovered. Among those who went was Mr. Seager, and he took me with him. He called upon Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, and introduced me to him, and whilst Mr. Seager told him of the attempts I had made to learn the cuneiform characters, he listened with much interest. As we were leaving he told me that I might come to him there in that room during official hours, whenever I could find time to do so, and that he would lend me books which would help me, as I was too young to be admitted to the reading-room. I lost no time in claiming his promised help, and I soon became a regular visitor to the little room, which was entered through a door at the south-west corner of the Nineveh Gallery, and was guarded by Dr. Birch's stern-looking but benevolent attendant, Mr. Slaughter. This room no longer exists, the building of the Mausoleum Room making its removal necessary.

When Dr. Birch found that I was availing myself of the privilege of reading in his room to the best of my ability, he began to select works from the library of his department for me to read, and when necessary he had books brought from the Department of Printed Books for my use. In this way I became familiar with the works of Rich, Kinneir, Buckingham, Ker Porter, Welsted, Chesney, Layard, Loftus, and other authorities on Mesopotamian travel and discovery. All these works I was obliged to read in the Museum, for they could not be removed from the building, and I found it difficult to obtain the books I needed for work at home. In the summer of 1873 I was introduced by W. R. Cooper,[1] Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology,

[1] This remarkable man was "discovered" by Mr. J. Bonomi, Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who found him when still a boy earning his living by designing patterns for carpets. Being greatly impressed by some of his Egyptian designs, Bonomi advised him to devote himself to Egyptological work, and helped him to obtain it. He studied the writings of Birch, Chabas,

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to W. S. W. Vaux,[1] Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, who allowed me to borrow many books from the Library of the Society, and take them home to read.

In the autumn of the same year I was introduced by Dr. Birch to George Smith,[2] soon after his return from

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de Rougé, and other Egyptologists with success, and he wrote a number of papers and pamphlets, "Egyptian Obelisks," the "Serpent Myths of Egypt," etc. His zeal, enthusiasm, tireless activity, and tact enabled him to draw a great many scholars together, and induced them to devote their energies to a common object. Though neither an Egyptologist nor Assyriologist, he succeeded in founding the two series of books, "Records of the Past," and the "Archaic Classics," and in establishing the "Archaic Classes," and in filling the "Transactions" of the Society of Biblical Archæology with valuable papers. He was tall in stature, but his stoop made him to appear of medium height; he had finely cut features and a large aquiline nose. He was nicknamed "the Etruscan" because his features resembled those of the male figure on an Etruscan Sarcophagus* in the British Museum. His zeal and activity consumed his frail body, and an attack of phthisis compelled him to retire to Ventnor in 1876, where he died two years later at the early age of 35.

[1] Born February 28th, 1818, died June 21st, 1885. He entered the Museum in 1841, and was Keeper of Coins and Medals from 1861 till 1870. He was President of the Numismatic Society from 1855 till 1874, and Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1875 till his death. His works, "Nineveh and Persepolis," which went through several editions, and "Persia," did much to popularize the study of Oriental Archæology in England. I visited him frequently at his house, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and saw there Rawlinson's original copy of the texts of the Behistûn Inscriptions. He showed me great kindness, and lent me the volumes of Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions."

[2] He was at that time Dr. Birch's assistant. I remember that he was a man of medium height, shy and nervous. He was thoroughly tired out, and had found travelling through the desert to Nineveh very exhausting. He had a broad, high forehead, and keen eyes set rather close together, and he wore a short beard. His hands were small, and his fingers were long and had curiously pointed tips. The staff of the Museum generally saw very little of him, and he passed his days in his little room on the south-west staircase in sorting tablets and in copying texts, which he took home to work out. A fairly good portrait of him appeared in the *Christian Herald* for November 17th, 1876 (No. 46), and a memoir, by Mr. Turpin, of the British Museum, and a summary of his work accompanied it.

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* B. 609, published by A. S. Murray, *Greek and Etruscan Terracotta Sarcophagi in the British Museum*. London, 1898, fol. plates IX–XL.

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his First Mission to Assyria. He was describing his work among the ruins of Ḳuyûnjiḳ (Nineveh), and its difficulties, with an air almost of apology, although the results which he obtained proved that his Mission had been a splendid success. His portion of modesty was so great that I have since thought that he left very little of that quality for the use of later Assyriologists who have built upon his foundations. He was kind to me, and was interested to hear that I had worked at his "Sign-List" and "Ashur-bani-pal," and he promised to give me a list of the errata in his "Phonetic Values," and of the signs which must be added to the work. He told me that there was only one way of learning cuneiform characters, and that was by copying a piece of text each day, and by trying to transliterate the signs in it. He cared for Assyrian texts and for very little else. I remember feeling that he seemed to think that the time I had spent in reading books of Mesopotamian travel was so much time wasted, and that he took very little interest in the early literature of Assyriology. He possessed some knowledge of Hebrew, and was able to use the Hebrew-English Lexicon, edited by Tregelles, with great advantage, but he attached little importance to the other Semitic dialects for his special line of study, and he made no attempt to learn Syriac or Arabic. The works of Grotefend and Lassen were sealed books to him, for he could not read either German or Latin.

Before leaving the room he suggested that Dr. Birch should let me have from the cases in the Gallery some of the fragments of the historical texts that he had published in his "History of Ashur-bani-pal," and that I should copy them, and collate my copies with his printed text in order to correct my mistakes. This suggestion was readily agreed to, and fragments of tablets were given out to me to copy in Dr. Birch's room whenever I could find time to go to the Museum. Soon after my conversation with Smith he left England on his Second Mission to Assyria, and was absent for several months. On his return he brought back a mass of valuable new material, and many fragments of tablets, which he succeeded in

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rejoining to their counterparts, some of which had been obtained by himself on his former Mission, and some by Layard. His time was very fully occupied, and I saw little of him. I continued to work on the lines which he suggested, and was helped from time to time by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then actively engaged at the Museum in revising the plates of the fourth volume of his great corpus of texts, the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." He gave me a set of plates of this volume, and a copy of the first volume, which contained a mass of historical texts, and he lent me his working copy of cuneiform characters, which he had compiled for the use of Mr. Bowler, the lithographer. On several occasions he tested my progress by asking me to read to him portions of the "Standard" Inscription of Ashur-naṣir-pal from the bas-reliefs in the Nimrûd Gallery.

In 1874 the Oriental Congress met in London, and Dr. Birch was unanimously elected President. I had the good fortune to see and to talk with many of the distinguished Orientalists from the Continent who visited Dr. Birch at this time, and from their conversations with him I learned a great deal about Oriental matters. I also made the acquaintance of Mr. Basil Cooper,[1] a writer on *The Times*, and he introduced me to Mr. William Simpson,[2] the famous artist, for some of whose Oriental

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[1] He was deputed by the Editor of *The Times* to report the meetings of the Oriental Congress, and his abstracts of papers and his summaries of discussions were said to be admirable, both as regards substance and form. He took a keen personal interest in the discoveries which were made in the early "seventies" by Assyriologists and Egyptologists, and it was well said of him that he made the "dry bones" of Egypt and Assyria to live. It was also said that his well-written and informing articles contributed greatly to the success of the Congress.

[2] This remarkable man was born in 1823 and died in 1889. He is famous as the first war artist, and was with the British Army from 1854 to the end of the Crimean War. He went to Abyssinia with Lord Napier of Magdalâ in 1866, and was a prisoner with Marshal Bazaine in Metz; he is said to have witnessed the surrender of Napoleon III. He sketched the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem, and collected on the spot a great deal of important informa-

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sketches I supplied the facts which he worked up into his "descriptive notes." At one of the meetings of the Hamitic Section of the Congress a resolution was passed declaring that the time had come when arrangements ought to be made whereby instruction could be given to students of Egyptology and Oriental Archæology generally. The task of giving effect to this resolution was committed to Mr. W. R. Cooper (see page 7), who threw himself heart and soul into the work. Mr. Wyatt Papworth, the distinguished architect, placed a room in his house in Bloomsbury Street[1] at his disposal, and Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the banker,[2] undertook to be responsible for the necessary expenses during the first

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tion about the Tomb of our Lord, which he published in his paper on Jerusalem in the "Transactions" of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He also sketched Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Troy for the *Illustrated London News*. He travelled in many parts of the world, and the intercourse which he enjoyed with men of all climes and creeds made him tolerant and broad-minded. He always sank his personal interest in that of his work. His common sense enabled him to intervene successfully at the meetings of learned societies when discussion became acrimonious, and his sense of humour saved many a tense situation. It was well said of him that "Wherever he goes he takes fresh air with him, and helps you to breathe better." His autobiography, edited by G. Eyre Todd (London, 1903, 8vo), is a most interesting account of the doings and travels of a man who worked hard and lived hard, who accepted success and failure with equanimity, who was a sympathetic and delightful friend, and who kept his belief in God and his friends to the very end.

[1] A large hotel now occupies the site of the greater part of the block of buildings in which this house stood.

[2] He devoted the last thirty years of his life to the study of the chronological problems of the Bible. He recognized the importance of Assyriology for the subject of his special study, and he was the generous patron of all those who worked at it. His munificence secured the publication of Smith's Histories of Ashur-bani-pal and Sennacherib, and he provided funds to found the Society of Biblical Archæology. He defrayed the cost of printing his own papers in the "Transactions" of the Society, and of those of other scholars who were working on subjects which were connected with ancient history and chronology, *e.g.*, the paper on the Egibi tablets, by W. St. Chad Boscawen. His works on Bible chronology and his "Messiah the Prince, or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel" (London, 1867), created great general interest.

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two or three years. Courses of lectures were given by Dr. Birch on the Turin Papyrus of the "Book of the Dead," and on the "Tale of the Two Brothers"; by Professor E. Naville on the recently discovered tombs of the XIIth dynasty at Beni Ḥasan and the texts found in them, and by the Rev. A. H. Sayce on Assyrian historical inscriptions. The lecturer wrote on a blackboard the text which he was going to discuss and translate, and each student took away a printed paper containing questions which were to be answered in writing, and handed to the lecturer at his next lecture. The papers contained short passages printed in hieroglyphic and cuneiform types, and the student was required to translate or at least transliterate as many as possible. Among those who attended these classes were Mr. Walter Morrison, Solomon Drach,[1] the Rev. D. J. Dunbar Heath,[2] Canon Beechy, Dr. Löwy, W. St. Chad Boscawen, Mr. Hay, and Miss Clendinning.

The "Archaic Classes" were a success as long as the lecturers gave their services, and Mr. Bosanquet paid the expenses of printing the exercise sheets in Egyptian and Assyrian, and Mr. Papworth provided the room for the lectures. But as soon as the attempt was made to put them on a business base they became a failure. This was due to two causes: (1) lack of students, (2) lack of

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[1] He was a great Hebrew scholar, and a man with a very interesting personality and of varied attainments. He was a poet, and made excellent rhymed translations of passages from the Bible. He wrote on the "Statistics of Marriage in England" (London, 1859), on the "Circle-arc and Heptagon-chord," "An Easy General Rule for Filling Up Magic Squares," "Hebrew Almanack-signs," "Observations on the Base-length of the Great Pyramid," "Pyramid Casing Stones," etc.

[2] He wrote on the Exodus Papyri (London, 1855), and edited some "Phœnician Inscriptions" (Pt. I, London, 1873). He described one day at great length a difficulty which he had had with Bishop Sumner of Winchester. In 1859 he preached a series of sermons in which, *inter alia*, he laid it down that notwithstanding the almighty power of God, He was unable to restore the sinner to the state in which he was before he sinned. A suit was instituted against him, and he was deprived of his living at Brading, Isle of Wight. His "Proverbs of Aphobis, B.C. 1900, now first translated from the Egyptian" (printed at Ryde), created some interest, and the pamphlet is now rare.

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elementary handbooks. The students who joined the classes during the second year found that they could not keep pace with those of the first year, for the lecturers had not time to repeat their lectures of the first year and to prepare new ones for the students of the second year. In these days, when there are so many elementary handbooks on the Egyptian and Assyrian languages and archæology, it is well-nigh impossible to realize that in England, in 1875, no such books existed. The volumes of cuneiform texts, and the facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri, which were issued without hieroglyphic transcripts, were costly, unwieldy, and unsuitable for the use of beginners. The few books which had been published by private benefactors, *e.g.*, Norris's "Assyrian Dictionary"[1] and Smith's "History of Ashur-bani-pal,"

[1] Edwin Norris I saw only once, in 1872, when he was an old man. He was a great Cornish scholar and an expert on African languages, but his greatest work is his edition of the Scythic version of the Behistûn Inscription, which he published with a translation and analysis in 1855. The general accuracy of his work remains unchallenged to this day. His insight into the language was so great that nearly all the emendations of the text of Rawlinson's first copy of the Persian version, which he suggested to him by letter, when verified on the Rock of Behistûn, were found to be the true readings. [Rawlinson was Consul-General of Baghdâd at the time, and Norris had undertaken to see his "Memoir" through the press.] He copied many of the texts in the first two volumes of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," and his work on the syllabaries and grammatical tablets forms the foundation upon which many have built. His "Assyrian Dictionary" remains unfinished, but the three volumes which appeared between 1868 and 1870 are a fine monument of his power of work and linguistic skill. For many years it was the only book which was of real help to the beginner. The labour spent in its compilation was enormous, and his knowledge of unpublished texts exhibited in it is wonderful. Its appearance silenced once and for all the voice of learned scoffers at the system of Assyrian decipherment as laid down by Rawlinson, Hincks and others. Norris was a simple-minded, quiet and unassuming man, with all the shyness and modesty of the laborious scholar; his merits have not been sufficiently recognized, and the work which he put into other men's books has not been adequately acknowledged. He lived long enough to see Smith's translation of the "Deluge Tablet" in type, and to rejoice in the success of this able decipherer of cuneiform texts, who had worked for four years under his advice and direction.

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were out of print, and copies of these works sold at a high premium. The fifth volume of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," which contained Dr. Birch's "Hieroglyphic Dictionary,"[1] could only be obtained at the cost of several pounds, and I was obliged, when attending the Egyptian classes, to copy out the whole Dictionary on sheets of tracing paper. Dr. Birch, and other scholars who lectured to the students of the "Archaic Classes," made a gallant attempt to supply them with elementary handbooks, and induced Mr. R. Bagster, the Director of the famous old Bible-house in Paternoster Row, to publish a series of works called the "Archaic Classics." Dr. Birch edited a volume of Egyptian texts, with transliterations and translations, Mr. Renouf wrote an Egyptian Grammar, Professor A. H. Sayce wrote an Assyrian Grammar and a volume of lectures, and I edited a little book of extracts from historical Assyrian texts. All the authors and editors of the above-mentioned books received no payment for

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[1] This Dictionary was printed in the fine, solid, Egyptian hieroglyphic type, which was specially designed by J. Bonomi (born 1796, died 1878), Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum. Bonomi lived in Egypt for many years, and made the copies of the texts which were printed in Burton's "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," and the drawings for Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians"; and Lepsius, when collecting material for the "Denkmaeler," availed himself of his services in the preparation of many plates. He was not an Egyptologist, but he was undoubtedly a most accurate copyist. His drawings possessed the style and spirit of the originals, and those which he coloured were remarkable for their delicacy and beauty. He painted the casts in the British Museum which were made by him for Hay from the walls of the temples of Bêt al-Walî and Abû Zibbîl (Abû Simbel) in Nubia, and as most of the colours have now disappeared from the originals these casts are of special value. His copy of the texts and vignettes on the alabaster sarcophagus in the Soane Museum, which he published under the name of the "Sarcophagus of Oimenephtah," is still valuable. There is scarcely a book or paper on Egypt which was published between 1830 and 1860 which is not adorned by his drawings or facsimiles of texts. He was a great friend of Edward Lane, and illustrated many of his popular works. His stories of Oriental life and character were delightfully told, and were as much appreciated by Orientals as by Europeans.

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their work. Professor Sayce devoted much time and attention to his students, and he was so kind as to revise and correct the exercises and attempts at translation which he encouraged me to make, and returned them to me by post. In this way I copied out and translated the whole of the inscriptions of Ashur-naṣir-pal, Shalmaneser II, Esarhaddon, etc.

Meanwhile I continued to read Hebrew and Syriac regularly with Mr. Seager at his house on Brook Green, and in the summer of 1877 he began to discuss with other friends of mine the possibility of obtaining for me some appointment in which I could make use of the knowledge of Semitic Languages which I possessed, and also add to it. When Mr. W. E. Gladstone was consulted he wrote to friends at Cambridge about the matter. In reply they told him that every one who intended to make the study of the cuneiform inscriptions the work of his life should be equipped with a good working knowledge at least of all the Semitic Languages, and of Comparative Semitic Philology. They further pointed out to him that the University had recently established the Semitic Languages Tripos, and said that they would welcome students who would take their degrees in it. Mr. Gladstone then asked Mr. Seager if a degree could be obtained in Semitic Languages at Oxford, and when he was told that no Semitic Languages School was in existence at Oxford, he consulted Dr. Birch and Dr. William Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, about the matter. Dr. Birch's view agreed with that of Mr. Seager, but Professor Wright, though sharing their view, said with characteristic vigour and conciseness, "The man who takes up the study of Semitic Languages with the idea of making a living by them in England is a fool. Assyriology has, undoubtedly, a future, but nowhere in England can a man make a living by it except in the British Museum."

This discouraging opinion of the low commercial value of a knowledge of the ancient Semitic Languages by the greatest master of them then living in England in no way altered Mr. Gladstone's views as to their

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importance for the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. He proposed that I should continue to work on the lines which I have already described for another year at least, and then go to Cambridge and take a degree in Semitic Languages.

About this time (1877) things happened which proved that, although a knowledge of Semitic Languages in general might be useless as a means of earning a living, there was some money to be made out of a knowledge of Assyrian. Through the recommendations of friends, and especially of Dr. Birch, the editors of various papers commissioned me to write short articles and notes on books and antiquarian matters, and although the payment was small the experience was of great value, and I felt that it was good to be doing work which was wanted. Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen had published a very valuable paper on certain contract tablets recording the commercial transactions of a great Babylonian firm of merchants and bankers, which flourished in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II under the direction of one Egibi. It was expected that important information concerning the Book of Daniel might be derived from these tablets, which Smith had acquired in 1876 for the British Museum, and in consequence Mr. J. W. Bosanquet (see p. 11) employed me to copy a considerable number of the tablets which Mr. Boscawen left unpublished, and paid me for my copies. Further, I was employed to translate into English the valuable paper[1] by the eminent French scholar, F. Lenormant, "Les Noms de l'Airain et du Cuivre, dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie." Mr. N. Trübner, who was actively engaged in publishing his now famous "Oriental Series," wished to include in it volumes of Assyrian Texts, and he asked me to prepare an edition, with text and translation, of the historical inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, and I began to copy the texts without delay.

Always at the back of such offers of work, sooner or

[1] See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VI, 334–417.

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later, I discovered the hand of Dr. Birch, or of friends prompted by him; and not only did he recommend me for work, but he took care to see that I did it. He was generous in his help, and his friendly criticism was a thing to be thankful for. I have already said that I was born with the love of the East and of the things of the East in me, but it was Dr. Birch who shaped the course of that love, and who made it express itself in practical work. He gave me free access to his room, and showed me how to make the best use of it. He allowed me to handle and copy cuneiform tablets, he advised and directed and criticized my endeavours, and both by word and example he taught me not only how to find and to use my materials, but how to aim at becoming a productive worker. More than this, when reading or copying in his room I learned to know personally nearly all the great Oriental archæologists of the day, and nearly all the little band of scholars who were the contemporaries of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Birch, and who had successfully deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the cuneiform inscriptions. To sit and listen to such experts discussing their difficulties together, and comparing their facts and theories, was in itself an education in archæology to a beginner like myself. Students of all kinds flocked to Dr. Birch, partly because of his great and varied knowledge, partly because of his caution and the soundness of his judgment and the practical nature of his advice and suggestions, and partly because of his official position. He had seen the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs begun by Young, and developed and completed by Champollion,[1] and had worked out many important

[1] I have been sharply criticized for coupling the name of Young with that of Champollion in connection with the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs, and accused of attempting to belittle the splendid work of that eminent Frenchman. In answer to my critics I would say that I spent several months in studying the whole literature on Egyptian decipherment, and read and made notes on every book and paper in the British Museum which could throw any light on the

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details of it; and he had seen the suggestions of Grotefend[1] and others tested by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Norris (see p. 13), and the publication of complete translations of the cuneiform inscriptions on the Rock of Behistûn,[2] and on the historical cylinders from Nineveh

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subject. The result of my studies I published in the first volume of my "Decrees of Memphis and Canopus" (London, 1904), together with extracts from some apparently forgotten "Correspondence relative to the Rosetta Inscription," which appeared in Museum Criticum, No. VI, and was reprinted, with additions, by Leitch, in the third volume of his edition of the "Works of Young" (London, 1855, p. 16 ff.). To Champollion belongs the glory of working out a nearly complete Egyptian alphabet, and his knowledge of Coptic, and his philological insight generally, and his marvellous power of work, enabled him to publish hieroglyphic texts and a Grammar, which are the foundations of all modern interpretation. His "Notices Descriptives" (*Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1844 ff.) contains translations of difficult texts which may be consulted even at the present time with advantage. Considering the time when he made them their general accuracy is truly wonderful.

[1] Born 1775, died 1853. The first good copies of cuneiform texts were published by Niebuhr in his "Reisebeschriebung." These were examined by Olaus Gerhard Tychsen (born 1734, died 1815), the famous Orientalist of Rostock, who all but proved that the Persian cuneiform characters were alphabetic. Grotefend was convinced that this view was correct, and worked out an alphabet containing about forty consonants and vowels, and identified three forms of cuneiform writing in the Behistûn inscriptions, and proved that they were to be read from left to right; he further assigned them to the period of the Achæmenidæ, and identified conjecturally the name of Darius. Many of his views were proved to be correct by E. Burnouf (born 1801, died 1852), and by C. Lassen (born 1800, died 1876), who in his "Die alt persischen Keilinschriften von Persepolis" practically completed the system of decipherment laid down by Grotefend and Burnouf. Rawlinson's great merit rests on the fact that he arrived at the same conclusions as these scholars without the help of books and when he was living in Persia and performing his ardous official duties; and he was the first to publish a complete translation of the inscriptions on the Rock of Behistûn.

[2] The Bahistûnu بَهِسْتُون of Yâḳût (I, p. 269) and ὄρος Βαγίστανον of Diodorus II, 13. It lies about 22 miles east of Kîrmanshâh in the province of Persian 'Irâḳ. The sculptures of Darius and his inscriptions were fully treated by Rawlinson in the tenth volume of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," and a very interesting

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and Babylon. His position was unique, and his authority unquestioned, because he was the only servant of the Trustees of the British Museum who was intimately acquainted with the results of the excavations made by French and English explorers in Western Asia and Egypt,[1] and because he had charge of the Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, and had practical knowledge of them. I have summarized elsewhere[2] the principal steps of his literary career, and published a list of his works, and many have written appreciations

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description of Rawlinson's work at the Rock is given by Felix Jones (in No. XLIII—New Series of "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government" (Bombay, 1857), compiled and edited by R. Hughes Thomas). He says in his notes for September 4th, 1844 (p. 176), "The afternoon of this day was devoted to cleaning the sculptures and inscriptions preparatory to Major Rawlinson's revising his former labours. The ladders had been carefully fixed, and the requisite ropes for assisting the ascent up the steep face of the lower portion of the scarp properly adjusted beforehand. In about a quarter of an hour, not without sundry scratches and bruises, the platform at the base of the tablet was gained, and operations commenced accordingly. From this time, until the 11th of the month, we remained in this vicinity. The Major constantly and indefatigably employed himself, from daylight to dark, revising, restoring, and adding to his former materials. This was a work of great irksomeness and labour in the confined space he was compelled to stand in, with his body in close proximity to the heated rock, and under a broiling September sun." Rawlinson first ascended the Rock in 1835, and during the two following years he continued to make ascents, and succeeded in copying the first column of the Persian text. In 1844 he copied the remaining columns, and also the Scythic version, and in 1847, with the help of a native, who scaled the Rock and made a paper squeeze of the Babylonian version, he was able to put revised copies of all these versions before the learned world. According to the trigonometrical measurements made by Rawlinson, the height of the Rock above the plain is 3,807 feet. A sketch of the Rock, made from a photograph, is given by Williams Jackson in "Persia, Past and Present" (London, 1906, p. 176).

[1] Viz., Salt, Belzoni, Wilkinson, Arundale, Bonomi, Hay, Burton, Harris, Rich, Ker Porter, Buckingham, Botta, Place, Layard, Rawlinson, Taylor, Oppert, etc.

[2] In the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ix (1893), p. 143. See also "Dict. Nat. Biog.," vol. xxii, pp. 199–202.

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