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THE TWELVE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS IN ROME;

THEIR HISTORY EXPLAINED BY

TRANSLATIONS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS UPON THEM.

EDITED BY

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

HON. M.A. OXON., F.S.A. LOND.;
KEEPER OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, ETC.

SECOND EDITION,

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF ROME.

BY

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.
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AND OF VARIOUS ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES, ENGLISH AND FOREIGN.

PART IV.
THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

SECOND EDITION,
CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

OXFORD:
JAMES PARKER AND CO.
LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.
1879.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In this Second Edition English translations in full of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics on the more important of the Obelisks are added; the substance of these only was given in the first instance, as that was all that seemed necessary at the time. Now that so much more attention has been called to the subject, it seems expedient to add more details.

The translations of those previously published have now been corrected by Dr. Birch, and a new translation of the hieroglyphic inscription on the one made in Egypt for the Emperor Hadrian has been also made by Dr. Birch expressly for this work. He has also at the last moment sent me an impression from an Egyptian Scarabæus, with a representation of an Obelisk upon it. This is very small, but Professor Donaldson has kindly made an enlarged drawing of it, on the same plan as his excellent *Architectura Numismatica*, from which our lithograph is taken. English translations of the chapters from Pliny in the first century, and from Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth, are also added, so that all the authentic information on the subject that is extant is now given in this work.

The collection of Obelisks in Rome is the finest now remaining anywhere, even in Egypt itself there is no place where twelve Obelisks are collected, and some of them are remarkably perfect, so that the hieroglyphics can be read by those who understand the language.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

This concise account of the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome is drawn up entirely from the inscriptions on them. Those of the Popes, record when each was placed in its present situation. Those of the Emperors, state on what occasion each was brought to Rome. The hieroglyphics give the original history of each in Egypt. Two of them only were made for the Romans, or are of their time; the others are much older, and belong to the history of Egypt, as will be seen in reading the account of them. These were brought to Rome as trophies of conquest only, and were erected in the most public places to commemorate the triumph of the Roman arms.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions have been kindly translated for me by an eminent Egyptian scholar residing in Rome during the winter, who declines to have his name published; but I am permitted to state that the translation has been compared by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, and Mr. Bonomi, of the Soane Museum, and they agree that it is done in an accurate and careful manner. Their names are a guarantee to the public that this portion of the work can be fully depended on.

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THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

I. and II. THE pair once before the Mausoleum of Augustus, and now before the Quirinal Palace and behind S. Maria Maggiore, were perhaps originally set up by Papa Maire, the Mœris of Herodotus, the first king of Egypt who did anything remarkable, and the predecessor of the earliest Sesostris. He lived to the age of 100, being born in B.C. 2074, about the time when Abraham was in Egypt, and dying in B.C. 1975, when Jacob was nineteen years old. He began to reign as a subordinate king in Central Egypt when only six years old; but all the monuments which he has left, and so also these two obelisks, are to be referred to the last twenty or twenty-one years of his life, when he was suzerain of all Egypt. The rescue of Lot by Abraham (in B.C. 2070 or thereabouts), the meeting of Melchisedec and Abraham (at the same date), the birth of Ishmael (in B.C. 2068), the apparition of the three men, or angels, under the oak at Mamre, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (in B.C. 2055), the birth of Isaac (in B.C. 2054), his subsequent marriage, and the birth of Jacob (in B.C. 1994), are all events covered by the one hundred years of the life of Papa Maire; the last of them, viz. the birth of Jacob, being nearly coincident with the beginning of his reign as suzerain, and so nearest to the precise date at which these two obelisks were set up.

III. The obelisk now at S. John Lateran was set up by Thothmes III., the great oppressor of the Hebrews in Egypt, from whose death in B.C. 1655 the narrative of the Exodus (which took place April 5 in the next year) commences. Having been brought to Rome by Constantine and his son after the edict of A.D. 311 had at length given peace to the Church, it stands now as a trophy before the chief basilica of Christendom, marking both the first and the second Exodus, the beginning and the end of that long period of above 2,000 years during which the Church was generally oppressed and held in bondage by the idolatrous empires of the heathen world; till at length, after passing through a new Red Sea of blood in the persecutions of the first three centuries after Christ, the new Israel saw their Pagan persecutors dead on the sea-shore, to tyrannise over them openly no more for ever. This obelisk has on it also the names of Thothmes IV., the grandson and next successor but one

of Thothmes III.; and there is a notice on its lower part that it remained in the hands of the sculptors thirty-six years, from a date near the end of the reign of Thothmes III. to another near the end of that of his grandson. It was set up too at Heliopolis, from the neighbourhood of which the Hebrews set forth; so that it was having the central lines of its hieroglyphics cut a little before the Exodus, and it had the lateral lines cut, and was set up before the temple of the Sun, five or six years before the death of Moses and the entry of the Hebrews under Joshua into Canaan.

IV. The obelisk at the Porta del Popolo, and that at the Trinità de' Monti, that before the Pantheon, and that in the Villa Mattei on the Cœlian, all four bear the names of Rameses II., the king who was the greatest of all Egyptian conquerors and builders, who has left the most numerous monuments, and whose historical reign is the principal of those which are blended and confused together in the fabulous accounts of Sesostris. But the obelisk at the Porta del Popolo bears also the name of Seti, the father of Rameses II., who seems to have made at the opening of his reign two campaigns in Mesopotamia with such brilliant success as to have gained a renown equal to that of any other Egyptian conqueror, though he was wounded in his second year, and lost his sight, so that his reign is marked as having lasted less than two years, while his son Rameses II. reigned sixty-six years and some months. But the magnificent tomb of Seti, discovered by Belzoni, proves that though he may have been incapacitated from reigning, he really lived on after the apparent accession of his son, who seems to have put his father's name on no fresh monuments, but only on those which were already commenced when he lost his sight, and to have been too selfish to allow any other compensation for the loss of actual power, than that of continuing to increase the magnificence of his tomb, a monument hidden from the eyes of all contemporaries in the bowels of the rock. The inscription of the name of Seti on the obelisk at the Porta del Popolo must have been cut in B.C. 1487.

V., VI., VII. The other three obelisks mentioned above as belonging to the reign of Rameses II. after the blindness of his father, must have been erected at dates lying between the years 1486 and 1420 B.C. During this period it was that Ehud and Shamgar judged Israel; and during the same period, near its beginning, after Rameses II. had in nine years overrun Western and Central Asia, certain colonists from Egypt, especially Danaus, the father of a line of Argive kings, settled in Greece.

Rameses II. is the historical source of the fabulous king called

Egyptus by the Greeks; and a brother whom he had left to govern Egypt as deputy or viceroy during his own absence, and who took advantage of the length of that absence to set up for himself, is, in part at least, the historical source of Danaus.

The Greek fable, too, of the fifty sons of Egyptus, and the Danaides, the fifty daughters of Danaus, is founded upon facts relating to this same king. For besides his conquests in Asia and Africa, and the length of his reign, which would be spoken of among all the neighbouring peoples, the prodigious number of his children must have attracted equal or even more attention, and may have given rise to more fables than that of the Danaides; as for instance, to the story of Priam, who, when king, had fifty sons and fifty daughters-in-law in his palace. For the monuments shew that Rameses II. had not fifty only, but one hundred and thirteen sons; and not fifty only, but between sixty and seventy daughters; so that both the families of fifty, each which the Greeks divided between two brothers, belonged to Egyptus alone; and the number, instead of being exaggerated in the fable, was very much curtailed, only instead of cousins who were to fly to Greece, and there murder their husbands, they were all brothers and sisters who remained in Egypt, and were married there, no doubt, to suitable consorts.

VIII. The obelisk now standing in front of S. Peter's was erected, according to Pliny, by the son of the king who went blind, which last was in truth Seti I., the father of Rameses II.; but these two kings were confounded and blended together; so what is meant is, that it was set up by Menephthah, the son and successor of Rameses II.; (he was originally the thirteenth of his sons of the first rank, by queens, but the first twelve had died before the father). This king reigned from B.C. 1420 to B.C. 1400; and it was during his reign that Jabin, king of the Canaanites of the north of Syria and Palestine, and Sisera the captain of his host, were overthrown by Deborah and Barak. Jabin was the ally or tributary of the king of Egypt, and nearly connected with him, the mother of Menephthah having been a Canaanitish princess.

This obelisk was brought to Rome by Caligula in the year 40 of our era, so marking the date when S. Peter is related to have baptized the centurion Cornelius, and in him, and his kinsmen and friends of the same cohort of Italian volunteers, to have opened the Gospel to the Gentiles, and more particularly to the Italians and to Rome. It was set up by Claudius a little later, (about the time that S. Peter is said to have come to Rome, and to have been delivered from prison A.D. 42, reaching Rome Jan. 18, A.D. 43), on the *spina* of his

Circus on the Vatican; and it was standing there in A.D. 65, a silent witness of the first persecution of the Christians by Nero, and of the crucifixion of the Apostle, as it has since been a witness of the concourse of the Christian world to the triumphant festivals celebrated at his tomb.

IX. We now pass over eight centuries, from B.C. 1400 to B.C. 594, (a space including the times of the later Judges, of Eli and Samuel, of the first three kings of all Israel, and of their successors of the divided kingdom of Judah and Israel,) and come to an obelisk exhibiting the family name Psammeticus, the first king of which name was the founder of an Egyptian dynasty at Sais. Before his time Egypt had long been subject to great calamities and oppression, had been invaded and conquered both by the Ethiopians and by the Assyrians, and in particular by So, or Sabaco, and Tirhakah of Ethiopia, and by Sennacherib of Assyria; and it had been torn and wasted by native dissensions. Psammeticus I. obtained the victory over all his rivals, who had leagued together against him, chiefly by the aid of certain Greeks—Carian and Ionian pirates—who had been wrecked upon his coasts. And from the time of his establishment on the throne he maintained permanently a large corps of Greek mercenaries, and opened Egypt through the Canopic branch of the Nile to Greek commerce and enterprize, giving them the city of Naucratis for a port and factory. So under the dynasty connected with this obelisk Egypt was first brought into contact with the peoples of the West, and became accessible to them; and some of Psammeticus' Greek mercenaries were even sent by him up the Nile far into Nubia, where they have left an inscription, legible at this day, at Abou-Simbel, on the leg of a colossus, which had been already, as it seems, in their time thrown down from the front of a rock-temple of Rameses II. by some earthquake, and lay when it was inscribed by the Greeks as it lies still. Psammeticus I. reigned fifty-four years, from B.C. 663 to B.C. 609, and so was contemporary with Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah, kings of Judah.

It was his son Pharaoh Necho who slew Josiah at Megiddo. And it was during the reign of his grandson, Psammeticus II. (B.C. 594 to 588) that this obelisk was set up. It was brought to Rome by Augustus after the reduction of Egypt and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra in B.C. 30, and was set up near the present church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, as the gnomon or pointer to throw the shadow on the great sun-dial or town-clock which he made there. From that time it was that the Romans, following the custom of their Egyptian subjects, began to deify and worship their Emperors, not only after their deaths, but even while they were still living: and the com-

monest test which was applied to Christians in the persecutions was that of rendering to the Emperor, or refusing to render, this honour. The obelisk of Seti I. and Rameses II. in the Piazza del Popolo, was brought by Augustus at the same time with this, after the conquest of Egypt, to be set up on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus; and, like this, it bears the date B.C. 10, when he held the Tribunician power for the fourteenth time. On the Vatican obelisk there is an inscription of Caligula dedicating it to "the god Augustus, son of the god Julius, and to the god Tiberius, son of the god Augustus;" but it is now surmounted by the Cross.

The small obelisk which was set up by Bernini on the back of an elephant in the Piazza della Minerva (from which Bernini himself had the nickname of the Elephant) has upon it the cartouches of Apries or Pharaoh-Hophra, who reigned from B.C. 588 to 569, and to whom, in his second year, the Jews fled for protection, in spite of the warnings of the Prophet Jeremiah, carrying the Prophet himself by force with them. So it is a monument which dates from about the time of the burning of the temple of Solomon, and the commencement of the Babylonian captivity of seventy years, beginning from the capture of Zedekiah on the extinction of the kingdom of Judah, and ending with the fourth year of Darius son of Hystaspes, when the Altar and Temple were restored. But as set up at Rome in its present place, under Alexander VII., it marks the date of the completion of the present church of S. Peter's, which, for its magnificence, is for Roman Catholics now something like what the temple of Solomon was for the Jews. And, if we think of Roman history, then, while the other eight obelisks mentioned above belong to ages far more remote than the foundation of Rome, or even those of the foundation of Alba or of Lavinium, more remote than the war of Troy, or the earliest fables connected by Roman poets and historians with their ancestry, the last two—the ninth, that is, of Psammeticus II., and the tenth, of Pharaoh-Hophra,—belong to the time of the Roman kings; that of Psammeticus II. (B.C. 594 to 588) to the time of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king, who reigned from B.C. 637 to 579: so it is contemporary with the construction of the walls of old Rome, with the *agger*, and with the lower dungeon of the Mamertine Prison, which are all works ascribed to Servius Tullius: and the obelisk of Pharaoh-Hophra (B.C. 588 to B.C. 569) belongs to the time of the same king, Servius Tullius, who reigned from B.C. 579 to 535, or it may be to one of the last years of his predecessor, Tarquinius Priscus: and so we may associate it with the formation

of the Circus Maximus, and the first foundation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

XI. In the Piazza Navona, opposite the church of S. Agnes and the spot of her martyrdom, there is now an obelisk cut in Egypt for the Emperor Domitian and inscribed with his name, and with all those blasphemous titles of deification (though he was still living) which are joined with the names of the earlier Pharaohs: "Sun-god, Son of the Sun-god, Supporter of the World, Giver of Life to the World, the Man-god Horus, the Son of the Woman Isis, who is to come and avenge the death of his ancestor Osiris, the King Living for Ever," such are the titles or epithets, or their sense, if they were explained in full, which appear on the latest monuments cut in Egypt for any sovereign, and removed to Rome, in connection with an Emperor whose father and brother were the instruments of God to destroy the murderous and unbelieving Jews and to burn their Temple and city, and whose cousin was himself a Christian martyr, being beheaded about the same time that S. John was put into the boiling oil and banished to Patmos, and that S. Clement was banished to the Crimea, and that Flavia Domitilla the younger, with her freedmen and attendants, were banished to Pandataria and afterwards martyred.

Of the obelisks thus described five were set up in their present positions by, or under, Sixtus Quintus, who sat from A.D. 1585 to 1590, viz. those of the Lateran[a], of the Vatican[b], of the Porta del

[a] SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
OBELISCVM HVNC
SPECIE EXIMIA
TEMPORVM CALAMITATE
FRACTVM CIRCI MAX.
RVINIS HVMO LIMOQ.
ALTE DEMERSVM MVLTA
IMPENSA EXTRAXIT;
HVNC IN LOCVM MAGNO
LABORE TRANSTVLIT:
FORMAE Q. PRISTINAE
ACCVRATE RESTITVTVM
CRVCI INVICTISSIMÆ
DICAVIT.
A. M. D. LXXXVIII. PONT. IIII.
FL. CONSTANTINVS
MAXIMVS AVG.
CHRISTIANAE FIDEI
VINDEX ET ASSERTOR
OBELISCVM
AB AEGYPTIO REGE
IMPVRO VOTO
SOLI DEDICATVM
SEDIB. AVVLSVM SVIS
PER NILVM TRANSFERRI
ALEXANDRIAM IVSSIT
VT NOVAM ROMAM
AB SE TVNC CONDITAM
EO DECORARET
MONVMENTO.

[b] The one in the garden of the Vatican, brought from the Circus of Nero, was erected by Sixtus V. in 1586, with this inscription on the base.

SIXTO V. PONT. MAX. OPT. PRINC. FELICI PERETTO DE MONTE ALTO PA. PA. OB PVRGATAM PRAEDONIB. ITALIAM RESTITVTAM INSTAVRATAMQ. VRB. OBELISCVM CAES. E CIRCO NERON. IN MEDIAM D. PETRI AREAM INCREDIB. SVMPTV TRALAT. ET VERAE RELIGIONI DEDICATVM S. P. Q. R. AD REI MEMOR. OBELISC. HVNC P.

The cross at the top was placed there by Sixtus V.; the history of the removal, and some other particulars,

Popolo[c], of S. Maria Maggiore[d], and that in the Villa Mattei[e] on the Cœlian. That in the Piazza Navona (brought from the *spina*

are recorded in the following inscriptions on the base.

On the west side :—

CHRISTVS VINCIT.
CHRISTVS REGNAT.
CHRISTVS IMPERAT.
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO
PLEBEM SVAM DEFENDAT.

On the south side :—

SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
OBELISCVM VATICANVM DIIS GENTIVM
IMPIO CVLTV DICATVM
AD APOSTOLORVM LIMINA
OPEROSO LABORE TRANSTVLIT
AN. MDLXXXVI. PONT. II.

On the east side :—

ECCE CRVX DOMINI
FVGITE PARTES
ADVERSAE
VICIT LEO
DE TRIBV IVDA.

On the north side :—

SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CRVCI INVICTAE
OBELISCVM VATICANVM
AB IMPVRA SVPERSTITIONE
EXPIATVM IVSTIVS
ET FELICIVS CONSECRAVIT
AN. MDLXXXVI. PONT. II.

On the summit of the obelisk towards S. Peter's :—

SANCTISSIMAE CRVCI
SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CONSECRAVIT.
E PRIORE SEDE AVVLSVM
ET CAESS. AVGG. AC TIB.
I. L. ABLATVM M.D.LXXXVI.

[c] This obelisk stands in front of the church of S. Maria del Popolo, and has the following inscriptions on the base :—

IMP. CAESAR DIVI F.
AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB. POT. XIV.
AEGYPTO IN POTESTATEM
POPVLI ROMANI REDACTA
SOLI DONVM DEDIT.
SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
OBELISCVM HVNC
A CAESARE AVG. SOLI
IN CIRCO MAXIMO RITV
DICATVM IMPIO
MISERANDA RVINA
FRACTVM OBRVTVMQ.
ERVI TRANSFERRI
FORMAE SVAE REDDI
CRVCIQ. INVICTISS.
DEDICARI IVSSIT
AN. M.D.LXXXIX. PONT. IIII.

ANTE SACRAM
ILLIVS AEDEM
AVGVSTIOR
LAETIORQ. SVRGO
CVIVS EX VTERO
VIRGINALI
AVG. IMPERANTE
SOL IVSTITIAE
EXORTVS EST.

[d] SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX
OBELISCVM
AEGYPTO ADVECTVM
AVGVSTO
IN EIVS MAVSOLEO
DICATVM
EVERSVM DEINDE ET
IN PLVRES CONFRACTVM
PARTES
IN VIA AD S. ROCHVM
IACENTEM
IN PRISTINAM FACIEM
RESTITVTVM
SALVTIFERAE CRVCI
FELICIVS
HIC ERIGI IVSSIT AN. D.
M. D. LXXXVII. PONT. III.

On the other side :—

CHRISTVS
PER INVICTAM
CRVCEM
POPVLO PACEM
PRAEBEAT
QVI
AVGVSTI PACE
IN PRAESEPE NASCI
VOLVIT.

On the third side :—

CHRISTVM DOMINVM
QVEM AVGVSTVS
DE VIRGINE
NASCITVRVM
VIVENS ADORAVIT
SEQ. DEINCEPS
DOMINVM
DICI VETVIT
ADORO

On the east side :—

CHRISTI DEI
IN AETERNVM VIVENTIS
CVNABVLA
LAETISSIME COLO
QVI MORTVI
SEPVLCHRO AVGVSTI
TRISTIS
SERVIEBAM.

[e] It is related of this obelisk that when it was being placed, the architect directing the works had incautiously placed his hand on the pedestal at the moment when the cords were relaxed

of the Circus of Maxentius and Romulus) was set up by Bernini in A.D. 1651, under Innocent X. (Pamphili), who built the church of S. Agnes and the adjoining Palazzo Pamphili (and who is buried himself in the church). Inscriptions on the base record the history [f]. That in the Piazza della Minerva [g] was also set up, as has been already said, by the same Bernini, in A.D. 1667, for Alexander VII. That before the Pantheon had been removed from the site of the Circus Maximus, and set up earlier in the Piazza di S. Martino by Paul V., but it was set up in its present place in A.D. 1711, by Clement XI., and the three remaining obelisks, of the eleven, were set up by Pius VI. before the Quirinal, at the Trinita de' Monte, and on the Monte Citorio, in the years 1786, 1789, and 1792, respectively. A twelfth obelisk, erected in honour of their favourite Antinous by Hadrian and Sabina, and so of less public interest, was set up in 1822, by Pius VII. on the Pincian.

to let it fall to its place, and as it was impossible to move the obelisk again, the hand was obliged to be cut off; the bones are pointed out as remaining there.

[f] Bernini had rebuilt the fronts of the other principal buildings round the Piazza Navona, or Forum Agonale, and erected the very fine fountain there, and the placing of this obelisk was considered the completion of the work. These works are recorded in the in-inscriptions on the four sides of the pediment or base.

On the south side :—

INNOCENTIVS . X. PONT. MAX.
NILOTICIS . AENIGMATIBVS . EXARATVM . LAPIDEM
AMNIBVS . SVBTERLABENTIBVS . IMPOSVIT
VI. SALVBREM
SPATIANTIBVS . AMOENITATEM
SITIENTIBVS . POTVM
MEDITANTIBVS . ESCAM
MAGNIFICE . LARGIRETVR.

On the east side :—

NOXIA . AEGYPTIORVM . MONSTRA
INNOCENS . PREMIT . COLVMBA
QUÆ . PACIS . OLEAM . GESTANS
ET . VIRTVTVM . LILIIS . REDIMITA
OBELISCVM . PRO . TROPHEO . SIBI . STATVENS
ROMÆ . TRIVMPHAT.

On the west side :—

INNOCENTIVS . DECIMVS . PONT. MAX.
NATALI . DOMO . PAMPHILIA
OPERE CVLTVQ. AMPLIFICATA
LIBERATAQ. INOPPORTVNIS . AEDIFICIIS
AGONALI . AREA
FORVM . VRBIS . CELEBERRIMVM
MVLTIPLICI . MAIESTATIS. INCREMENTO NOBILITAVIT.

On the north side :—

OBELISCVM
AB. IMP. ANT. CARACALLA . ROMAM . ADVECTVM
CVM . INTER . CIRCI . CASTRENSIS . RVDERA
CONFRACTUS . DIV. IACVISSET
INNOCENTIVS . DECIMVS . PONT. OPT. MAX.
AD . FONTIS . FORIQ. ORNATVM
TRANSTVLIT . INSTAVRAVIT . EREXIT
ANNO . SAL. MDCLI. PONTIF. VII.

On this occasion a medal was struck, with the obelisk in the middle of a circle, and the inscription,—

ABLVTO AQVA VIRGINE AGONALIVM CRVORE.

[g] This obelisk stands in front of the church of S. Maria Super Minervam, and on the side of the base which faces the church is this inscription :—

VETEREM OBELISCVM
PALLADIS ÆGYPTIÆ MONVMENTVM
E TELLVRE ERVTVM
ET IN MINERVÆ OLIM
NVNC DEIPARÆ GENITRICIS
FORO ERECTVM
DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ ALEXANDER VII.
DEDICAVIT ANNO SALVTIS
M. DC. LXVII.

On the opposite side of the base :—

SAPIENTIS ÆGYPTI
INSCVLPTAS OBELISCO FIGVRAS
AB ELEPHANTO BELLVARVM FORTISSIMA
GESTAS QVISQVIS HIC VIDES
DOCVMENTVM INTELLIGE
ROBVSTÆ MENTIS ESSE
SOLIDAM SAPIENTIAM SVSTINERE.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

THE LATERAN.

The history of the Obelisk now at the Lateran is given on p. 1. The following is the English translation of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics given by Dr. Birch :—

Central line.

"The Harmachis [a], the living sun,
The strong bull, beloved of the sun,
Lord of diadems, very terrible in all lands,
The golden hawk, the very powerful, the smiter of the Libyans,
The king Ra-men-kheper,
The son of Amen-Ra, of his loins,
Whom his mother Mut [b] gave birth to in Asher,
One flesh [c] with him who created him, the son of the sun,
Thothmes (III.) the uniter of creation, beloved of Amen-Ra,
Lord of the thrones of the upper and lower country,
Giver of life like the sun for ever."

South side, central line.

"The Har-em-akhu, the living sun,
The strong bull, crowned in Thebes,
Lord of diadems, augmenting his kingdom like the sun in heaven,
The hawk of gold, the arranger of diadems,
Very valiant, the king Ra-men-kheper [d],
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Thothmes (III.) has made his memorial to his father Amen-Ra,
Lord of the seat of the upper and lower countries,
Has erected an obelisk to him
At the gateway of the temple before Thebes,
Setting up at first an obelisk in Thebes
To be made a giver of life."

[a] Harmachis was the divine name of the sun-god Ra, as Ra in the horizon.

[b] Mut or Maut, was the great mother goddess of the Theban triad, Amen Ra-Mut, and Chonso.

[c] "Of the same substance as his father god."

[d] "Ra the giver of Life," prenomen of Thothmes III.

East side, central line.

"The Har-em-akhu, the living sun, beloved of the sun,
Having the tall crown of the upper region,
The Lord of diadems, celebrating the festival in truth,
Beloved on earth, the golden hawk,
Prevailing by strength, the king of the upper and lower country,
Ra-men-kheper, beloved of the sun,
Giving memorials to Amen in Thebes,
Augmenting his memorials,
Making them as they were before,
So that each should be as at first;
Never was the like done in former times for Amen
In the house of his fathers,
He made the son of the sun, Thothmes (III.),
Ruler of An, giver of life."

West side, central line.

"The Har-em-akhu, the living sun, the strong bull,
Crowned by truth, Ra-men-kheper,
Who adores the splendour of Amen in Thebes,
Amen welcomes him in . . . his heart
Dilates at the memorials of his son,
Increasing his kingdom as he wishes,
He gives stability and cycles to his Lord,
Making millions of festivals of thirty years,
The son of the sun, Thothmes (III.),
Uniting existence (giver of life)."

The two lines on each of the following sides refer to Thothmes IV.

North side, right line.

"The good god, the image of diadems,
Establishing the kingdom like Tum,
Powerful in force, expeller of the nine-bow foreigners,
The king of the upper and lower country,
Ra-men-kheper,
Taking by his strength like the Lord of Thebes,
Very glorious like Mentu[e],
Whom Amen has given strength against all countries;
The lands came in number,
The fear of him was in their bellies,
The son of the sun Thothmes (IV.),
Diadem of diadems, beloved of Amen-Ra,
The bull of his mother[f]."

[e] Mentu, a form of the sun-god, as the Egyptian Mars.
[f] "The husband of his mother."

North side, left line.

"The king of the upper and lower country,
Beloved of the gods, adorer of the circle of the gods,
Welcomed by the sun in the barge,
And by Tum in the ark,
The Lord of the upper and lower countries,
Ra-men-kheperu[g], who has ornamented Thebes for ever,
Making memorials in Thebes.
The circle of gods of the house of Amen
Delight at what he has done,
The son of the god Tum, of his loins,
Produced on his throne, Thothmes (IV.), diadem of diadems."

South side, right line.

"The son of the sun, Thothmes (IV.),
Diadem of diadems, set it up in Thebes,
He capped it with gold,
Its beauty illuminates Thebes;
Sculptured in the name of his father, the good god
Ra-men-kheper (Thothmes III.),
The king of the upper and lower country,
Lord of the two countries,
Ra-men-kheperu (Thothmes IV.), did it
Wishing that the name of his father should remain fixed
In the house of Amen.
The son of the sun, Thothmes (IV.), giver of life did it."

South side, left line.

"The king of the upper and lower country,
The Lord doing things, Ra-men-kheperu,
Made by the sun, beloved of Amen.
His Majesty ordered that a very great obelisk should be completed
Which had been brought by his father Ra-men-kheper (Thothmes III.)
After His Majesty died.
This obelisk remained 35 years and upwards
In its place in the hands of the workmen
At the Southern quarters of Thebes.
My father ordered it should be set up.
I his son succeeded him."

[g] Ra-men-kheper, singular, was the prenomen of Thothmes III., more generally written Men-kheper-Ra; Ra-men-kheper*u* the same in the plural number, was the prenomen of his successor Thothmes IV.

East side, right line.

"Ra-men-kheperu (Thothmes IV.)
Multiplying memorials in Thebes of gold,
Lapis lazuli, and jewellery,
And the great barge on the river (named) Amen-user-ta,
Hewn out of cedarwood which His Majesty cut down in the land of Ruten
Inlaid with gold throughout,
And all the decorations renewed,
To receive the beauty of his father Amen-Ra
(When) he is conducted along the river.
The son of the sun, Thothmes (IV.), diadem of diadems, did it."

East side, left line.

"The good god, the powerful blade,
The prince taking captive by his power,
Who strikes terror into the Mena [h],
Whose roarings are in the Anu [i].
His father Amen brought him up,
Making his rule extended,
The chiefs of all countries
Are attentive to the spirits of His Majesty,
To the words of his mouth, the acts of his hands,
All that has been ordered has been done.
The king of the upper and lower country
Ra-men-kheperu, whose name is established in Thebes giver of life."

West side, right line.

"The king of the upper and lower country,
The Lord of the upper and lower world,
Ra-men-kheperu son . . . it making peaceful years,
Lord of the gods, who knew how to frame his plans
And bring them to a good end, who subdued the nine-bow foreigners under his sandals,
The king of the upper and lower country . . .
Watched to beautify the monuments,
The king himself gave directions for the work
Like 'Him who is Southern Rampart [k],'
He set it up, it remained for a while, his heart wished to create it,
The son of the sun Thothmes (IV.), diadem of diadems."

[h] Asiatic shepherds. [i] The Lybians
[k] This is a title of the god Pthah of Memphis.

West side, left line.

"The king of the upper and lower countries
Ra-men-kheperu (Thothmes IV.), approved of Amen,
Dwelling amongst the chiefs,
Born in . . . him than every king,
Rejoicing at seeing the beauty of his greatness;
His heart desired to place it.
He gave him the north and south submissive to his spirits,
He made his monuments to his father Amen-Ra,
He set up a great obelisk to him
At the upper gate of Thebes, facing western Thebes.
The son of the sun whom he loves
(Thothmes IV.) diadem of diadems, giver of life he did it."

North side, inscription on pyramidion.

"The good god Ra-men-kheper like the sun. Amen, Tum
The king of the upper and lower country,
Ra-man-kheper, son of the sun,
Thothmes like the sun, immortal.
Amen-Ra Lord of the seats of the upper and lower countries,
Gives all life, stability, power."

South side, inscription on pyramidion.

"The king Ra-men-kheperu (Thothmes IV.)
Giver of life, beloved of Amen-Ra,
Lord of the thrones of the two countries.
The son of the sun Thothmes (III.)
Giver of life like the sun for ever.
The king Ra-men-kheperu, son of the sun
Thothmes (III.) giver of life like the sun for ever.
The goddess Uat[1] gives a good life,
Amen-Ra Lord of the seats of the upper and lower country,
Gives life, power and stability.
The good god Ra-men-kheperu
Giver of life like the sun.
Amen-Ra king of the gods (says)
'Thou hast received life in thy nostril.'"

[1] Uat or Buto was the goddess of the upper country.

East side, pyramidion.

"The good god Ra-men-kheperu,
Giver of life like the sun,
The king Ra-men-kheperu, son of the sun,
Thothmes giver of life like the sun, gives water;
Amen-Ra king of the gods
Gives life, stability and power:
The good god Ra-men-kheperu,
Giver of life,
Gives a pyramidal cake of white bread
That he may become a giver of life."

West side, pyramidion.

"Amen, Tum the good god,
Ra-men-kheper giver of life like the sun immortal.
The king Ra-men-kheper, son of the sun,
Thothmes (III.), like the sun immortal gives wine.
Amen-Ra Lord of the seats of the upper and lower countries,
King of the gods, ruler of An.
The good god, the Lord doing things, Ra-men-kheperu,
Giver of life like the sun, gives incense
That he may be made a giver of life."

At the base.

"Amen-Ra, Hor; Lord of heaven Ra-user-ma,
Approved of the sun, Rameses (II.) beloved of Amen,
Giver of life like the sun Amen-Ra, Lord of the seats of the upper and lower countries,
Har-em-akhu, great god, Lord of the heaven,
The king of upper and lower Egypt,
Lord of the two countries, Ra-user-ma,
Approved of the sun Rameses (II.), beloved of Amen[m]."

The Latin inscription of Sixtus V., who had this obelisk erected on its present site, is given on p. 5; a translation of this is not necessary.

[m] This records the restoration by Rameses II., and is a rare example of an Egyptian sovereign, not arrogating to himself the honours of his predecessor.

The obelisk at the Porta Flaminia, or del Popolo, was also erected by Sixtus V., and an account of it is given on p. 2, and the Latin inscription of the Pope at p. 7. The following is the English translation of the Hieroglyphics, by the Rev. G. Tomlinson:—

Centre column, East side.

"The Horus, the powerful, beloved of justice,
King Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses,
He erected edifices like the stars of heaven,
He has made his deeds to resound above the heaven,
Scattering the rays of the sun, rejoicing over them in his house of millions of years.
In the . . . year of His Majesty,
He has made good this edifice of his father, whom he loved,
Giving stability to his name in the abode of the sun.
He who has done this is the son of the sun, Amen-Mai Rameses,
The beloved of Tum, Lord of Heliopolis, giving life for ever."

Centre column, North side.

"The Horus, the powerful,
Sanctified by truth [n],
Lord of diadems, Lord of upper and lower Egypt,
Month [o] of the world, possessor (?) of Egypt,
The resplendent Horus, the Osiris (?), the divine priest of Totanen,
The king, Pharaoh, the establisher of justice,
Who renders illustrious the everlasting edifices of Heliopolis,
By foundations (fit) for the support of the heaven,
Who has established, honoured, and adorned the temple of the sun,
And of the rest of the gods,
Which have been sanctified by him, the son of the sun,
Menephtha-Sethai, the beloved of the spirits of Heliopolis [p],
Eternal like the sun."

Centre column, South side.

"The Horus, the powerful,
The piercer of foreign countries by his victories;
The Lord of diadems, Lord of upper and lower Egypt,
The establisher of everlasting edifices;

[n] Or justice.

[o] An allusion to the sun-god Mentu or Month, who was particularly favourable to Rameses II. at the second battle of Kadesh.

[p] The spirits or local deities were sometimes represented as birds, a species of bennu, or phœnix, but the translation is obscure.

The resplendent Horus,
Making his sanctuary in the sun who loves him
The king, Pharaoh, establisher of justice,
The adorner of Heliopolis,
Who makes libations to the sun,
And the rest of the Lords of the heavenly world,
Who gives delight by his rejoicings and by his eyes.
He does it, the son of the sun, Menephtha-Sethai,
Beloved of Horus, the Lord of the two worlds,
Like the sun, everlasting."

Centre column, West side.

"The Horus, the powerful,
The beloved of the sun and of justice,
Lord of diadems, Lord of upper and lower Egypt,
Source of foreign countries, piercer of the Shepherds [q],
The resplendent Horus,
Beloved of the sun, whose name is magnified;
The king, Pharaoh, establisher of justice,
Who fills Heliopolis with obelisks,
To illustrate with (their) rays the temple of the sun;
Who, like the phœnix [r],
Fills with good things the great temple of the gods,
Inundating (?) it with rejoicings.
He does it, who is the son of the sun,
Menephtha-Sethai, beloved of the rest of the gods
Who inhabit the great temple giving life."

East side, Right column.

"The Horus, the powerful,
The beloved of the sun, the Ra,
The offspring of the gods, the subjugator of the world,
The king, the Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses,
Who gives joy to the region of Heliopolis,
When it beholds the radiance of the solar mountain.
He who does this is the Lord of the world,
The Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life like the sun."

[q] Doubtful translation, probably "smiter of the Asiatics."
[r] Doubtful translation.

East side, Left column.

"The Horus, the powerful, the beloved of justice,
The resplendent Horus,
The director of the years, the great one of victories,
The king, Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, has adorned
Heliopolis with great edifices, honouring the gods
By (placing) their statues in the great temple.
He, the Lord of the world,
Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life for ever."

North side, Right column.

"The Horus, the powerful, the beloved of the sun,
The Ra, begotten of the gods,
The subjugator of the world,
The king, Pharaoh, approved of the sun,
Son of the sun, Amen-Mai Rameses,
Who magnifies his name in every region
By the greatness of his victories,
The Lord of the world,
Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life like the sun."

North side, Left column.

"The Horus, the powerful, the son of Set [a],
The resplendent Horus,
The director of the years, the great one of victories,
The king, Pharaoh, the guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses,
Who fills the temple of the phœnix with splendid objects,
The Lord of the world, Pharaoh, the guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, the son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life for ever."

[a] Rather, descendant of Set-i-pet-i-Nubti, the first of the shepherd-kings, who was named after his local deity.

South side, Left column.

" The Horus, the powerful, the beloved of justice,
Lord of the panegyries,
Like his father Ptah-Totanen ; the king,
Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun,
Son of the sun, Amen-Mai Rameses,
Begotten and educated by the gods,
Builder of their temples, Lord of the world ;
Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life like the sun."

South side, Second left column.

" The Horus, the powerful, the son of Ptah-Totonen,
Lord of diadems, Lord of upper and lower Egypt,
Possessor of Egypt, chastiser of foreign countries,
The king, Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, who causes rejoicing in Heliopolis
By displaying his royal attributes,
Lord of the world, Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, giving life for ever."

West side, Left column.

" The Horus, the powerful, the beloved of the sun,
Lord of the panegyries, like his father Ptah-Totanen,
The king, Pharaoh, guardian of justice,
Approved of the sun, son of the sun, Amen-Mai Rameses,
Lord of diadems, possessor of Egypt,
Chastiser of foreign countries, Lord of the world ;
Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun, son of the sun,
Amen-Mai Rameses, son of Totanen, giving life."

Right column, West side.

" The Horus, the powerful, the son of Tum,
The Ra, offspring of the gods, subjugator of the world
The king, Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun ;
The son of the sun, Amen-Mai Rameses,
The resplendent Horus, the director of the years,
The great one of victories, the Lord of the world ;
Pharaoh, guardian of justice, approved of the sun, the son of the sun ;
Amen-Mai Rameses, the son of Totanen, eternal."

BARBERINI OBELISK[a].

North Side. Pyramidion.

Ra or the Sun hawk-headed seated on a throne having before him a jar and water-plants. Before him stands the Emperor Hadrian offering Truth (a figure of) on a pedestal. The inscriptions are, "Says Harmachis [Ra] I give thee all life and health for ever." Hadrian says, "Said by the son of the Sun Hadrianus the ever-living I give thee glory which thy heart loves."

The first line on this side reads,

"A . . . . made the Osirian (deceased) Antinous the justified his heart reigning in the two great horizons he depicted his name by his own form alone, he walks alive, he sees the solar disk, he goes saying Oh Sun Har-Khuti[b] over the gods, listening to the prayers of gods, men, spirits, (and) dead. Thou hearest prayers, thou hast returned a recompense to those which made to thee thy beloved son the king of Southern and Northern Egypt having honour in the midst of the lands and places, pleased are all districts of them at the lord of the world the beloved of the Nile and the gods the Lord of Diadems Hadrianus the Pharaoh the ever-living."

The second line,

"The chief of the South and North, being the great lord of every country, the ruler of the tributaries of Egypt, Libya being entirely subdued under his sandals, likewise the captives of the two lands they were submissive at his feet daily. He reaches everywhere, he brought the tributes of this world out of its four quarters. Bulls and their numerous cows multiply their produce for him making him to rejoice with the great royal lady loving him the ruler of the countries, Sabina of life and health established, Augusta the ever-living. Hail father of the gods producing the horizons of the earth for them, making the celestial waters for them to drink at the time."

East Side. Pyramidion.

The god Thoth ibis-headed wearing on his head the moon seated on a throne giving life and health, having an altar placed before him bearing cakes and vases before which stands Antinous wearing the head-dress of Socharis offering vase and holding an emblem of life. Thoth says "I give thee festivals of hundreds of thousands of years." (The speech of Antinous is indistinct.)

The first line on this side reads,

"The Osirian Antinous was a youth making to celebrate his memorials . . . . his heart triumphant letting fall the arms he received the commands of the gods as it were his joy, renewed were all the forms in him of each of the gods, and all his actions for unknown is the (extent) of the circulation of his name in the whole earth for exploring the men and adjusting speech. Never was done like by those who were before, daily his altars, his temples, his titles upon them. He breathed the breath of life, he was esteemed in the hearts of men (Thoth) the lord of Hermopolis, lord of the divine words, made his soul young like the spirits."

[a] Ungarelli Int. Ob. Tab. vi.

[b] Form of Harmachis.

Second line.

"In their time night and day constantly. He was beloved in the hearts of youths he came in all . . . his praises to intelligent beings making him go to his place in the temples, amongst the followers, and wise spirits who are in the power of Osiris in the land of the Hades divine for ever. They made him justified, they set up his words in the whole earth they delighted in him, he went whereever he liked. The doorkeepers of the regions of Hades said to him, Glory to thee; they drew their bolts they opened their doors before him in the course of every day, his time of existence was not cut short."

South side. Pyramidion.

The god Amen Ra under his usual attributes seated on a throne holding a notched palm-branch terminating in a tadpole emblem of 100,000 of years, before him an altar of cakes and jars and Antinous standing wearing the head attire of Socharis offering a symbolic eye. The god says "I give thee thy titles."

First line.

"The Osirian Antinous is justified as a spirit [c] having rested within his city of Aann devoted is its name to his name by the multitudes who are in this land, and the crews rowing (boats) in the whole country and all the persons likewise who are at the place possessed by the god Thoth. We give (they say) an ornament and crowns of flowers to his head very often and additional things to his shrine, he has been given the peace offering of a god before him in the course of every day."

Second line.

"He has been adored by workmen of Thoth by whose spirits he goes to in . . . his temples of the whole country to hear the requests addressed to him to remedy that which was unsound [d] watching over what he has done working for beings he has made the transformation of his heart being transformed a god engendered . . . . the belly of his mother completed through his birth . . . ."

West side. Pyramidion.

The scene is incomplete the figure of the god being wanting but there remains the notched palm-branch and tadpole which he has held in his hand, the altar and the figure of Antinous.

First line.

"Spiritualized as a spirit at rest within the limits of the countries of the powerful lady Hruma (Rome) he has been recognised as a god in the divine places of Egypt which have been founded for him he has been adored as a god by the prophets and priests of the South and North of Egypt, likewise they gave the title of a city to his name proclaiming him to be highly honoured of the Greeks of Ra and Set who are in the temples of Egypt they offered."

Second line.

"Their towns and territories to make good their life . . . . great opening the temple of this god, which was to his name for the Osirian (deceased) Antinous the justified, built of good white stone sphinxes round it, and figures and numerous columns, as were made to ancestors in time past so did the Greeks also to every god and goddess who give the breath of life, for he has breathed again renewed with youth."

[c] Or *nti am*, *divum*, "divine," "being as divine."
[d] Alluding to miraculous cures.

The following is Pliny's account of them in the first century:—

"Monarchs, too, have entered into a sort of rivalry with one another in forming elongated blocks of this stone, known as 'obelisks,' and consecrated to the divinity of the Sun. The blocks had this form given to them in resemblance to the rays of that luminary, which are so called in the Egyptian language.

"Mesphres[t], who reigned in the city of the Sun, was the first who erected one of these obelisks, being warned to do so in a dream: indeed, there is an inscription upon the obelisk to this effect; for the sculptures and figures which we still see engraved thereon are no other than Egyptian letters.

"At a later period other kings had these obelisks hewn. Sesosthes erected four of them in the above-named city, forty-eight cubits in height[u]. Rhamsesis, too, who was reigning at the time of the capture of Troy, erected one, a hundred and forty cubits high[x]. Having quitted the spot where the palace of Mnevis stood, this monarch erected another obelisk, one hundred and twenty cubits in height, but of prodigious thickness, the sides being no less than eleven cubits in breadth[y]. It is said that one hundred and twenty thousand men were employed upon this work, and that the king, when it was on the point of being elevated, being apprehensive that the machinery employed might not prove strong enough for the weight, with the view of increasing the peril that might be entailed by due want of precaution on the part of the workmen, had his own son fastened to the summit, in order that the safety of the prince might at the same time ensure the safety of the mass of stone. It was in his admiration of this work that, when King Cambyses took the city by storm, and the conflagration had already reached the very foot of the obelisk, he ordered the fire to be extinguished; he entertaining a respect for this stupendous erection which he had not entertained for the city itself.

"There are also two other obelisks, one of them erected by Zmarres, and the other by Phius; both of them without inscriptions, and forty-eight cubits in height[z]. Ptolemæus Philadelphus had one erected at Alexandria, eighty cubits high, which had been prepared by order of King Necthebis: it was without any inscription, and cost far more trouble in its carriage and elevation, than had been originally expended in quarrying it. Some writers inform us that it was conveyed on a raft, under the inspection of the architect Satyrus; but Callixenus gives the name of Phœnix. For this purpose, a canal was dug from the river Nilus to the spot where the obelisk lay; and two broad vessels, laden with blocks of similar stone a foot square, the cargo of each amounting to double the size, and consequently double the weight, of the obelisk, were brought beneath it; the extremities of the obelisk remaining supported by the opposite sides of the canal. The blocks of stone were then removed, and the vessels, being thus gradually lightened, received their burden. It was erected upon a basis of six square blocks, quarried from the same mountain, and the artist was rewarded with the sum of

[t] Called also Pope Maire and Mæsis by Herodotus: see p. 1.

[u] Seventy-two feet high.

[x] Two-hundred-and-ten feet high.

[y] One-hundred-and-eighty feet high, and sixteen feet nine inches wide.

[z] Seventy-two feet high.

fifty talents. This obelisk was placed by the king above-mentioned in the Arsinoëum, in testimony of his affection for his wife and sister Arsinoë. At a later period, as it was found to be an inconvenience to the docks, Maximus, the then præfect of Egypt, had it transferred to the Forum there, after removing the summit for the purpose of substituting a gilded point; an intention which was ultimately abandoned.

"There are two other obelisks, which were in Cæsar's Temple at Alexandria, near the harbour there, forty-two cubits in height[a], and originally hewn by order of King Mesphres. But the most difficult enterprise of all, was the carriage of these obelisks by sea to Rome, in vessels which excited the greatest admiration. Indeed, the late Emperor Augustus consecrated the one which brought over the first obelisk, as a lasting memorial of this marvellous undertaking, in the docks at Puteoli; but it was destroyed by fire. As to the one in which, by order of the Emperor Caius, the other obelisk had been transported to Rome, after having been preserved for some years and looked upon as the most wonderful construction ever beheld upon the seas, it was brought to Ostia, by order of the late Emperor Claudius; and towers of Puteolan earth being first erected upon it, it was sunk for the construction of the harbour which he was making there. And then, besides, there was the necessity of constructing other vessels to carry these obelisks up the Tiber; by which it became practically ascertained, that the depth of water in that river is not less than that of the river Nilus.

"The obelisk that was erected by the late Emperor Augustus in the great Circus, was originally quarried by order of King Semenpserteus, in whose reign it was that Pythagoras visited Egypt. It is eighty-five feet and three quarters in height, exclusive of the base, which is a part of the same stone. The one that he erected in the Campus Martius, is nine feet less in height, and was originally made by order of Sesothis. They are both of them covered with inscriptions, which interpret the operations of Nature according to the philosophy of the Egyptians[b]."

"The one that has been erected in the Campus Martius has been applied to a singular purpose by the late Emperor Augustus; that of marking the shadows projected by the sun, and so measuring the length of the days and nights[c]. With this object, a stone pavement was laid, the extreme length of which corresponded exactly with the length of the shadow thrown by the obelisk at the sixth hour on the day of the winter solstice. After this period, the shadow would go on, day by day, gradually decreasing, and then again would as gradually increase, correspondingly with certain lines of brass that were inserted in the stone; a device well deserving to be known, and due to the ingenuity of Facundus Novus, the mathematician. Upon the apex of the obelisk he placed a gilded ball, in order that the shadow of the summit might be condensed and agglomerated, and so prevent the shadow of the apex itself from running to a fine point of enormous extent; the plan being first suggested to him, it is said, by the shadow that is projected by the human head. For nearly the last thirty years, however, the observations derived from this dial have been found not to agree: whether it is that the sun itself has changed its course in consequence of some derangement of the heavenly system; or whether that the whole earth has been in some degree displaced from its centre, a thing that, I have heard say, has been remarked in

[a] Sixty-three feet.

[b] Pliny's Natural History, bk. xxxvi. ch. 14.

[c] See p. 4.

other places as well ; or whether that some earthquake, confined to this city only, has wrenched the dial from its original position ; or whether it is that in consequence of the inundations of the Tiber, the foundations of the mass have subsided, in spite of the general assertion that they are sunk as deep into the earth as the obelisk erected upon them is high.

"The third obelisk at Rome is in the Vaticanian Circus [d], which was constructed by the Emperors Caius and Nero ; this being the only one of them all that has been broken in the carriage. Nuncoreus, the son of Sesoses, made it : and there remains another by him, one hundred cubits in height [e], which, by order of an oracle, he consecrated to the Sun, after having lost his sight and recovered it [f]."

"There was a fir, too, that was particularly admired, when it formed the mast of the ship, which brought from Egypt, by order of the Emperor Caius, the obelisk that was erected in the Vaticanian Circus, with the four blocks of stone intended for its base. It is beyond all doubt that there has been seen nothing on the sea more wonderful than this ship : one hundred and twenty thousand modii of lentils formed its ballast ; and the length of it took up the greater part of the left side of the harbour at Ostia. It was sunk at that spot by order of the Emperor Claudius, three moles, each as high as a tower, being built upon it ; they were constructed with cement which the same vessel had conveyed from Puteoli [g]."

[d] See p. 3. The circus was no doubt made in the great foss at the foot of the Vatican Hill, according to the usual custom of the Romans. A circns was necessarily in low ground, not on the slopes or hills. Some modern authors ignorantly say that it is on the site of the Sacristy of S. Peter's, which is on a steep slope.

[e] One-hundred-and-fifty feet high.

[f] Pliny's Natural History, bk. xxxvi. ch. 15.

[g] Pliny's Natural History, bk. xvi. ch. 76. The account of the wooden vessel made by the Romans to bring this great obelisk to Rome, may be compared to the iron vessel made to bring Cleopatra's Needle to London.

The Egyptian Obelisks.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, relates as follows respecting the obelisks then in Rome:—

"Because the flatterers, who were continually whispering into the ear of Constantius, kept always affirming that when Augustus Octavianus had brought two obelisks from Heliopolis, a city of Egypt, one of which was placed in the Circus Maximus, and the other in the Campus Martius, he yet did not venture to touch or move this one which has just been brought to Rome, being alarmed at the greatness of such a task; I would have those, who do not know the truth, learn that the ancient emperor, though he moved several obelisks, left this one untouched, because it was especially dedicated to the Sun-god, and was set up within the precincts of his magnificent temple, which it was impious to profane; and of which it was the most conspicuous ornament.

"But Constantius deeming that a consideration of no importance, had it torn up from its place, and thinking rightly that he should not be offering any insult to religion if he removed a splendid work from some other temple to dedicate it to the gods at Rome, which is the temple of the whole world, let it lie on the ground for some time while arrangements for its removal were being prepared. And when it had been carried down the Nile, and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a burden hitherto unexampled, requiring three hundred rowers to propel it, was built to receive it.

"And when these preparations were made, and after the aforenamed emperor had died, the enterprise began to cool. However, after a time it was at last put on board ship, and conveyed over sea, and up the stream of the Tiber, which seemed as it were frightened, lest its own winding waters should hardly be equal to conveying a present from the almost unknown Nile to the walls which itself cherished. At last the obelisk reached the village of Alexandria, three miles from the city; and then it was placed in a cradle, and drawn slowly on, and brought through the Ostian gate and passing by the Piscina Publica, or great public swimming-bath, to the Circus Maximus.

"The only work remaining to be done was to raise it, which was generally believed to be hardly, if at all, practicable. And vast beams having been raised on end in a most dangerous manner, so that they looked like a grove of machines, long ropes of huge size were fastened to them, darkening the very sky with their density, as they formed a web of innumerable threads; and into them the great stone itself, covered over as it was with elements of writing, was bound, and gradually raised into the empty air, and long suspended, many thousands of men turning it round and round like a millstone, till it was at last placed in the middle of the square; and on it was placed a brazen sphere, made brighter with plates of gold: and as that was immediately afterwards struck by lightning, and destroyed, a brazen figure like a torch was placed on it, also plated with gold —to look as if the torch were fully alight.

"Subsequent ages also removed other obelisks; one of which is in the Vatican, a second in the garden of Sallust; and two in the monument of Augustus.

"But the writing which is engraven on the old obelisk in the Circus, we have set forth below in Greek characters, following in this the work of Hermapion :—

ΑΡΧΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΤΙΟΝ ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΜΕΝΑ
ΕΧΕΙ
ΣΤΙΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΤΑΔΕ.

"The first line, beginning on the south side, bears this interpretation—'The Sun to Ramestes the king—I have given to thee to reign with joy over the whole earth; to thee whom the Sun and Apollo love—to thee, the mighty truth-loving son of Heron—the god-born ruler of the habitable earth; whom the Sun has chosen above all men, the valiant warlike King Ramestes. Under whose power, by his valour and might, the whole world is placed. The King Ramestes, the immortal son of the Sun.'

"The second line is—'The mighty Apollo, who takes his stand upon truth, the lord of the diadem, he who has honoured Egypt by becoming its master, adorning Heliopolis, and having created the rest of the world, and having greatly honoured the gods who have their shrines in the city of the Sun; whom the son loves.'

"The third line—'The mighty Apollo, the all-brilliant son of the Sun, whom the Sun chose above all others, and to whom the valiant Mars gave gifts. Thou whose good fortune abideth for ever. Thou whom Ammon loves. Thou who hast filled the temple of the Phœnix with good things. Thou to whom the gods have given long life. Apollo the mighty son of Heron, Ramestes the king of the world. Who has defended Egypt, having subdued the foreign enemy. Whom the Sun loves. To whom the gods have given long life—the master of the world—the immortal Ramestes.'

"Another second line—'The Sun, the great God, the master of heaven. I have given unto thee a life free from satiety. Apollo, the mighty master of the diadem; to whom nothing is comparable. To whom the lord of Egypt has erected many statues in this kingdom. And has made the city of Heliopolis as brilliant as the Sun himself, the master of heaven. The son of the Sun, the king living for ever, has co-operated in the completion of this work.'

"A third line—"I, the Sun, the god, the master of heaven, have given to Ramestes the king might and authority over all. Whom Apollo the truth-lover, the master of time, and Vulcan the father of the gods hath chosen above others by reason of his courage. The all-rejoicing king, the son of the Sun, and beloved by the Sun.'

"The first line, looking towards the east—'The great God of Heliopolis, the mighty Apollo who dwelleth in Heaven, the son of Heron whom the Sun hath guided. Whom the gods have honoured. He who ruleth over all the earth: whom the Sun has chosen before all others. The king valiant by the favour of Mars. Whom Ammon loveth, and the all-shining god, who hath chosen him as a king for everlasting.' And so on[h]."

[h] Ammianus Marcellinus, bk. xvii. ch. iv. § 12.

ON OBELISKS: THEIR PURPOSE, PROPORTIONS, MATERIAL, AND POSITION.

By Professor Donaldson [a].

The generous patriotism of Mr. Erasmus Wilson and the skill of Mr. John Dixon, C.E., have triumphed over the half-a-century of England's indifference, and now the monolith of Alexandria is in the Thames, only awaiting, after much discussion and difference of opinion as to its proper site, to be erected in the very centre of our Metropolis as an evidence of the grand ideas of the ancient Egyptians in regard to monumental art. Considering how intimately obelisks are connected with our pursuit, I have felt that it would hardly become our Institute, if such an historical fact were unnoticed in our annals, and if some attempt, however brief, were not made by us to get together the leading points connected with the general subject of obelisks, their purpose, proportions, material, and position, treated from a strictly architectural point of view, without encumbering ourselves with the questions relating to precise dates, or intricate calculations of dynasties, or to hieroglyphics.

They are the most simple monuments of Egyptian architecture, and among the most interesting that antiquity has transmitted to us, from the remoteness of their origin, and the doubt in which we still are as to the period when first set up. The oldest, which now remains to us, is still standing at Heliopolis, near Cairo—the On Rameses or Beth-Shemesh of the Hebrew Scriptures. Abraham was unborn, the Pentateuch of Moses was not written, when the inhabitant of Heliopolis adored his gods in the temple of the sun, and read upon the obelisk still in its place the name of Harmachis and that of King Usertesen, who then reigned and reared it, and to whom Mariette assigns the date of 2851 years before Christ. He was a powerful Pharaoh, whom eleven royal dynasties had preceded, and who was followed by twelve more, when Alexander the Great, about 380 B.C., came to consult the oracle of Ammon, and to found at Alexandria the capital of his future Egyptian Empire. They are supposed to have been principally dedicated to the sun Horus, of whom the hawk was a symbol, on account of the elevation to which this bird extended his flight, and of the faculty, which the ancients considered it to have, of looking at the sun with

[a] Read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, April 8, 1878.

a steady gaze. Pliny says, "That the Egyptian term for an obelisk conveyed the idea of a sun's ray, which its form was supposed to symbolise." The term 'obelisk' is derived from the Greek term *obelos*, which meant 'a spit,' a term which the witty epigrammatic Greeks gave them, with the view, like all wits in such cases, to cover with an air of ridicule what they could not controvert by reason.

Obelisks have been, from the earliest periods of antiquity, regarded as remarkable monuments of the skill and perseverance of remote ages. They must ever be considered as valuable records of the ancient history of the Egyptians, and of the skill of those periods; monumental evidences of their sovereigns and of their warlike exploits. Extracted with vast labour from their quarries as monoliths, conveyed six or seven hundreds of miles down the Nile, and erected with difficulty in front of their temples, they are emblems of the perseverance and love of glory of the Egyptians or their rulers. The very fact of their being transported to Europe by the ancient Romans under their Emperors, shews the high value in which they were held by that people, as witnesses of their own world-wide victories in remote regions, and as proofs of the estimation in which they were regarded by the very conquerors of Egypt. They became trophies of the successes of the arms of the Romans, and of their determination to grace their conquests by the transport and erection of these huge monoliths in their central city of the then civilized world. Overthrown by earthquakes or the violence of conquerors, buried in the sands or encumbered by the enormous blocks of stone piled up to great heights—the city of Thebes, even in its dilapidated state at the present day, is the marvel of the traveller for the extent and dimensions of its ruins. The ancient city, divided in its middle by the Nile, as London is by the Thames, presents two gigantic towns with remains of immense temples, which in all their accompaniments and parts are colossal, whether in the dromoi or avenues leading up to their entrance portals, their statues, their courts and colonnades, in the hypostyle halls, and though last not least, as objects of wonder, in their stupendous obelisks. These were lofty pillars of granite set up by the kings in front of their temples, and to commemorate their victories and record their various names and titles. I am not aware that they have as yet been found in front of tombs, as suggested by Mr. Basil Henry Cooper in his learned Paper recently read before the Society of Arts. They were monoliths, consisting of a square shaft gradually diminishing towards its summit up to about nine diameters high, where the faces sud-

denly receded up to a point, their upper portion being called a pyramidion from the similarity of its general form to that of a pyramid, though much more rapidly sloping. I have said receding up to a point, but the fact is, that there is authority for assuming, that sometimes the pyramidion had a seated figure on its top, whether of the king or one of their gods.

The Egyptians set great value upon the size of their monoliths, and if a large block were extracted from a quarry not quite corresponding in all its sides, whether as to size or form, they would without scruple use it for their immediate purpose, or shape it as near as possible to the object they had in view, without diminishing its size. The consequence is that many of their obelisks, pedestals and sarcophagi even, where one would have supposed the most scrupulous attention to uniformity should have existed, are irregular in shape. In like manner, some of the huge blocks intended for obelisks came out of the quarries mis-shapen at the smaller end, and to remedy this defect they covered it with a metal capping of the required shape, rather than reduce its length by cutting off the rugged portion.

The summit of the Parisian obelisk was irregular in shape, and left quite rough. There was at bottom of the pyramidion a channel and fillet, then a surface setting back, and the granite presenting an uneven face. It was in the same state previous to its being lowered by the French. There must have been something to cover this unsightly appearance. An Arab writer, Mohamed, son of Abdarrahim, says, in a work entitled "Tohfal Allabab," translated by De Lacey: "That one of the obelisks of Pharaoh, which were at Mataria, near Cairo, fell down, and a great quantity of copper was taken from the top." Reference is also made by Kodhai to two obelisks in the city of Heliopolis, as "being extremely wonderful. On their summit are two pointed caps in copper. When the Nile overflows, water flows from their summits from beneath the bronze coverings, and descends to about the middle of the column (obelisk); this part is green." And again: "This obelisk is square, formed of a single block, pointed at the top, which is a covering of copper as yellow as gold, above which is the figure of a man sitting in his chair, looking at the rising sun." Our obelisk has an inscription, translated by M. Chabas from the transcript of Burton's "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," pl. 51. In it is the following line:—

"HE ERECTED TWO VERY GREAT OBELISKS CAPPED WITH GOLD."

Mariette Bey mentions that round the lowest part of the obelisk

of Hatasou runs an inscription in horizontal lines covering the whole of its four sides, which states that the summit of the obelisk was covered over with pure gold, taken from the chiefs of the nation; and he observes that, unless this expression simply implies an apex overlaid with a casing of gilded copper, as the top of the obelisk must have been, this inscription possibly refers to the sphere of gold (?) which is represented on certain bas-reliefs at Sakkarah. He further says: "The obelisk was no doubt gilded from top to bottom." In examining closely, one may notice that the hieroglyphs were carefully polished, and moreover that the plain surface of the monument was left comparatively rugged, from which it may be inferred that it had been covered with a coating of white stucco, as so many Egyptian monuments were, which alone received this costly embellishment of gilding, the hieroglyphs themselves retaining the original colour and actual surface of granite. Dr. Birch mentions (p. 103) that the tombs in Libyan range behind Gournah and El-Assasif "are full of scenes of the reign of Thothmes. Two great obelisks of 188 cubits high, with gilded tops! are recorded in these sepulchres." Mariette Bey also says that "the inscription further states that the two granite obelisks of Heliopolis were actually completed and erected in seven months from the very beginning, when first extracted from the quarry in the mountain." This use of bronze caps seems to justify the practice in modern times, as the ancient Romans possibly adopted in certain cases the same practice; and this has been handed down traditionally to our period.

When the pyramidion was perfect in its shape, and required no artificial capping, it was sculptured in sunk relief, with a representation, as on the Alnwick Obelisk, of the god to whom the monument was dedicated, before whom was the king kneeling and presenting his offering, or by a group consisting principally of a sphinx on a pedestal in front of a deity seated on a throne. A very fine example of the apex of an obelisk, at Karnak, is to be seen in the full-sized cast of one side of a pyramidion, on the landing at the top of the staircase leading to the Egyptian Room, in the upper gallery of the British Museum. Imposing from its size and execution, it shews the bold depth of the hieroglyphs and rounded surface of the sunk character, polished, as Mr. Erasmus Wilson suggests, like the delicate carving of a gem.

The next division of our subject relates to the shaft of the obelisk. The sides were not always equal in their width, varying a few inches. In the exceptional instance of the obelisk of Biggeg or Crocodilo-

polis in the Fayoum, called by Mr. W. R. Cooper an obeliscoid monolith in his able book on this subject, the faces are 6 ft. 9 in. broad, the sides only 4 ft. thick. Our London obelisk is at the base 7 ft. 10.3 in. by 7 ft. 8 in.; at the summit, 5 ft. 1.3 in. by 4 ft. 10.25 in.,—an inappreciable difference. The four sides or faces of obelisks were usually square, but occasionally they are convex; a fact proving the nice perception for effect, which prevailed in the minds of the ancient Egyptians, as thus the light was much softer upon the surface, the shades less crude, and the angles less cutting. Whether there is in any an entasis in the upright line has not yet been precisely ascertained, but perhaps this fact may now be set at rest in respect of our Alexandrine obelisk.

Usually obelisks had one, two, or three vertical lines of hieroglyphs. Originally it may be assumed that only one central series was contemplated by the original Pharaoh; but it appears that his son, successor, or successors, added a line on each side: and it is remarkable that earlier hieroglyphs were much deeper cut than the more recent ones. Occasionally some of the hieroglyphs have been altered or erased, more or less deeply cut, and the names of other gods or Pharaohs have been substituted, like the inscriptions upon some of the Roman triumphal arches. I just now noticed the mention made by Mariette Bey of the faces of obelisks having been gilt, the hieroglyphs themselves retaining their original colour and actual surface of granite. It is not impossible that occasionally the hollows of the hieroglyphs may have been filled-in with some coloured substance, in like manner as we see on the frescoes the hieroglyphs painted in different colours, like those preserved in the Egyptian Hall of the British Museum. These inscriptions are generally trivial and meaningless, recording little more than the names and patronymics of the king, his relationship to the gods, and list of his virtues and of the peoples he may have subdued in battle; sometimes with maxims and blessings of the gods. One of the inscriptions on the obelisk of S. John the Lateran, Rome, is rendered in Dr. Birch's "Records of the Past," vol. iv. p. 8:—

"The Har-em-akhu, the living Sun—the strong bull crowned in Thebes—lord of diadems augmenting his kingdom—the hawk of gold—the arranger of diadems—very valiant, the King Ra-men-Kheper—approved of the Sun, son of the Sun,—Thothmes (III.) has made this memorial to his father Amen-Ra—lord of the seat of the upper and lower countries—has erected an obelisk to him—at the gateway of the Temple in Thebes."

The obelisk of Alexandria, now lying in our Thames, contains

similar inscriptions; but I have preferred giving this from the Lateran monument, as it refers more directly to the obelisk erected by the king, Thothmes III., and to the Temple at Thebes before which it stood.

We have now to consider the dies, pedestals and steps upon which the obelisks were anciently raised. On this subject we have very little reliable information, for the bottom portion of those now left standing in Egypt are encumbered and surrounded by huge fallen blocks of stone, preventing their full size from being ascertained; and on those transported to Constantinople or Rome or elsewhere from their original sites no reliance can be placed. Our late friend, Mr. Joseph Bonomi, may be considered a great veteran authority on the subject of obelisks, as he made it an especial object of study when in Egypt and in Rome; and there is a very complete enumeration and analysis of existing monoliths by him in vol. i. of the Second Series of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, 1843, and a description of the Alnwick Obelisk, p. 170 of the same volume. To his liberality we owe the two fine models, now on the table, of obelisks at Karnak and Luxor. In a private letter to myself he says, that he had seen the upper part of the block of granite on which that of Karnak stands—it is cubical; on two sides the surface is vertical, on the two other sides the surface inclines very much, but the exact angle I do not know, nor do I know how high the block is, for the lower part is encumbered by large masses of stone! The model was made for the late Duke of Northumberland (Algernon Percy). This divergence of the faces of the die is a remarkable confirmation of my previous remark as to the irregularities existing in large blocks of granite, from the desire of the Egyptians to retain, as far as possible, the cubical mass entire. Mr. Bonomi concludes his note by stating, that he had measured and drawn the base of the obelisk at Luxor; that it was composed of several pieces of granite, and on the north and south sides had four statues of monkeys cut out of two or three blocks of granite *in alto relievo*. On the east and west sides are sculptured in Egyptian *cavo relievo* (hieroglyphs) figures of Nilus bringing in the productions of the country. This extraordinary mode of embellishing the pedestals of obelisks seems almost incredible, were it not for this instance, which is illustrated and detailed by M. Le Bas the engineer, who transported the Luxor obelisk to Paris, where, however, the original pedestal forms no part of its present composition in the Place de la Concorde.

The obelisk, as described by M. Le Bas, deserves our special notice, on account of its individual peculiarities.

Rameses II., whose reign began 1388 B.C., extracted the monoliths from the quarries of Syene, and transported them to Thebes, and partly incised the hieroglyphs of the middle column. His brother and successor, Sesostris, whose reign began 1328 B.C., completed the inscriptions. It thus appears that the hieroglyphs were executed before the erection: for Rameses II. set up the obelisks 1388 B.C., and had his name engraved on the base as an historical record. The total height of the shaft is 75 feet at its base, 8 feet wide, at the top an average of 5 feet. In its elevation the opposite faces in their height have a different curvature—on the one side being convex and the other concave, to the extent of about a couple of inches, an imperceptible difference from a straight line; but it is remarkable that the two obelisks coincide in this detail. I imagine that the first block must have been irregularly marked out and worked, and the second one compelled to follow the faulty line in the quarry. The pedestal of each obelisk is composed of two distinct parts, its base and its die. The base or plinth resting on the pavement consists of three horizontal blocks of three courses of sandstone—the central die is a granite monolith, supporting the weight of the obelisk—and has on two of its sides four projecting monkeys in high relief; the other sides being plain, with the exception of incised hieroglyphs; one side of the die with four of the monkey figures was a slab-facing of the die, and it consequently did not contribute to its solidity. The entire monument was erected on the grey stone paving, and was sunk into the paving blocks a few inches. Such is the very remarkable construction and decoration of these, I presume, very exceptional instances. As to the pedestals of the obelisks, we may infer that in other cases, the monoliths rested on one or more steps, and that they did not rise at once without any substructure or plinth from the level of the pavement. Sometimes bronze balls or other supports at the angles, raised the monolith a few inches above the slab or block beneath. Mr. Dixon discovered an inscription engraved in Greek and Latin on the bronze crabs supporting the standing obelisk of Alexandria, having the words, "Anno VIII. Cæsaris, Barbarus Præfectus Ægypti posuit; Architectore Pontio" (see E. Wilson's "Cleopatra's Needle," p. 11). This explains the reason why some of the obelisks at Rome have the like angular supports.

We will now turn aside from our immediate subject to consider

a class of monolithic pillars in Ethiopia, erroneously termed obelisks by travellers in that country.

M. De Cosson, in his work entitled "The Cradle of the Blue Nile," 8vo., London, 1877, in his 11 ch. vol. i., gives an account of his visit to Axum in Abyssinia and the ancient capital of Tigre, supposed to have been formerly the metropolis of the Troglodyte Ethiopians or Cushites. Bruce said that he saw a stone with an inscription of the Ptolemies on it, but this M. de Cosson did not succeed in finding. In the plain near he saw an obelisk of stone standing upright, near the ruins of the Temple of Axum, the width of which was greater than its depth; there was no carving on any of its sides, but the lines were straight and sharp, as if they had just been cut by the chisel. At Axum are a number of gigantic monoliths of grey granite, which seem to have formed part of some great early Ethiopic temple, of which little or nothing is now known. The great stone near the ruins of the temple is said to be 70 ft. high, its width nearly twice as great as its depth; it has four parallel sides forming four right angles, tapering gradually towards the top, and finally ending in a pointed ornament somewhat resembling an ace of spades. The front or smoothed side is carved with a regular pattern, dividing it into little panels, and near the base is the carved representation of a locked door of ordinary dimensions. The lock carved is exactly the same as the wooden locks still used in Egypt and Palestine, but which are never seen in Abyssinia. In front of this door is a great square block of granite placed against the base of the stone, and having four little hollows scooped in the upper side about the size and depth of a finger bowl. The surface of this block is quite smooth, and has a scroll pattern carved round the edge, but the underpart is rough and irregular in shape. Probably, says our author, it was used as an altar, and the blood of the sacrifices was collected in the little basins described.

These pillars, so essentially different from the obelisks of Egypt, must only be considered of the same class as the Stele of the Greek, and of no more affinity with the Pharaonic monoliths, than the pillars round the temples in Ceylon.

The erections on the banks of the Nile were constructed of the sand and limestones extracted from the quarries near. The pink granite was only used for the obelisks, statues, sarcophagi, casings of the pyramids, sanctuaries in temples, and linings of some special tombs, and for other precious or sacred purposes. The position of the quarries of Syene must have been of the utmost importance in facilitating the application of that fine material. Situate below

the rapids—or, as they are generally called, the cataracts—when once the masses were extracted from their beds, no obstruction presented itself in their course down the river to their destination, whether to Memphis, Heliopolis, or the Delta. Mr. W. R. Cooper (p. 3) states, that twenty-seven of the forty-two now known were from Syene, and they are doubtless the largest. An unextracted block still remains at Syene, 95 feet long by a diameter of 11 feet, with the quarrymen's marks upon it.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson mentions that the final operation of extraction, when three sides of a mass had been worked round, was by cutting a groove or channel about a couple of inches in depth, and kindling a fire along its whole length. When the stone was intensely heated, cold water was poured into the groove, and the block detached itself with a clear fracture. Wedges of wood were also inserted, saturated with water, then exposed to heat, and the expansion rent the mass asunder. Thus detached it was drawn down to the river, where it was encased, or upon a galley or raft floated down the Nile to near the spot where it was ultimately to be set up. From the river bank it was hauled to the Propyla, in front of which it was to be erected, as shewn on the illustration before you, representing in a sculpture on the wall of a hypogee at Beni-hassan the transport of a colossal statue. One at Gournah measured 57 feet 5 inches high, and, according to Mariette, weighed not less than 1,198 tons! The colossus on the illustration is supposed to be about 20 feet high, and the monolythic block rests on a species of sledge, or cradle, to which it is securely fixed by cables. There are four lines of eighty-six men hauling the load with cables; the men are in couples. In the front part of the statue, standing at its feet, is a man pouring water upon the ropes to prevent their chafing and catching fire by friction. On the knee is a man with outstretched arms beating time with his hands, that the efforts and action of the haulers might be uniform. At top are six companies of soldiers of ten to each company, carrying in one extended hand a palm-branch, in the other a club. Beneath the cradle or sledge of the statue are three water-carriers with their jugs, and three men carrying blocks, and three officers with wands. Behind the statue are three other rows of men—twelve in all—to act as relays. Under the sledge there is no appearance of rollers. We have no hieroglyphs or painting on the walls of the pyla, or tombs, shewing how the obelisks were raised and placed in their final position. That the erection of the monolith on its pedestal was a most critical operation is sufficiently obvious, and its difficulty is

illustrated by an anecdote related by Pliny: Rameses erected an obelisk 140 cubits high and of prodigious thickness. It is said 120,000 men were employed on the work. To ensure the safety of the operation by the extremest skill of the architect, he had his own son fastened to the summit while it was raised. Our obelisk weighs 187 tons.

But on a small illustration before you there is represented a mural painting in a hypogee, or underground tomb, at Gournah, with three men polishing a column of no great size; but that may be conventional. The column rests on blocks; the polishers are astride, or seated on the column, with rubbers rubbing the surface; another, from the same tomb, shews a colossal upright figure surrounded by scaffold poles; five artisans are chiselling, rubbing and polishing the surface. Another small illustration represents a mason carving a many-coloured sphinx; he is chiselling the paw of the animal; he has a wooden mallet in his right hand, and in his left a steel chisel, unmistakingly indicated by the deep blue colour of the tool. We know not whether emery or what other powder was used by the polisher.

I have not yet alluded to the masons' and carvers' operations of cutting the hard materials used in their obelisks, statues, sarcophagi, &c., such as the pink and black granite, black marble, basalt, &c. Hardly any iron tools have been preserved among the relics of the tombs. With what materials did the ancient Egyptians carve with such refined delicacy and exquisite sharpness the mouth, eyes, and other features of their statues, or what Mr. Erasmus Wilson calls the gem-like surfaces of the *in cavo relievo* of the hieroglyphs? I do not know that we are possessed of any process, by which brass may be sufficiently hardened for the purpose, and we have not specimens enough which have survived the oxydation of the iron, to satisfy us on the point as to that material. Could they prepare and soften the surface by some chemical application on the harder elements of their hard stones? No one as yet has been able to inform us; but the secret mystery of the execution of the Egyptian sculpture still evades our wonder, and admiration of their skill. Our own granite merchants have achieved wonders by means of steam machinery, in working out by rotary motion the shafts and bases and caps of certain columns and circular pedestals; but the refined sharpness of the lips, eyebrows, and other delicate features of the Egyptian heads, as they appear even upon the lids of the sarcophagi, or the busts, in the British Museum, has yet to be attained.

I have before observed that the Egyptians were less careful as regards any fixed proportions of their monoliths, but were more anxious to use up the blocks as it came from the quarry, whether as to the height or uniformity of shape. The sides of an obelisk rarely correspond exactly with the breadth of its face, or the height of the shaft to any fixed relation with the width at the base, and there is a like disregard in the height of the pyramidion, which, however, was high-peaked and never stunted. Nevertheless we may generally assume, that the shaft varied from eight to nine diameters high up to the pyramidion, which itself was from sixty to seventy-five hundreds of the breadth at the base. Too few of the pedestals, plinths, or steps, have been ascertained or measured to afford any general law of proportion whether as to their breadth or height.

The positions of obelisks were before the gigantic pylons, which formed the entrance-gateways to the forecourts of their temples; and they were, I think, without exception, always in pairs. At Karnak the situation of the two lofty ones erected by Queen Hatasou (one of which still stands, and is, according to Mariette Bey, p. 370, 108 ft. 6 in. high, the loftiest one known) was between two lofty pylons only 40 or 50 ft. apart! Those in front of the outer pylon are not so distant in advance of it. Consequently the Egyptians disregarded the immediate proximity of a lofty wall, backing them up, and none are known situate in wide open spaces. I have grouped together in a drawing the various objects which occupied the approaches to the temples, and formed an assemblage that was calculated to impress with awe the dignity of the fane of their god. The sacred way led up from the river, flanked on each side with variously-headed sphinxes. At Karnak the dromos is one mile and one-third long, with a line of sphinxes on each side. Approaching nearer, the worshipper finds two obelisks on the right and left not necessarily of the same height. At Luxor one is seven or eight feet higher than the other, and to diminish the appearance of disparity in size, the shorter one is raised on a lofty pedestal, and brought some feet in advance of its companion. Attached to the face of the pylon are six sedent gigantic statues of kings, majestic as to size, and seated in the hieratic posture. Lofty coloured poles, similar to the standards at Venice, are inserted in sinkings chased into the walls, surmounted with the expanded banners of the kings, or heraldic bearings of the temple floating in the wind. The pylon itself, perhaps 200 ft. wide and 100 ft. high, forms the background of the whole, crowned by its cavetto cornice, and its surface covered with coloured sculptures of the victorious Rameses in his chariot,

with upraised arm, slaying his enemies, trampling them under his horse's hoofs, and alone dispersing them in flight! a grand scene of one of the dramas in the reign of a victorious monarch. In the centre of the structure is the portal, 56 ft. high, and through it the sacred or triumphal procession passes in all its gorgeous majesty to within the sacred precincts, there to observe the ritual ceremonials of the mysterious Egyptian cult of one or more of their eight great divinities (see *Birch*, p. x.), or animal gods.

Having thus given a slight sketch of the architectural magnificence of the Egyptians, allow me to offer a tribute of respect to a brother architect; his name, as given by Mariette Bey, is inscribed on the Temple of Edfou. It was Ei-em-hotep Oer-si-Phtah. Imouthes, the great son of Phtah, the only one yet discovered on the monuments of Egypt. I am afraid we are too late for its insertion in the colossal architectural dictionary of our times, unless it finds its way into an appendix.

The chronology of the Bible, as assumed by some learned men, gives the age of the world before the Christian Æra as 4004 years. Mariette Bey (p. 22), *under reservation*, founding the calculations upon dates afforded by inscriptions upon tombs, temples, obelisks, and other monuments, gives the date of the Egyptian empire alone and its dynasties as 5004. Bunsen assumes a still remoter period; and my friend Lesueur, our Honorary and Corresponding Member, in his Chronologie "Les Rois d'Egypte," commences with 20,000, which latter is to be considered as an imaginary datum, from which to start in computing the history of the world. But adopting Mariette Bey's comparatively moderate number of 5004 for the beginning of the Thinite dynasty, as the historic date of the commencement of Egypt's national existence, it fills one with wonder when we consider how many gaps occur in the continuous rule of Egypt's autonomy. How could the very existence of her nationality and arts be maintained, even with periods of more or less purity, when we know that for about 1200 years, or nearly one-fourth of her existence, she was at various times ruled and overrun by the hykshos or shepherds, the Ethiopians and the Persians, under Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes. At last she was conquered and ruled for 332 of those years by the Greeks and Romans, from the time of Alexander and his successors to that of the Romans. Could any other people under such crushing circumstances have maintained their identity on their own native soil?

I will not further trespass on your time and patience but by one more remark arising out of our subject. I cannot but think that

the arrival and erection of the Alexandrine obelisk among us may produce very notable results in regard to our knowledge of ancient Egyptian history, and connected as it is with our Bible. The old Greeks and Romans, the Classics of our boyhood, have had their annals duly chronicled and reduced to elaborate histories by the learned. These, it is true, have been turned upside down by recent erudite enquiries, substituting a different and new chronology, and an assumed rational statement of facts. Egypt, till very recently, had no consecutive accepted history in our language that I know of, until our learned Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, a name honoured and esteemed by all Egyptologists, whether British or foreign, compiled for the Christian Knowledge Society his summary of the ancient history of Egypt from the monuments (one of a series), putting together with vast knowledge and most critical acumen an admirable history. There cannot be a doubt that our countrymen, as they pass by our obelisk, will have their curiosity excited by the sight of hieroglyphs which may have been seen and read by the Jews at the time of Moses, or when our Saviour was taken by His parents to Egypt as a place of refuge from Herod's rage. They will seek in Dr. Birch's book the solution of the mysteries revealed in those enigmatical sculptures, and the history of that ancient people.

THOS. L. DONALDSON.

Consult Champollion-Figeac, "L'Egypte ancienne" (l'Univers pittoresque). Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Works. H. Brugsch, "Histoire de l'Egypte." Dr. Birch, "The Monumental History of Egypt." Mariette Bey, "Itineraire de la haute Egypte." W. R. Cooper, "Egyptian Obelisks." And other publications on Egypt bearing the authoritative names of Lepsius, Ch. Lenormaut, Chabas, De Saulcy, &c.

OBELISKS.

Present Site.	Size.	Height.	By or to whom Dedicated.
	ft. in. ft. in.	ft. in. ft. in.	
HELIOPOLIS . . .	6 1 × 6 3	68 2 or 66 6	ASERTISEN, 2851 B.C.
		ft. in.	
BIGGEG-CROCODOPOLIS .	6 9 × 4 0	43 0	IDEM.
KARNAK	8 1½	93 6 or 90 6	THOTHMES I.
IDEM	Mariette	108 10	HATASOV, B.C. 1660.
LATERAN, ROME . .	9 8 × 9 10	107 or 105 6	THOTHMES III.
VATICAN, IDEM . .	8 10	82 9	NO HIEROGLYPHS.
ALEXANDRIA . . .	7 7 × 8 2	70 0	THOTHMES III.
LONDON	7 10¼ × 7 8	68 5½	"
CONSTANTINOPLE . .	Broken	50 0	"
SION-HOUSE . . .	0 10⅞	7 6	"
THEBAID, ALNWICK .	0 9¾ × 0 9	7 3	AMANOTEP II.
PORTA DEL POPOLO, ROME	8 5 × 8 5	78 6	SETI MENEPTHAH I.
TRINITA DEI MONTI, IDEM	4 3	43 6	"
LUXOR	. . .	82 0	RAMESES II.
PARIS	8 0 × 8 0	76 4	"
SAN, or TANIS . . .	. . .	. . .	"
MONTE-CITORIO, ROME .	. . .	71 5	SESOSTRIS.
PIAZZA NAVONA, IDEM .	4 5	54 3	
PANTHEON, IDEM . .	Fragment	50 0	"
VILLA MATTEI, IDEM .	8 3		
PIAZZA MINERVA, IDEM .	Fragment	17 0	
BRITISH MUSEUM, 2 .	1 6 × 1 5	8 2	AMYRTÆUS I.
CONSTANTINOPLE . .	6 0 × 6 0	35 0	NECTANCHO I.
CORFE CASTLE, PHILÆ .	2 2	22 1½	PTOLEMY EVERGETES II., [150 B.C.
BENEVENTO . . .	. . .	9 0	
MONTE PINCIO, ROME .	. . .	30 0	HADRIANUS.

Erasmus Wilson (p. 178) enumerates the existing Obelisks as follow :—Rome, 12 ; Italy, in addition, 4 ; Egypt, 6 ; Constantinople, 2 ; France, 2 ; England, 6 ; Germany, 1.

OBELISKS.

In the year 1852, Dr. Birch communicated to the "Museum of Classical Antiquities, or Quarterly Journal of Ancient Art," some "Notes upon Obelisks," including those in Rome. That Journal has long been discontinued, and the back numbers are out of print and scarce. Dr. Birch is now acknowledged to be the highest living authority on the subject; any work on the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome would now be incomplete if it did not include Dr. Birch's Notes on them. They are therefore here reprinted, along with corrections and the new translation that he has kindly made for this work of the hieroglyphics on the one made in Egypt for the Emperor Hadrian and his favourite Antinous, to be placed in Rome.

Dr. Birch's translations are made from the admirable edition of the text of the Hieroglyphics by Ungarelli, with a Latin version published in Rome in a folio volume in 1842 [a].

Notes upon the obelisks of Thothmes III. His accession to power materially altered the position of Egypt; and the long annals of his reign exalt him far above the supposed Rameses II., or Sesostris. Throughout his rule, deputations and tribute-bearers of the different tribes came to Egypt, offering the rich products of their lands, and amongst other objects obelisks were of course included, from the granite quarries of the vicinity of Syene. Hence, in the tablet of Karnak, l. 26, after mentioning the setting up of tablets in the land of Naharaina, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt, it states, "sledges coming from the land of P'unt in that year," which, notwithstanding the mutilated condition of the monument, must be 32nd or 33rd. In the pictorial representation of this tablet, in the tomb of the officer Rekmara, the people of *P'unt* are represented offering two obelisks of red Syenitic granite amidst the other products of the country. The general inscription calls it *ai.t m hept* [*en ŭr nu*] *P'unt m kes her tehan kar nen sen r bu kar chen ef su cheb Ra men cheper anch t'eta mā neb nefer, n kah sn.* "The coming in peace of the chiefs of P'unt, prostrate on their

[a] Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis ad Gregorium XVI. Pont. Max. digesta per Aloisium Mariam Ungarellium, sodalem Barnabitam. Romæ, MDCCCXLII. Contents: 1. Lateranensis. 2. Flaminii. 3. Mattheiani. 4. Mathutæi. 5. Campensis. 6. Minervei. 7. Pamphilei. 8. Beneventanorum. 9. Barberini. These are engraved on seven large plates, some of them folded into the folio volume.

foreheads (submissively) bearing their offerings to his majesty the king, the sun, the placer of creation (Thothmes III.), ever living, all the true things of their lands[b]." Various explanations have been given of the position of the P'unt, supposed to be the Poeni[c], the Libyans[d], the people of Punon, or the south-eastern borderers of Egypt[e]; but it is evident that they must be in the vicinity of the Syenitic quarries; and the red figures who accompany the blacks are their Egyptian masters.

These two obelisks given by Thothmes III.[f], to the granite sanctuary, are again represented in the numerous offerings which that monarch presented to the temple of Amon. The picture on the top of the obelisk is erased. On each is one vertical line containing the name and titles of the king; and "that he has set up two great obelisks capped (*ben ben am nub*) with gold;" which, on one, are stated to have been "at the two gates of his temple."

In a fragment from the temple of the El Assasif, amidst a list of offerings which this monarch presented to the temple of the god, collars, pectoral plates, and other gifts for the clothing of the deity, are described some of the more solid gifts of the edifices: "two obelisks (of granite) rising to a height of 108 cubits, inlaid with gold throughout their length, made in their rays. . . . .[g]" These obelisks have long disappeared. The other obelisks of this king which remain, are those of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome.

The one in the earliest part of the reign is that of the Atmeidan, or Hippodrome of Constantinople, erected in the time of Theodosius. It would appear from the inscriptions that it was probably set up before the granite sanctuary of Karnak; for besides the titles of the king, it states that "he made it as a gift to his father Amon-Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth," or to the Theban Jupiter. The political information it affords is, that the king "has gone round (the great waters of) Naharaina," or Mesopotamia, and that "he has made his frontiers to the tips of the earth, his seats to Naharaina[h]," or Mesopotamia, which coincides with the account of the statistical tablet thence taken.

This obelisk is probably the first erected by this monarch, be-

[b] Hoskins, Æthiopia, 4to., Lond., 1843; plate, tomb at Thebes.
[c] Birch, Tr. R. Soc. Lit., vol. ii. p. 356.
[d] Wilkinson.
[e] Lepsius, Einleit, s. 286.
[f] Burton, Exc. Hier., plate xxix.; Champollion, Mon., tom. iv. pl. cccxvi.
[g] Lepsius, Abth., iii. tab. 27, 11.
[h] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., New Series, vol. ii. p. 218; Kircher, Œdipus, iii. p. 305; Niebuhr, Reise nach Arabien, 1774, tab. 4.

cause it has no lateral inscriptions or restorations by subsequent kings; and it mentions the conquest of the Naharaina as a novel event, which could not have happened earlier than the thirtieth year, as appears from the Karnak tablet. It is imperfect, the lower half not having been set up, and probably still remaining under ground.

Of the other obelisks, the priority must probably be given to those of Alexandria, one of which is erect; the others follow because they are restored by later kings.

On the pyramidion of the erect obelisk, the so-called Needle of Cleopatra, Thothmes is represented as a sphinx adoring the Ra, and Tum, the midday and the setting sun, the two deities of Heliopolis. No important political information is mentioned, except "that he has smitten the numerous lands of the Heka," or Hykshos; there is a general allusion to an extension of the frontiers of Egypt. From the text of the restoration of Rameses, it must have been placed at one of the gates of Heliopolis[i].

The most remarkable and best known of the two is the fallen one, three sides of which are alone visible, two only legible, the third being in a very bad state. It was originally erected by Thothmes III., who is again here seen on the pyramidion, under the form of a sphinx seated on a tall pedestal, offering wine and water to the god Tum, or Tomos, and incense to Ra[k]. The obelisk again indicates that it was set up on the occasion of some festival; for besides the usual name and titles, the legend on the first side declares that the king "erected it as a gift to Ra; that he set up two obelisks capped with gold, when he celebrated the festival as he wished." Upon the next it is declared that the god "has given him the celebration of festivals upon the noble persea (*as't*), in the midst of the garden," or "abode of the Phœnix" (*m chennu bak*). On the third, the legend states that the king "has set it up to Tum," or Tomos, "who has given to him a great name, augmenting his kingdom in Petenu, in that he has placed to him the throne of Seb, the dignity (*aau*) of *Cheper*." Even of the fourth side, what remains alludes to "the celebration of very many festivals." This shews that the obelisk was set up late in the king's reign, probably not earlier than the thirtieth year. On the Karnak tablet, in the account of the twenty-ninth year of Thothmes, mention is made apparently[l] of a daily sacrifice, "as it is in the festivals of Egypt,"—

[i] Norden, pl. viii., ix., Descr. de l'Egypte, A. vol. v. pl. 33.

[k] Burton, Exc. Hier., pl. li.; Kircher, Œdipus, iii. 341, for north-west side; Norden, pl. vii.

[l] Auswahl., taf. xii. l. 7.

the word *heb*, or "festival," being given by M. Lepsius from Champollion's copy. It is singular to find this account in a narrative of what the king is represented doing out of Egypt, and it probably relates to his triakonteris, or circle of thirty years, religiously celebrated abroad. That the hierarchy attached the utmost importance to the due performance of the rite is clear; and the elevation of triumphal obelisks gave *éclat* to the epoch.

Last, but not least, of the obelisks of this monarch, is that at present on the Lateran hill at Rome, generally called the Obelisk of St. John of the Lateran. Like all its fellows, it has suffered much from its removal, and, transplanted from the ever-serene skies of Thebes to even the Italian atmosphere, has lost much of its original colour. It is placed on a high pedestal not well adapted for displaying its beauty. It has been often published; and there is no obelisk, the inscription of which is more curious and historically important. It was commenced by Thothmes, but not set up by him, the glory being reserved for his son and successor, who is by no means slow to claim the honour. This obelisk was a Theban one. The king appears on the cap, or pyramidion [m], receiving life from Amon-Ra and Tum, while on the base he offers wine and water to the god. The central line alone refers to his erection of the work, the lateral ones being added by his son. Thothmes III. gave it "as a gift (*men*) to Amon-Ra." It also seems not to have been in the Karnak quarter, but upon the western bank of the river, either at Medinat Haboo or Gournah. On the south side the inscriptions allude to the height of the monument: "he set up an obelisk, towering on high above the other edifices of Thebes, when he first set up an obelisk in Uas." On the eastern side it mentions, "presenting it to Amon-Ra, in his house belonging to his gifts, beyond what had been given before." On the western side, "the lord celebrated millions of festivals" is mentioned. This closes the obelisks of the great Thothmes; and it is singular that none of his successors of this dynasty erected any obelisk worthy of the name, for they either only completed the others which he had commenced, or left the erection of such monuments to their successors. One obelisk, indeed, of very small proportions, exists of Amenophis II., discovered in a village of the Thebaid, and presented by the Pasha, in 1838, to the Duke of Northumberland. It is of the usual red syenitic granite, and is inscribed upon its front face. Immediately under the pyramidion,

[m] Ungarelli, Interpretatio Obeliscorum, 8vo. Romæ, 1842, tab. i.; Kircher, Œdipus, iii. 164.

Amenophis II. is represented offering upon his knees a conical cake to the god Num-Ra, the Chnumis, Chnemis, or Ammon Chnebis. Down the shaft is a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, stating that the king has made two obelisks to his father, Num-Ra, either at a place called "*Sha-t*," or "at the altar." This obelisk also bears traces of the violence of the Sun-worshippers, the name of Amenophis has been anciently obliterated; but those who re-inserted it, substituted for that of Amenophis II., the divine ruler of An, "that of Amenophis III., the divine ruler of Uas," or the western bank, for some reasons not known; either in forgetfulness, or in the hurry of some great public change[n].

The great obelisk of the Lateran was not finished by Thothmes; and Amenophis II. does not appear to have taken any part in its completion. Thothmes IV., who is commonly supposed to be the grandson of the great Thothmes, however, terminated the work, adding lateral inscriptions, in which he not only mentions this, but also some other curious facts. On the left line of the south side he states: "When his majesty finished the great obelisk brought by his father, the king, the Sun establisher of creation (Thothmes III.) when his majesty found this obelisk it remained till the thirty-fifth year in its place, in the hands of the workmen at the southern quarter of Thebes; as ordered by my father to set it up, I, his son, assented." On the line of the right side he states that he "set it up in Thebes, capping it with gold, illuminating Uas with its beauty, cut in the name of his father, the perfect god, the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III.), in order that the name of his father should remain placed (*uah*) at the temple of Amon-Ra." The inscriptions on the east side are still more remarkable; for there the king speaks of his gifts to the temple of Amon-Ra. On the left columns he mentions, "multiplying gifts, in Thebes, of gold, tin (*chesbet*), copper, and precious stones, and a great barge (*bari*) (called) Amen-User-hau, on the river, produced from the true acacia (*as'*) wood, which his majesty cut in the land of Rutecn, inlaid through its length with gold: all its decorations being of gems, to receive the beauty of father Amon-Ra, when he goes on the river, made by the son of Tum Thothmes, the crown of crowns[o]." Of these barges, or rather

[n] M. Bonomi, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., New Series, vol. i. p. 170; M. Prisse, Rev. Arch., iii. 731.

[o] Cf. Ungarelli, Int. Ob., tab. i., and the unintelligible translation he has given, pp. 37—41. This is probably the barge of Sesoosis, made of cedar, gilded outside and silvered inside, 280 feet long, which he dedicated with an obelisk, 120 cubits high, and other gifts. (Diod. ii. 57.)

floating shrines of the gods, much is already known. Although in hieratic strain, the inscription on the right side is equally remarkable; and, as no very intelligible translation has been given of it, I here venture to do so. It calls the king "the good god, powerful warrior, the chief who leads those who belong to him, who sends terror into the Mena (Shepherds), who roars in Phut, whose kingdom is permanent, brought up by his father Amon: the chiefs of all lands dance to his spirits, speaking with his mouth, making with his hands, he has ordered all of their creation; the king, the Sun establisher of created beings, establishing, as king, his name in Thebes." Hence it appears that this monarch also had signally embellished Thebes. On the north side, indeed, the notions are rather religious than historical. It calls him "the king, beloved of the gods, honoured by the spirits, the excellent, who hails the sun in the cabin, and adores Tum in the ark; the lord of the earth, building Uas for ever; making his monuments in Thebes, to the gods of the temple of Ammon. Moreover, he was made the veritable son of Amon-Ra, crowned on his throne; Thothmes (IV.), crown of crowns, beloved of Amon-Ra, the everliving!" The line on the right side also contains the title of king, "the perfect god, the image of rulers, whose dominions are established like those of Tum, the powerful soldier, afflicter of foreigners, Sun placer of creation, who captures by his power, like the lord of Uas, very glorious like Mentu (Mars), to whom Amon has given his power over every country; the barbarian lands come to him, his respect is in their bellies, the son of the sun, Thothmes (IV.), crown of crowns, beloved of him who is the male and female, living like the sun for ever!" This was, probably, the last side executed, for while on all others Thothmes III. offers to the hawk of the Horus, on this, the offering is made by Thothmes IV. On the western side more information is accorded of the position of the obelisk, the king again alluding to his constructions, to the usual trampling of his enemies under his sandals, and his going in a good path; "his majesty is proved," it states, "how beautiful are his memorials; he is the king himself, who gives the choicest of his works, like the wall of the south (Phtha); he has set it up in the region of the Hours," i.e., the heaven: "he has rejoiced his heart in making it." In another part it states that "he has reckoned what he has planned." On the right lateral line, it states that "every one rejoices in seeing its great beauty, he has given it from his heart, the chiefs dance to his spirits; he has made it as a memorial to his father Amon-Ra,

erecting a very great obelisk at the upper gate of Thebes, facing Uas [p], or the western bank.

None of the monarchs of this dynasty, who succeeded, have left obelisks behind them. This is the more extraordinary, because one, Amenophis III., executed architectural works of equal magnificence and difficulty, and the temples of Luxor and Gournah ought to have been provided with them. It is, indeed, possible that the rival sects of Amon and Aten, who succeeded him, may have destroyed all such, and that in the confusion which followed there was no time for aught but public disturbance and religious hatred.

But as the fortunes of the monarchy once more revived, the desire to perpetuate the memorials of great deeds on imperishable monuments re-appeared also; and conquests and the arts marched hand in hand. The time of the first monarch was amply engaged in chasing the enemies of Egypt from her soil, and he left the unfinished task to his successor, who once more restored the limits of the empire and who undertook public works on a style still more magnificent. One obelisk, the Flaminian [q], remains of Sethos I., and that he did not live to complete, for the inscriptions of three sides only bear his name, those on the fourth being added by the great Rameses, his successor, who also placed lateral lines to the other, to shew that he had dedicated the monument. On the north, south, and west sides, the scenes of the pyramidion represent Sethos, as a sphinx, worshipping, either Ra, or Tum, the gods of Heliopolis; in the scenes below and at the base he repeats the offerings. In this obelisk there is nothing of a political interest, except that the king has "afflicted the Mena or Shepherds," and of the position of the obelisk, only general terms alluding to An or Heliopolis occur: "glorious are his gifts in Annu, placed for ever, opening to the props of the heaven, remaining perpetually to . . . the temple of the Sun," which is detailed on the north side. On the west is mentioned his "filling Annu with obelisks in the light of the beams of the temple of the Sun," a second allusion to the monoliths, considered as the sunbeam.

The greatest number, however, were erected by the great Rameses; and the consideration of his works re-opens the question of whether there were two or three monarchs of that name in the 19th dynasty;

[p] Conf. M. De Rougé, Tombeau d'Ahmes, p. 73, reads *Tâme* for the name of this region. This word, formerly read *T'am* or *Naser*, is now found from its variants to be Uas.

[q] Bp. Gibraltar, Tr. R. Soc. Lit., vol. i., New Series, p. 176, and following; Ungarelli, Int. Ob., tab. ii.

to settle which it is necessary to commence with those of Luxor. Now, it will be remembered that there were two obelisks before the propylæa at Luxor, one of which has been removed to Paris, the other still remaining in its place. Both differ considerably from those of the eighteenth dynasty. On three sides of the Paris obelisk there is a central line, which is always that of the original dedicator, flanked by two others, in the name which supplies the triple inscription on the fourth side. Yet the difference is wholly in the prenomen, or solar name, of the king, for both were called Rameses, the one of the original legends, *Ra user ma*, which Hermapion has translated for ὃν ἄλκιμος Ἄρης ἐδωρήσατο, while the subsequent form, which appears in the cartouches of Rameses, *satp et Rā*, is translated by the same ὃν Ἥλιος προεκρίνεν. It is difficult to conceive, if the central and lateral dedications are by the same monarch, why the same king should have added the latter, contrary to the principle of every obelisk extant; and this obelisk, in fact, exactly resembles the Flaminian, the original dedications of which were by Sethos I., with the restorations of Rameses II. The pyramidion of this obelisk is imperfect; but the scenes on the top of the shaft shew Rameses (*Ra user-ma*), offering wine to Amon-Ra, and Rameses (*Ra user-ma satp en Ra*), offering water. Very little information is afforded, either of a political or architectural nature, by this inscription. In one standard the king mentions his conquests over the Mena, or "Shepherds;" in a religious style he is flattered as "being of the same substance as Tum;" or, "the matter (*maai*) divine of his father Amon Ra[r]." There is, indeed, on the south side, a remarkable expression, for in it the king has made "the place of the great soul to rejoice," possibly alluding to Amon-Ra, who, as Num, was the greatest of created beings, the soul of the universe, and that "he has rejoiced the gods of the great temple." All this, however, contains little or no information as to the obelisk or its site; but these will be found in the entire legends of the west, and in the lateral ones of the other side. In the central line of this side, the king, Rameses II., particularly refers to "building a house for periods of years," i.e., for the celebration of the festivals; and "making his work in southern Thebes," the name of the Karnak quarter.

As before, he states that "he has been crowned by Amon, on his throne upon earth, for a great lord to take every country."

[r] Champollion, Mon., tom. iv. pl. cccix.; Sharpe, Egyptian Inscr.; Rosellini, M. R., No. cxvii.; Norden, pl. cvi., Descr. de l'Eg., A. vol. iii. pl. 11, 18.

The allusions to his conquests are comparatively vague and insignificant. On the eastern side, it is stated, "the chiefs of all countries are under his sandals," and on the north, "that every country comes bearing gifts." Even the hatred of the disk seems forgotten; "thy name remains," says the west side, "as the heaven, thy day like the disk (*aten*) in it." On a band round the line of the obelisk, it is said, that Rameses II. made it.

The standing obelisk[8] contains more information. On the shaft, below the pyramidion, the king kneels, and offers incense, wine, and a figure of Truth to Amon-Ra. On the first face on the north, the king is described as "the constructor of memorials, in Southern An, to his father Amon, who has allowed him to be on his throne;" also, that he "has made it as a memorial to his father, Amon-Ra; he has set up two obelisks of granite, placing them for millions of years at the divine residence of Rameses, whom Amon loves, at the house of Amon-Ra." It also makes allusion to his constructions at Uas, on the western bank, and the vaguer expression, of making edifices in Thebes. On the third side he states "that he has arranged the temple of Amon, and purified Uas, placing his name for ever in Thebes, and to remain perpetually in Apt;" and on the fourth side, that "he delivers the intelligence of his father, Amon, from the place of truth (tribunal), he makes all in Uas stand astonished at his monuments for ever;" also, he "has made monuments in Uas for the children of his father, Amon-Ra." This obelisk, perhaps, was erected later in the reign, for "he is called lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, having been a long time lord of the triakonteris; and that Phtha has placed his kingdom on the great persea, in the temple of Ha-ká-ptah (Memphis), for a king to take all countries."

Although Rameses II. is, perhaps, the king whose name occurs the most frequently upon obelisks, he is rather distinguished as a restorer or completer, than an actual maker of obelisks. In Egypt there are two obelisks, at San, the ancient Tanis, and the standing obelisk of Luxor still remaining of this king; in Europe, that of the Boboli gardens at Florence, and the Mattheian (1[9]) and Mahutæan obelisks at Rome (2). Besides these, are restorations made by Rameses II. of the Flaminian and the Alexandrian. The inscriptions of the Luxor obelisks have been already analyzed, and it is now necessary to enter upon a consideration of the obelisks

[8] Champollion, Mon., t. iv. pl. cccxx., cccxxi.

[9] (1), (2), (3), &c., refer to the present topographical arrangement, p. 62.

at San, both which, now fallen, were originally erected by Rameses II.

Under the pyramidion of one side, the king adores the god *Mau*, or *S'u*, "light." The inscriptions state, in general terms, that "he makes his frontiers wherever he wishes, none stand before him, he guides his soldiers, all lands come in submission to his power." At the foot are two scenes, the king giving wine to Mau or *S'u*, and a viand, called *s'ens*, to Tum [u], the Tomos of the Greeks, the local deities.

The other obelisk at this site is broken and imperfect. On the pyramidion is seen the king adoring *Ra* and *Tum*. One vertical line descends each side of the shaft, containing the usual names, and titles, and certain indications of conquests. On the first face the king is said to be "the smiter of the shepherds of the waste (*Mena nu sha*), bruiser of foreigners, making all lands as if they were not." On the second the king is styled "the excessively youthful" (*renpa en her en her*); and on the third, "him, whose heart prevails on the day of battle, Mentu (Mars) in his slashes," (*suak*) "the hero (*mahur*) of Anta," or, Anaitis, and "king over Kami and Tesher [v]."

Less information is afforded by the Mahutæan [x] obelisk, which, after all, is a truncated shaft, the lower part imperfect. There are no pictures on the pyramidion, it has instead only the name and prenomen of the king. There is no trace on this, as upon the other obelisks, of the monarch being in his youth, for he is called "the chief of festivals (*ur en hebi*), like Ra, upon the throne of Tum;" also, that he has "made many gifts to the house of the Sun." This obelisk, consequently, must have been placed before one of the gates of the temple of the Sun. Still less important are the inscriptions of the Mattheian obelisk [y], containing only the name and title of the king.

I now pass to the inscription of the obelisk of the Boboli gardens, at Florence. At the apex is a winged scarabæus thrusting forward the Sun. Below are the name and prenomen of Rameses II., by whom the obelisk was erected. The inscriptions, his titles, are "great master, powerful in all countries, the king, the son of Tum, and the intelligent son of Ra." The king is also said to be "beloved" by Tum and Ra. This shews that the obe-

[u] Burton, Exc. Hier., pl. xxxviii.—xl.; Déscr. de l'Egypte, A. vol. v. pl. 29.

[v] Burton, E. H., xxxix. pl. xl.

[x] Ungarelli, Int. Obel., tab. iii.

[y] Ibid.

lisk came from Heliopolis. There is only one line, and the tip is wanting[z].

Both the erect and the fallen obelisk at Alexandria were restored by Rameses II., probably during his youth; at all events it is difficult, even as honorary epithets, to understand such phrases in the lateral inscriptions as, "he has come out of the body, to take the crowns of the sun, born to be great lord," which occurs on the right flank inscription of the second side; and "the noble youth, much beloved, like the disk when it gleams out of the horizon," an allusion to the nascent sun[a]. On the third side, indeed, the king is called "the lord of the triakonteris, like Phtha, whom the sun has produced to make the festivals of An-nu, and supply the temple, born lord of the earth;" but these may be merely general expressions. Rameses II. also restored the fallen obelisk of Alexandria: the inscriptions, however, do not throw much light upon its object, being filled with the usual flattery of the king. On first side, left lateral line, he is said "to make his frontiers wherever he likes, being at peace through his might;" on the other side, "his eyes annihilate those he looks at, none can speak to his brow;" on the next side it is stated that, "he is a powerful hero, like the son of Nupe (Osiris), none stand before him[b]," in the left line; while the right states that "he has chased the southern foreigners to the sea, the north to the poles of heaven." In the left lateral line of the third side, the inscriptions state "that he has brought his work into the house of his father Tum, never was such seen in the house of his father." The inscriptions of this obelisk, as given by Burton[c] and Champollion[d], are so widely different, as regards this last side, that it is impossible to reconcile them. I have followed Burton. A mere fragment of another obelisk (3) of this monarch, containing his name and titles, existed at the Collegio Romano in the time of Kircher[e].

As in the case of the standing obelisk of Luxor, the Flaminian obelisk has the triple inscription of the fourth side, and the lateral ones of the rest, added by Rameses II., in his second prenomen. Now it is natural to conclude that this must have been done early in his reign, when he was busied with finishing what his predecessor had already left unfinished, as he proceeded with the temples of Heliopolis and Thebes. The inscriptions, however, of Rameses

[z] Migliarini, Annali, 1842, pp. 161—187.

[a] Champollion, Monumens, t. iv. pl. ccccxliv.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Exc. Hier., li.

[d] Mon., tom. iv. pl. ccccxliv.

[e] Kircher, Œdipus, iii. p. 383.

are neither illustrative of the object of the obelisk, nor of the political period[f]. On the pyramidion, Rameses adores Atum, or Tum, as a sphinx; on the shaft, he offers truth to the god. In very pompous style he speaks of "making monuments like the stars of heaven, his deeds surpassing heaven, shining rejoicing over them at his house of millions of years of his majesty; beautiful has been this monument for his father, as he wished, placing his name on the house of the Sun." In the line on the left, the king is said "to ennoble An with great monuments, born of the gods, in their shape, in the great house." The right line states, that "all in Egypt (*Kami*) will rejoice[g] at the beams of the horizon, when they see what he has done." From this, indeed, it may appear that it was set up at Heliopolis. The inscriptions at the other sides are of less precise interest. On the left line of the side he is called "the youth whom the gods have led, building their temples;" on the right line, "he gives joy to An while he reigns;" on the western side there is none, except the set phrases of "ruler of Egypt, chastiser of foreigners, greatest of the powerful." On the north side, indeed, some similar ideas occur: "great is his name in all lands, through the power of his might, and he has filled the abode of the Phœnix with his glories[h]."

Every king of Egypt especially prided himself upon his obelisks. In the Sallier Papyrus[i], containing the poem of Pentaur on the grand campaign of Rameses II. against the Khita, the king, addressing Amon, says: "Do I not make for thee edifices, and tablets very many . . . . filling thy temple with captives, building up for thee a place for a million of years, placing altars in the temple, entirely giving first-fruits of all lands . . . . supplying thee thy sacred food, sacrificing to thee thousands of bulls. I build for thee great pylons of stone, storing for thee eternal granaries, leading thee obelisks from Abu (Elephantina)."

After the death of Rameses II., none of his successors appear to have had either time or inclination for such works; and if the great builder of Medinat Haboo lived to erect such shafts of stone, none have survived the devastations of time. Under the reign of his successor, Menephtha, however, they are mentioned. In an historical papyrus of the British Museum, of this date, the

[f] Ungarelli, Interp. Obelisc., tab. i.; Kircher, Œdipus, iii. p. 180.

[g] Ibid., cf. Chœremon in Tszetzes Exeg. ad Homer., a Hermann in Draco. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1812, p. 99.

[h] Or "made it by his wisdom," or "blessing," *shet ta em naif bash t.* This part is much mutilated.

[i] Select Papyri, pl. xxv. l. 8, 9.

details of an obelisk are described, of 110 cubits. It was cut, according to the writer, in the name of his majesty. The height of its shaft was 110 cubits; that of the pedestal, 10 cubits; the circuit from its base, 7 cubits, in all directions, going to a point for two cubits. Its cap was one cubit in the perpendicular; its slope was . . . . [k]. One of the successors of Rameses, Miammum, the Rameses (vi. of Rosellini [l], and the v. of Bunsen), made an addition to the inscriptions of the obelisk of Thothmes I., standing at Karnak. The inscriptions upon the east side are the usual set phrases, except that the king particularly alludes to Uas, or the western bank; "doing things in Naser" is the expression. On the south side left lateral line, he speaks of "rejoicing," or "raising up Uas like the heaven, giving temples to the earth;" while on the right line he states that "he makes S. An (Karnak) like heaven's horizon." He repeats the same on the left lateral line of the western side; "making monuments," he states, "in Uas, Thebes is like the heavenly horizon," *i.e.* shining, lucid. At the head of this line he states that "he rises to open the eyes of the good [m]." Interesting as all this is, little more can be gleaned from it than that the king executed some repairs upon both banks of the river; but the temples must have been always being added to. A long interval now divides us from any obelisk. An unknown king, probably one of the twenty-first dynasty, has cut, in a very humble manner, his name on the standing obelisk at Alexandria [n]. No room remained for any elaborate statement, so he just endorsed his name and prenomen on the monument: the name is gone, and the prenomen, which, according to Burton, reads *Ra usr cheper satp en Ra*, "the sun who defends creation, whom the sun has chosen;" is, according to Mr. Harris, who has most kindly inspected it for me, *Ra neter cheper, satp en Ra*, "the sun god of creation, whom the sun has selected." This is, however, unknown. Hence, till the time of the twenty-sixth, there are no obelisks; and the first which we have is that of the Campus Martius at Rome, called the Obeliscus Campanensis (4), erected by Psammetichus II., a great reviver of old usages at the time of the Egyptian renaissance. It differs from those as yet described, by having a double line

[k] Select Papyri, xlix. 15 l., qy. 5; Dr. Hincks, Brit. Archæol. Assoc., Winchester Meeting, p. 253. All these technical details are difficult to make out.

[l] Rosellini, M. R., No. xxx.

[m] Some such expressions probably gave rise to the story of Pheron. Herod. ii. 110; Diodorus, i. c. 59.

[n] Burton, E. H., li.

of hieroglyphs down each side, three of which, much mutilated, only remain. On the pyramidion, the king, figured as a sphinx, adores Ra and Tum, the gods of Heliopolis, where the obelisk was set up. He is styled, on the south side, "beloved of Tum, lord of Annu," and "of the spirits of Annu[o]." He seems also to allude to his taking (*ti*) of the crown, and of the pschent, referring to the extinction of the dodecharchy; and again occurs that ever-mentioned "first time of celebrating the festival."

Sais was also embellished with obelisks,—the one called the Minerveus[p], at Rome, small, indeed, but highly interesting (5), being dedicated to Tum, who dwells in Sas or Sais, and in what was called the region *Anch*, or "life," the mystical name of the west, and to Nit or Neith, also indwelling in the same region, and in the royal residence of Northern Egypt, which means Sais. Henceforth there are no extant obelisks till the reign of the Lagidæ.

Let us pause awhile, as we have reached the period of the Persian conquest, and the opening of Egypt to the Greeks. What the age wanted in skill, if Theophrastus is to be believed, it made up for in material, for the king of Babylon sent an obelisk of emerald, 40 cubits high, composed of four pieces. It requires great faith in the authors to believe it[q]. According, indeed, to Herodotus[r], Pheron, the son of Sesostris, dedicated two obelisks, on account of the recovery of his eyesight, at the temple of the Sun, but whether at Heliopolis or Thebes, is not stated. Herodotus also saw two large obelisks at the temple of Sais, in the courtyard, which he calls the temenos[s]. This Greek, as usual, follows the legend which he heard from the interpreters, and has confused even what he heard.

There are, however, between the period of the Greek and Persian rule two small obelisks, formerly removed from a house in Cairo, and now in the British Museum[t]. They were erected by a monarch named Nechtharhebi, or Nectanebes, to the Trismegist Hermes, or Tot; and these have been either taken from the small pylon of an ancient temple of the god at Memphis, or from some other neighbouring site. As the last of the Pharaonic obelisks, they are interesting. On two sides of each, the

[o] Ungarelli, Int. Ob., tab. iii.; Zoega, pl. 1, 2, 6.

[p] Ungarelli, tab. iii.; Kircher, Œdipus, iii. p. 379.

[q] Theophrastus, De Lapid., i. c. 2; Pliny, N. H., xxxvii. c. 5.

[r] ii. 110.

[s] ii. 170.

[t] Nos. 523, 524; Déscr. de l'Egypte, A. vol. v. pl. 21, 22.

king speaks of himself as "beloved of Tot," or "Thoth, who is set over pure spirits," and "the lord of hieroglyphs." On the other he mentions that "he has set up an obelisk in his house of basalt; it is capped with black metal (iron), they have given him all perfect life, like the sun[u]." On the other obelisk[x] the king states that he is "beloved of Tot," or "Thoth, lord of hieroglyphs, who dwells in the city of Hesar;" and in some other place, "presiding over truth, giving honour to the gods;" and the dedicatory inscriptions again mention their being "capped with black metal that he may be safely crowned with a perfect life."

After this period, no obelisks of sufficient consequence to attract the attention of travellers have remained, if, indeed, any were erected in the period; for Egypt, as a conquered province, had all her revenues carried out of the country, and nothing left for public improvement. These great works were connected with the national feeling, and required the energies and resources of the people to execute. Even the Ptolemies, the earlier of whom were deeply imbued with the love of art, were unable to execute these works, so low had taste declined. According to Pliny, Ptolemæus Philadelphus erected one at Alexandria, of 80 cubits in height, which Nectabis had cut in the quarry, but not sculptured with hieroglyphs. This obelisk was transported by the architect, Satyrus. It was placed in the Arsinoëum, by the king, as a mark of conjugal affection[y]. The Ptolemies, indeed, were more distinguished as renewers of obelisks than makers of them; at all events none remain of their temples, although they have raised some that vie with those of the older dynasties. One perfect obelisk, and the broken base of another, remain of those set up at the temple of Philæ, which stood at the entrance of the propylon, and which bear the names of Ptolemy Euergetes II., and his wife Cleopatra[z]. A copy of them was first published in a privately-printed plate, by Mr. Bankes, which has been subsequently given by M. Lepsius in his *Auswahl*[a], from collations and corrections made with the text. Each side has carved upon it a single line of hieroglyphs, which offer the curious anomaly of facing two ways, those which allude to the king, one way, and those referring to the deities, another. On it are the names of Ptolemy Euergetes and his wife Cleopatra; but the inscriptions are loaded with religious phrases,

[u] Déscr. de l'Egypte, A. vol. v. pl. 21.

[x] Ibid., pl. 22; Bp. Gibraltar, in the Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. ii. p. 457.

[y] Piny, N. H., xxvi. s. 14.

[z] See M. Lepsius, Lit. Gaz., May, 1839, p. 279.

[a] Tab. xvii.

and scarcely express more than that the king has set up this obelisk to his mother, Isis. On the base is a petition, in Greek, to relieve the priests from certain charges made upon them by the different officers of state[b], and the rescript of the monarch. The inscriptions of this obelisk have a certain interest, from the part they play in the decipherment of hieroglyphs, as it was from the joint names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra they were first discovered. In the religious portion of the inscriptions there is little of interest.

From this time till the Augustan age there is nothing relating to obelisks, except that Strabo[c], who visited Egypt at the period, mentions obelisks at the tombs of the kings, and those of Heliopolis[d]. The idea of transforming them into the gnomons of dials thence commenced, an idea which originated with the Alexandrian school, a great departure from their original scope. Augustus transferred to Rome the obelisk of Semenpserteus, removed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the Arsinoëum at Alexandria; and Pliny speaks of the two obelisks of Alexandria, which were the work of the ancient king, Mesphres, by whom he means the king of Manetho's, eighteenth dynasty. These he reckons at 82 cubits; and, in his time, they stood in the Port at the Temple of Cæsar[e]. The obelisk which was erected in the Campus Martius at Rome, also removed by Augustus, was nine Roman feet less, and made by Sethosis. This obelisk was converted into a gnomon of a dial by the skill of Facundus Novus, a mathematician of the time; but, after thirty years, it performed incorrectly[f]. These obelisks were dedicated to the Sun. Tiberius dedicated another to Augustus.

Caligula removed another obelisk from Heliopolis, and placed it on the extremity of the circus of the Vatican (6), at the end of the *Spina*[g]. According to Pliny, this obelisk had been erected by Nuncoreus, the son of Sesosis, for the recovery of his sight[h]; but he merely repeats the story of Pheron. To it Nero hung the crowns which he had gained in the chariot-races of Greece[i].

The first Cæsars were content to transport, as has been shewn, the magnificent obelisks of the old Egyptian period, and use them as *metæ* or spinæ in the hippodromes; but the last of the twelve, Domitian, who possessed a certain taste for the arts, allied with

[b] Letronne, Inscript., Georg. i. p. 303.
[c] Lib. xviii. p. 1171.
[d] Ibid., xvii. 1158.
[e] Pliny, N. H., xxxvi. c. 9, s. 14.
[f] Ibid., xxxvi. c. ix. s. 15.
[g] Ibid., xvi. c. 40.
[h] Ibid., xxxvi. c. 14.
[i] Dio., lxiii. c. 21.

superstition, revived the Isiac worship at Rome. The rites of this goddess had, indeed, been introduced under the republic; but they were distasteful to the sterner spirits of the republic, and abolished. Under the empire the worship again revived, but it does not appear that it was well received by the state. Domitian, however, became attracted by its rites and doctrines, and in a spirit of paneclecticism built a Serapeum and Iseum in the Campus Martius, instituted a college of priests, had daily offerings of Nile-water made to the goddess, set up at least an obelisk, which still remains at Rome,—the one called the Pamphilian Obelisk, which formerly stood in the circus of Maxentius, near the Appian way. The pyramidion is much destroyed; and upon each side the emperor stood adoring Ra (Serapis) and Isis. On each side is one perpendicular line of hieroglyphs, quite different from those of the Pharaonic time, distinguished by their leanness and the admixture of new and unusual signs. An attempt is, however, kept up to follow the ancient Pharaonic style of five titles[k]. It also appears to have been set up early in the reign, for on the eastern side he commences by stating that "he received the kingdom of his father Vespasian, in the place of his true brother, when his soul mounted on high" (*ter ap ba f er hri*[l]). He also claims to be "lord of festivals, like Phtha," and "beloved of Phtha and Isis." The expression is the standard of the north side, "the powerful youth," shews the commencement of the reign; he also states that "he has been crowned with the dominions of his father;" and, that "he has set up an obelisk of granite to his father, who allows those that have eyes to see, he has done all that he wishes, establishing the name of the kings of the upper and lower world on the great throne, on the throne of Horus, with those for the *Kans Pluia* (*gens Flavia*), inscribing the victories of his ancestors." The rest of this inscription is not very intelligible, and is rather in a religious than historical strain. The general information is, that Domitian erected it at the Serapeum (7).

A further proof of the devotion of Domitian to the Isiac worship, will be seen in the obelisks erected before the temple of Isis, at Beneventum. They were a pair; one, the most perfect, still remains in the town; the other fragment at the Bishop's palace. The first side of the perfect obelisk is probably that marked II in Ungarelli[m], which contains in itself the purport of the whole, stating, that "the

[k] Ungarelli, tab. iv.
[l] Ibid., p. 143.
[m] Ibid., Int. Ob., tab. v. A.; Zoega, p. 84; also a private plate of Cardinal Borgia.

noble temple of Isis, mistress of Benemts," or, "Beneventum, and of the parhedral gods, was founded by one Lucilius Lupus," or, "Rufus[n], an imperial officer[o];" the same idea, with variations, occurs on the other sides, "whose good name," or appellation, is "Lucilius," etc. "To all the gods and the gods of his country of Benemts," or, "Beneventum." The second, or mutilated obelisk, has four lines, one upon each side, repeating the same idea[p]. The emperor is called the ruler of all the tribute countries coming to his house, who takes the country of Rome.

There are two other obelisks of this age, one called the Borgian, the other the Albani, which are scarcely known, except from the plates of Kircher[q] and Zeoga[r]; the first is in the Museo Borbonico of Naples, but the second has unfortunately disappeared. There is every reason to believe that they were a pair, which stood before some temple. The Borgian obelisk bears the Roman name Tacitus[s], or Severus Tacitus[t], perhaps the prefect of Egypt; while other names, Sextus and Africanus, are legible upon both obelisks[u]. It is impossible, however, from mutilated inscriptions, to make out the reason of the erection of these obelisks, although it is probable that, like those of Beneventum, they were destined for some temple erected in Italy.

The aged Nerva, and the rude Trajan, seem to have cared little for the religion of Egypt, which continued to draw forth the sarcastic bitterness of the Roman aristocracy; and was regarded as the most degraded form of pantheism, notwithstanding the philosophical explanations. Even caricatures were indulged in against the Egyptian gods in Egypt itself. The sceptical Hadrian mourned his deceased favourite upon an obelisk. His death in Egypt, upon the Nile, suggested the idea, and the emperor, who probably looked upon the religion as a policy, endeavoured to revive the decaying feeling for paganism by imposing it in all points of view.

It is much to be regretted that the critical knowledge of the hieroglyphs is not so far advanced as to clear up the mystery which envelopes the death. This monument must have been erected about

[n] This name has been hastily read Rufus (Champollion, Précis, p. 95); but the sound of the standing lion is by no means known. The seated lion is, of course, an L or R.

[o] *Ut'a nen*, &c., on side II., III., IV., literally, "bringer forth of what is brought;" but whether in the active or passive sense is uncertain.

[p] Ungarelli, tab. v. B.

[q] Obeliscus Minerveus, p. 176.

[r] De Obelisc., p. 192. It is only followed by the expression *s-haf*, "sets up."

[s] Champollion, Précis, p. 98, pl. vii. 9—11.

[t] So, I think, is to be restored the mutilated group, *Sev. Tkts.*

[u] Champollion, *l. c.*

A.D. 122, and it is the taste of its age. The hieroglyphs are in two vertical lines, like those of the obelisk of Psammetichus, but of an execution far inferior. This obelisk is said to have been discovered on the site of the circus of Aurelian; but it was probably removed there, for its legends point to another destination.

It is rather difficult perhaps to decide which side commences this inscription; but the north, which, although mutilated, contains the titles of Hadrian, and which has the emperor represented on its pyramidion, is the first to all appearance. The emperor has a prenomen of some significance, "beloved of the Nile and the other gods." In the second line, which continues with the titles, are some remarkable expressions:—"he has penetrated (*peh-naf*) every where (*au-ateru*), he has trod this earth in its four directions (*chent naf ta pen her aft f*); the bulls and their cows (*females*) responding with joy; he rejoiced his heart with his dearly-beloved empress, the regent of the earth, Sabina, the ever-living Augusta." After this occurs, "the Nile, the father of the gods". . . . : (*au ter sau*) "it was the time of pouring forth the water," refers, undoubtedly, to the inundation[v]; but why mentioned is by no means clear; whether describing the death, or festival, of Osiris-Antinoos. The eastern side commences with the name of "Osiris-Antinoos, the justified," coming out of the flesh; the good youth lamented, or "fêted daily," must allude to his death: as that "letting fall his arms he received the commands, which are those of the gods," may to his throwing himself into the Nile, at Besa, for the welfare of Hadrian and the empire[x]; and there is an allusion in it to Thoth, as lord of Hermopolis, near which he perished. The remaining expressions of this side allude to his condition in the future state; "in," it says, "their time of the night, constantly and daily, as he wishes in the heart of his (Osiris) servants, he has gone discoursing all that he thinks or wishes, like the beatified souls (*rech*) offering his adorations, taking his place in the fields of the wise spirits (*ach akar*), who belong to (*em necht*) Osiris, in the midst of the hills (*taser*[y]). They make his justification, they make his words true in the whole earth, they delight him, allowing him to go wherever he wishes. The doorkeepers of hell say to him, Hail to thee! they draw their bolts, they open their doors. He begins to be in millions of millions of years, his time is. . . ." In the southern inscription the apotheosis of Antinoos is more distinctly described. He is there called Ntiam or Divom. The part immediately following this is not very clear; it states that Antinoos "has made his. . . . (*heka*) in the midst (*em chen*) of the

[v] Ungarelli, Int. Ob., tab. vi.; Kircher, iii. p. 371; Zoega, pl. 3.

[x] Dio Cassius, lib. lxix.

[y] Part of Hades.

city[z], which is . . . . . is its name, is his name to numbers in this earth, with the leaders of the boat, with the . . . . . of the earth, throughout all mankind, as it were . . . ." This is followed by the speech of Thoth and Truth, who announce that they have conferred the usual benefits at his tomb. The left line continues,—that he has been adored by the influence of Thoth and Truth going by his spirits he has gone in his city . . . . of the whole earth because he has heard the lament (?) *neh*, he has cried, he has . . . . , he has not failed in his career, holding up his head, doing his work while being; he has made all the transformations to offer his heart, because he has made himself a god, he is the issue of . . . . Subsequently it mentions his mystical birth from his mother. The transformations to offer the heart is a purely Egyptian notion, often fouud in the ritual[a].

The western side contains information of a more important character, and it is remarkable that no previous decypherer has discovered its meaning. This part commences with "the Antinoos divine, who is at rest in this city, which is in the midst of the fields of the district of the powerful lord of Harama (Rome). He is recognised for a god in the divine city which is in Egypt. Temples have been built to him; he is adored as a god by the prophets and priests of the upper and lower country of Egypt. Likewise a nome has been inscribed to his name, he has been called most honoured (*atimiti*) of the Greeks of Seth and Ra (*Sethroites*), who are in the city Baka [Egypt]. Those who come to this nome have given to them splendid fields, they are good, and live, opening the temple of this god, which has been made to him under his name of the Osiris Antinoos, the justified, built of good white stone, surrounded with sphinxes, having very many caryatid statues[b], both those made of great men before (Egyptians), and of the Greeks, and of all the goddesses, who gave him the breath of life which he breathed in his youth."

On the northern side of this obelisk the emperor is seen adoring Amon; on the others, Antinoos, wearing the head attire of Phtha Socharis, worships Amon and Ra.

The fields of the *tash*, or quarter, of the powerful lord, are probably the Campus Martius, and it is evident, from the expression,

[z] If this ambiguous part referred to Hadrian and Sabina, as Ungarelli, p. 180, supposes, it would connect it with the north side, but it cannot.

[a] Cf. Lepsius, Todt., tab. xv. c. 26. The chapter of taking the heart in the Hades, and of avoiding that the heart should be taken away, c. 27, 28; that he should keep the heart (c. 29), or detain it (taf. xvi. c. 30); also taf. xxviii. c. 76.

[b] *Tut*, *uch*, or *chu*, determined by a sceptre. The meaning of this is uncertain, but perhaps it is the Coptic *shau*, "a trunk," "columnar statues," or "statues and columns."

"he is at rest," that the ashes of Antinoos were carried back to Rome and deposited in a sepulchre of the most magnificent description, surrounded with statues, but of what nature it is not quite certain. The probability is, that the statues of the Villa Albani, which are portraits of Antinoos, are thence derived.

Another obelisk stood in the circus of Caracalla[c]. Very conflicting statements are found in the Roman topographers as to the number of obelisks extant in the city. According to P. Victor[d] there were two in the Circus Maximus, the one erect, the other fallen. In the recapitulation[e] he gives six great obelisks: two in the Circus Maximus, one of 120 feet, another of 88½ feet; one in the Vatican of 72 feet; one in the Campus Martius of 72 feet; two at the Mausoleum of Augustus 42½ feet; and another in the Insula Tiberina; besides forty-two small obelisks with inscriptions. An uncertain author, in the description of Rome, mentions *five* obelisks: one in the Circus Maximus, 88½ feet high; one in the Vatican, 71 feet high; one in the Campus Martius, 82½ feet; the pair at the Mausoleum of Augustus, 82½ feet. Another gives *six* obelisks: the two in the Circus Maximus of 122 and 88½ feet high; the one in the Campus Martius, 75 feet high; two in the Mausoleum of Augustus, 42½ feet high. Another version is two in the Circus Maximus, 122 and 79 feet: one in the Campus Martius[f].

In the reign of Constantius, A.D. 354, another obelisk was brought from Thebes, and erected in the Circus Maximus, and set up with a brazen sphere upon its apex. Ammianus Marcellinus[g] gives the translation of this obelisk from Hermapion; but its description does not at all coincide with any of the Roman obelisks, and rather resembles that of the obelisks at Luxor.

The last of the obelisks is the so-called Sallustian (8), which was found in the gardens of Sallust. It looks like a barbarous imitation of the Flaminian shaft, probably cut in Egypt, but the hieroglyphs executed by unskilled hands at Rome. As to interpreting its legends, it is an insult to the imagination to attempt them[h]. Strange notions, indeed, prevailed amongst the later philosophical writers as to the nature of obelisks. Porphyry[i] states that they referred to fire, and that they were therefore dedicated to the Olympian gods. Cyrill thinks that they touched on scientific

[c] Dio, lib. lxxviii. 9.

[d] De Rec., Grævius, Thes. iii. p. 108.

[e] Ibid., iii.

[f] Zoega, p. 29; Inc. Auct. Descr. urb. Rom. apud Bandinium de Obelisc. Cæs., p. 64.

[g] Lib. xvii. 4; for its metrical inscription in Greek and Roman, see Zoega, p. 53.

[h] Ungarelli, tab. vi.; Zoega, tab. iv.

[i] Apud Euseb., Præpar. Evangel., iii. c. 2, 7.

matters[k]. In the false book of the *Kore kosmou* of the Trismegist Hermes[l], the god says that his learning is inscribed upon obelisks. Tertullian[m] mentions an obelisk which was in the Circus of the Sun: "this enormous obelisk," says he, "as Hermoteles affirms, has its sculpture dedicated to the Sun, which gives a notion of the superstition of Egypt."

An obelisk appears to have existed in the Strategeum, or hippodrome, of Constantinople, removed from Athens by Proclus, a Patrician, under Theodosius the Younger[n]. In the fourth consulate of Valentinian, and the first of Neoterius, A.D. 390, an obelisk was placed in the Circus. According to Cassiodorus[o], the greater was dedicated to the Sun, the lesser to the Moon. Julius Valerius mentions two obelisks, dedicated by Sesonchosis to Serapis, in the temple[p] of that god at Alexandria.

The present topographical arrangement of the Obelisks in Rome.

1. The MATTHEIAN Obelisk was so called because it stood in the garden of the Villa Matthei; the name of that Villa has now been changed to CELIMONTANA.

2. MAHUTEAN Obelisk—this name was formerly given to the Obelisk which stands in front of the Pantheon.

3. The Kircherian Museum is now contained in the great National Museum of the Collegio Romano.

4. The OBELISCUS CAMPANENSIS is so called because it once stood in the Campus Martius, it is now on Monte Citorio.

5. The OBELISCUS MINERVEUS is so called because it stands in the Piazza della Minerva.

6. The VATICAN OBELISK now stands in front of S. Peter's in the Vatican, but the Circus was in the valley at the foot of that hill.

7. The Obelisk brought to Rome by Domitian is now in the Piazza Navona.

8. The SALLUSTIAN Obelisk is now opposite the church of Trinita de' Monti, on the top of the Spanish steps.

9. The BARBERINI Obelisk was so called from Pope Barberini (Urban VIII.), in whose time it was brought into Rome, from the Circus Varianus, near S. Croce, but outside the walls. It was erected on the Pincian Hill in 1823, by Pius VII.

[k] Adv. Julian., lib. ix. p. 299.

[l] Fo. 1791; Stobæus, Eclog. Phys., p. 124.

[m] De Spectacul., c. 8, p. 418; Obelisci enormitas, ut Hermoteles affirmat, Soli prostituta.

[n] Inc. Auct. Descr. Const. a Guid. Pancirollo, 8vo. Venet. 1602; Banduri Imp. Archiv., iii. pp. 28—42.

[o] Variar. iii. c.

[p] Mai, Auct. Class., vii. pp. 99, 100.

LIST OF PLATES.

In this list references are given to the pages of the text where each is described, also the numbers in Mr. Parker's Catalogue of the Photographs from which the Plates are taken, as some persons prefer seeing the photographs themselves to any reproduction of them. It is certain that there is a clearness and delicacy in the nitrate of silver of an original photograph, that cannot be reproduced by any process yet known[a]. But it must be acknowledged that for reading the hieroglyphics, there is nothing like the fine series of engravings of them in folio, edited by Ungarelli, and published at Rome in 1842; but this is a cumbersome and expensive work, and for ordinary use the Photographs or Photo-engravings are sufficient.

Plate I. The Obelisk at the Lateran, pages 1 and 41; Photos., Nos. 760 and 1342. The English translation of the hieroglyphic inscription is given at pages 9 to 14.

Plate II. The Obelisk on Monte Citorio, pages 4 and 53; Photos., Nos. 646, 1448, 1449.

Plate III. The Obelisk on the back of a bronze elephant, pages 5 and 54; Photos., Nos. 382, 648.

Plate IV. The Obelisk in the Piazza Navona, pages 6 and 57; Photos., Nos. 1302, 1303, 1304.

Plate V. The Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, pages 2 and 56; Photos., Nos. 766, 1119, 1299, 1351. The English translation of the inscription is given at pages 15 to 18.

Plate VI. The Obelisk on Monte Cavello, opposite to the entrance to the Quirinal Palace, page 1; Photos., Nos. 1087 A, 1087 B.

[a] These Photographs can be seen in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where they are arranged in numerical order in volumes; and in the Ashmolean Museum, where they are in portfolios according to the subjects. Most of them can be seen in the British Museum, and in the library of the Fine Arts at South Kensington. They can also be had, if required, by ordering the numbers, of Mr. Stanford, at Charing Cross, at the price of One Shilling each.

Plate VII. The Obelisk on the Pincian Hill, page 8; Photos., No. 1636. The English translation of the inscription is given at pages 19, 20.

Plate VIII. The Obelisk in the garden of the Villa Celimontana, page 2; Photos., No. 3003.

In addition to these Obelisks which are here engraved, there are four others not engraved, because there are either no inscriptions upon them, or none that are legible, but the Photographs of them can be had if required. They are the one behind the great church of S. Maria Maggiore, Nos. 2124 A, 2124 B; the one at the Trinita de' Monte, at the top of the Spanish steps, No. 659; the one in front of the Pantheon, Nos. 649, 767, 1350; and the one in front of S. Peter's in the Vatican, Nos. 1308, 1308 B.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCARABÆUS.

In the upper compartment is a Sphinx, bearded, wearing an uræus and beard, and collar round the neck. This represents Thothmes III. in the character of the god Harmachis, one of the types of the Sun; before the Sphinx is the title "good god [a]." Beneath is the obelisk, on its pedestal, and on the shaft of the obelisk is the prenomen of Thothmes III., the king of the obelisks of Alexandria and Rome. On each side of the obelisk is the king, Thothmes III., in a royal garment, worshipping the obelisk. The hieroglyphs in this portion, distributed throughout the field, read, "courageous against all countries," alluding to the campaigns of the king. The Scarabæus is of steatite, covered with a bluish green glaze, and about ¾ in. long, pierced for setting as a ring.

[a] Behind the Sphinx is a winged disk, the Har-Hut.

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SCARABÆUS.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

PLATE I.

THE OBELISK IN THE PIAZZA DEL LATERANO.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IV.

THE OBELISK IN THE PIAZZA NAVONA.

THIS Obelisk was made in Egypt for the Emperor Domitian, and is inscribed with his name, and with the blasphemous titles of Deification which are joined with the names of the earlier Pharaohs: SUN-GOD, SON OF THE SUN-GOD, SUPPORTER OF THE WORLD, GIVER OF LIFE TO THE WORLD, THE MAN-GOD HORUS, THE SON OF THE WOMAN ISIS, who is to come to avenge the death of his ancestor, OSIRIS, THE KING LIVING FOR EVER.

This inscription was actually incised on the Obelisk during the lifetime of Domitian, for whom it was made, and to whom these titles were applied. It now stands in the great market-place, opposite to the church of S. Agnes, and on the supposed spot of her martyrdom. (See p. 6.)

IN THE PIAZZA NAVONA

Photogravure Dujardin, Paris.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

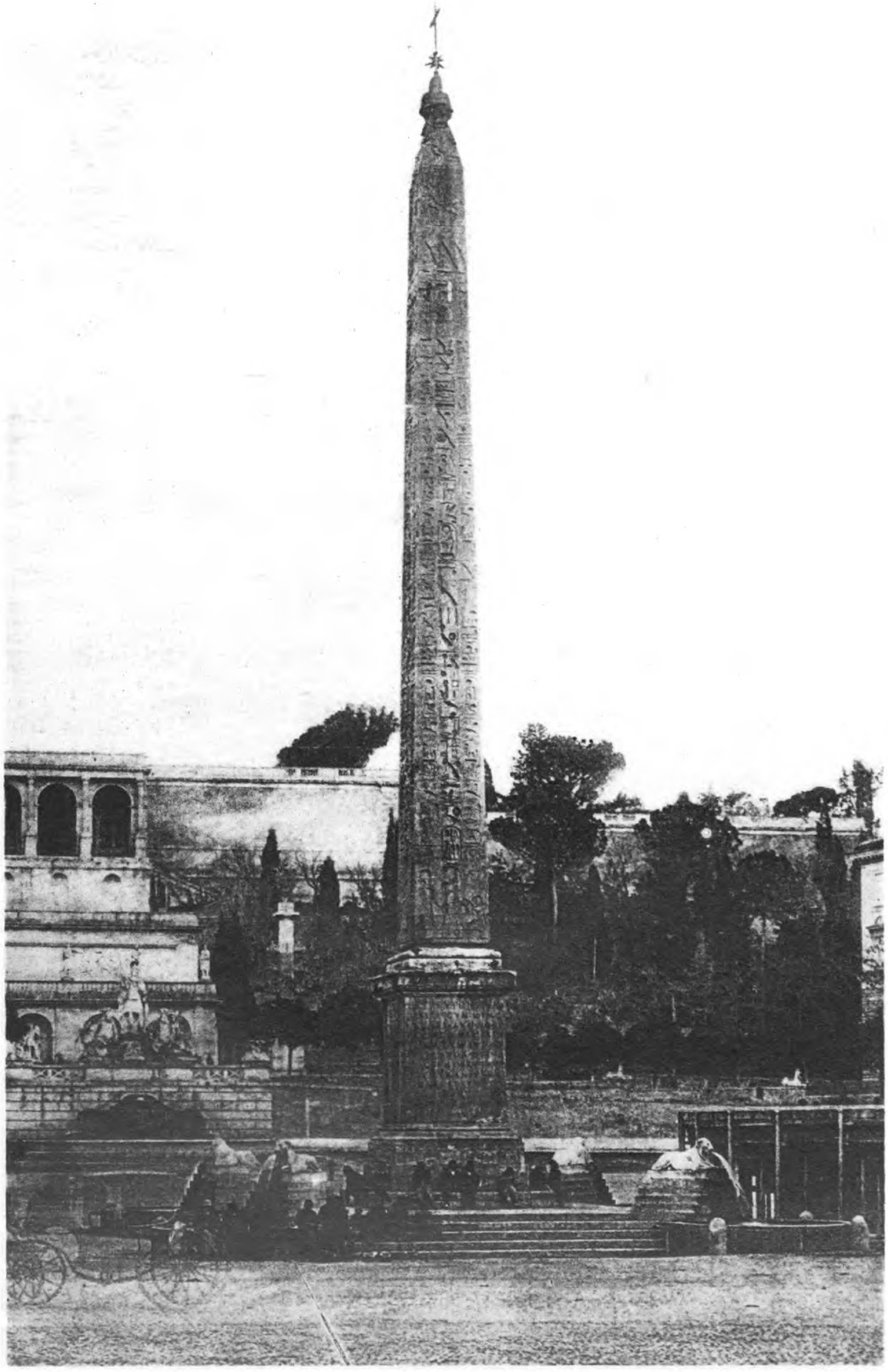
PLATE V.

THE OBELISK NOW IN THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE V.

THE OBELISK NOW IN THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO.

THIS bears the names of Rameses II. and his father, Seti, B.C. 1487. It was brought to Rome by Augustus, B.C. 10, and was originally placed on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. It was set up in its present situation under Pope Sixtus V., *c.* A.D. 1590, at the northern entrance to his new city of Rome. This is considered the finest of the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome, and it is covered with hieroglyphics on all sides; to shew these, which are very important and interesting to Egyptian scholars, photographs have been taken of it on three sides. The same has been done with the obelisk in Monte Citorio, where the hieroglyphics are all very good and perfect.



IN THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

PLATE VI.

THE OBELISK NOW ON THAT PART OF THE QUIRINAL HILL CALLED MONTE CAVALLO.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI.

THE OBELISK ON MONTE CAVALLO.

THE Obelisk now standing in front of the Royal Palace on the Quirinal was originally erected by Psammeticus II., B.C. 590. It was brought to Rome by Augustus, B.C. 30, and was erected by him as the *gnomon* or pointer to a sun-dial, in the Campus Martius, nearly on the site of the present Piazza di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, in front of the church. It was removed to its present site in 1786, under Pius VI. Round the base of it are placed the celebrated colossal statues of horses, with men holding them, called by some Castor and Pollux, but without any authority; the group was found in the Thermæ of Constantine, near this spot, but they are Greek sculptures. That part of the Quirinal Hill is called Monte Cavallo, from these horses; an inscription on the pedestal attributes them to Phidias and Praxiteles, but this is also without any authority.

ON MONTE CAVALLO.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

PLATE VII.

THE OBELISK ON THE PINCIAN HILL.

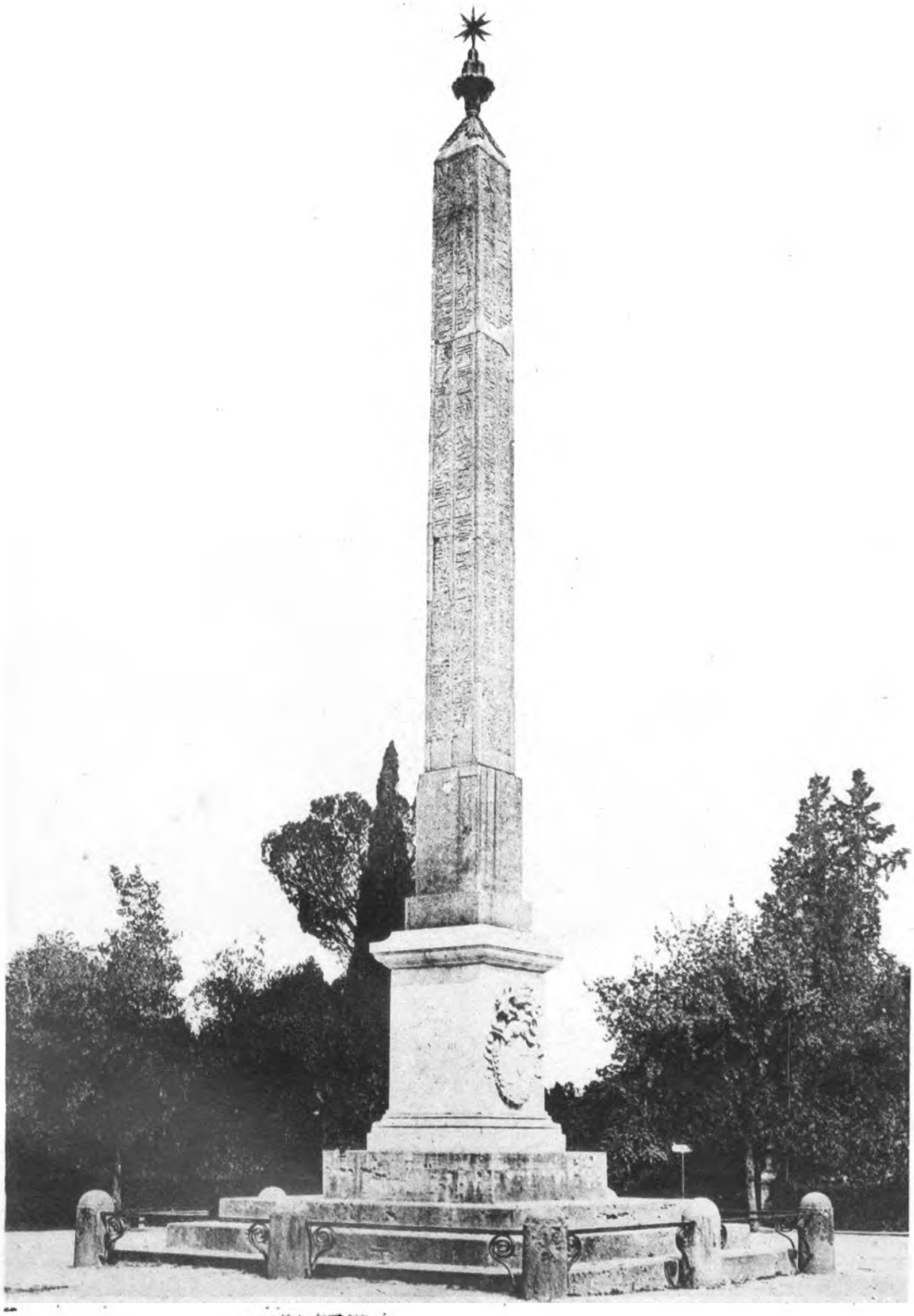
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VII.

THE OBELISK ON THE PINCIAN HILL.

THE Egyptian Obelisk which now stands in the public promenade and garden on the Pincian Hill[a] was brought to Rome by the Emperor Hadrian, about A.D. 130, and was placed on the spina of the Circus Varianus by Heliogabalus, about A.D. 220. This circus was connected with the Amphitheatrum Castrense and the fortified palace of the Sessorium, the residence of the family of Varius, to which Heliogabalus belonged; and both of these appendages to the palace were for the amusement of the soldiers of the Prætorian Guard. The fortified camp, usually called the Prætorian Camp, was connected with the Sessorium by an ancient earthwork, or high bank of earth, which was used to carry the aqueducts upon in the time of the Republic, and that part of the great Wall of Aurelian was also made out of the aqueducts. The guards could go along the top of the bank (and over the two gates) from one camp to the other; but the connection with the circus was cut off by Aurelian, and it was long out of use. The obelisk was found buried on the site of it in the time of Pope Pius VII., and was removed to its present site by him about 1820.

[a] Hist. Photos., No. 1636.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.



ON THE PINCIAN HILL.

THE EGYPTIAN OBELISKS.

PLATE VIII.

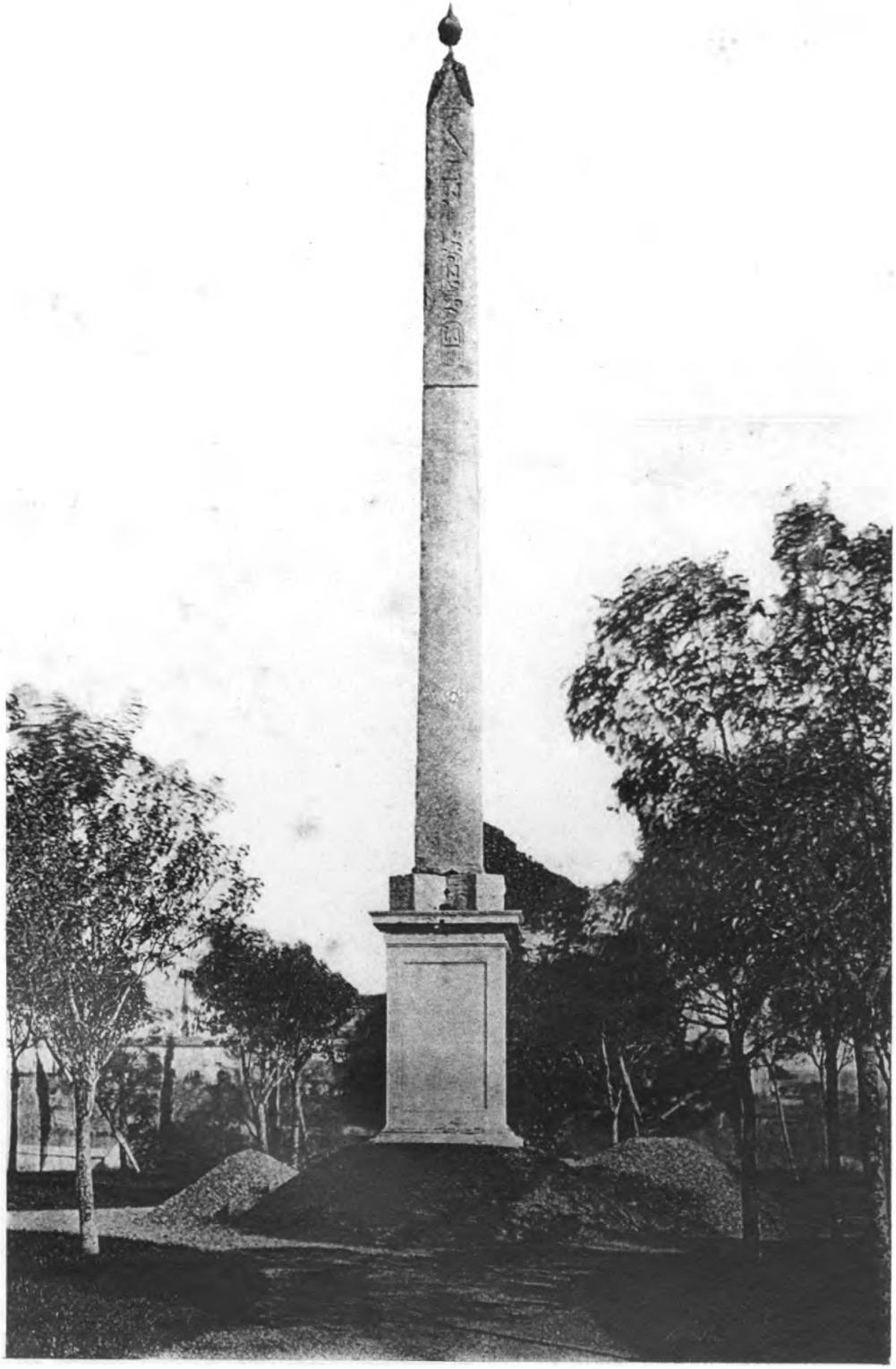
THE OBELISK IN THE GARDEN OF THE VILLA CELIMONTANA.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VIII.

THE OBELISK IN THE GARDEN OF THE VILLA CELIMONTANA.

THE Obelisk which now stands in the garden of the Villa Celimontana (now occupied by Baron Hoffman [b])—formerly called the Villa Mattei, from the family of that name who built the present villa on the site of an ancient *Cohors Vigilum*, or fortified camp of the night-guards, where many remains of ancient art have been found, most of which are still used as ornaments to it—is one of the four that had been erected in Egypt by Rameses II., between 1486 and 1420 B.C. (mentioned at page 2). They were taken to Rome by Augustus. Another of them is that now standing in the Piazza del Popolo (as before mentioned, see Plate V.). They were set up in their present position by Sixtus V., A.D. 1585—90. The painful accident which happened to the architect, who was directing the placing of this obelisk on its present site, is related at page 7, in note e. All the other obelisks of Rameses II. have been already described, and this completes the account of all the Twelve Egyptian Obelisks in Rome. There is one other obelisk in the garden of Mr. Esmeade, close to the Porta del Popolo, on the site of the Villa of the Domitii, the family to which Nero belonged, and where his body was buried. But probably this obelisk is a rude imitation of the eighteenth century.

[b] Hist. Photos., No. 3003.



IN THE GARDEN OF THE VILLA CELIMONTANA.

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