



LANDSEER'S SABÆAN RESEARCHES.

(Continued.)



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**LECTURE IX.—DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, AND
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO LORD PRUDHOE, F.R.S. & F.S.A.**

I HAVE to discourse of ancient Assyrian and Egyptian monuments remaining near the confines of Phœnicia,

It is well known that Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, were three of the most distinguished of the nations of antiquity, yet how little—how very little—do we know of their history! Their annals have been destroyed. Their literature is lost. From a distance, and from no very exalted station, we dimly behold the august and colossal form of Oblivion striding over them from temple to temple, and from rock to rock; and how shall we arrest her progress?

I believe that what remains to be known of the remote occurrences of which these ancient nations were the theatres, and of the eras of those occurrences, must be collected chiefly from the study of architectural, mythological, and hieroglyphical sculptures, such as I shall have the honour of submitting to your notice to-night, through the agency of a carefully executed cast. It were savage to cut down a tree in order

to obtain its fruit; or to mutilate or demolish a temple, in order to bring home a few of its ornamental fragments; *casts* of such curious memorials are scarcely less interesting than the originals to the studious antiquary; and this safer, more eligible, and enlightened, course, has been adopted by Mr. Joseph Bonomi, the gentleman who has transported the present monument from Sidon to our metropolis. Through his zeal, care, and persevering enterprise, the philosophical antiquaries of Great Britain may now contemplate a very interesting sculptured Assyrian monument, in its relations to seven others that are nearly obliterated.

These curious rock sculptures were seen by Maundrell, a veracious English traveller, who passed along the shores of Phœnicia, in the year 1697, when they were probably somewhat less imperfect than at present; and we may more than suspect were seen by *Herodotus*, who travelled over the same ground more than twenty-two centuries ago, when the latest of them probably retained much of their pristine sharpness of execution, and much was perfect that has since mouldered to dust. But though certainly among the most ancient and interesting of Oriental sculptured monuments, they have escaped the notice, I believe, of all the European tourists except Maundrell and Bonomi. We have now to bestow on them—at least on two of them—and more particularly on that one, of which, with Lord Prudhoe's* permission, I shall have the honour of exhibiting Mr. Bonomi's cast—a little critical attention.

But first—The site of these remarkable sculptured rocks, is the southern bank, and close to the mouth, of the ancient river Lycus, now called by the Arabs, Nahr Al Kelb; not far from (perhaps within) the bay of Junia, where it discharges its waters into the Mediterranean; about two hours N. E. of the ancient city of Berytus, now called Beyroot, and about midway between it and the celebrated river of Adonis, for whose real, or fabulous and sidereal, death, the Sidonian virgins wept

* In inscribing the present Essay to his Lordship, it has been thought eligible, and not incompatible with respect, to preserve the original form and words of the Lecture delivered on the evening of the 13th of February, at the Royal Institution.

annually, or annually pretended to weep, and afterward did very sincerely rejoice.

Mr. Bonomi writes of these curious vestiges—"The rocks that sustain the road south of the river, preserve the remains of ten monuments of great interest, and of various epocha." You will soon perceive, Gentlemen, that this is not less correctly than it is ably expressed. Two of the ten monuments, however, we will put out of the present enquiry, further than just to mention, that the one is an Arabic* inscription of comparatively modern date, though of *some* antiquity; and the other Roman, and of the age of Marcus Antoninus, certifying that the Emperor constructed that lower and more convenient road which is at present used; the road having formerly passed more steeply over and round this remarkable promontory. Roman masonry which remains firm to this day, fills up the fissures in the natural rock, equalises the road, and attests the talent of the Emperor's engineers. But it may not be unworthy of cursory notice, that the river is in that Latin inscription styled, the Lycus, or Wolf river. The river of the *Dog* may, notwithstanding, be the more ancient appellation, since Sidon, or *Zidon*, (which latter is the orthography of Canaan and our early Scriptures,) literally means *hunter*, and this whole tract of country from Lebanon to the sea, is the well known scene of the legend (fabulous or astronomical) of the sports and death of Adonis, the hunter, whom Venus is fabled to have loved and lamented. By the words more ancient appellation of the *Dog*, I mean the *constellated* dog Sirius, of the celestial regions (called *Caleb*, by the Hebrews); for the land of Canaan abounded with places bearing astronomical names at the time of its invasion by Joshua, as we learn from the book bearing his name. There were, *Gilgal*, the revolving sphere; *Beth-shan*, the house or temple of the Sun; *Beth-Heron*, that of Horus; *Libnah*, the Moon; *Asteroth Karnaim*, the same, in her crescent phase, (where Israel "smote the Rephaim"); *Chesil*, the Chaldean name of a constellation mentioned in the book of Job; and several others, not less obviously

* Maundrell mistakenly supposed the Arabic inscription to record the erection of a neighbouring bridge, by the Emer Faccardine. Mr. Bonomi ascertained that it was of far more distant date.

of astronomical origin. Now, near the extremity of the sculptured promontory, stands a pedestal—Mr. Bonomi has particularised it in his sketch—which apparently once supported a colossal statue; which statue, if the native Arabs may be credited, still lies broken and in the sea, at the distance of a few yards from the shore, and is that of a Dog. Maundrell states, that the dog's head was said to be extant at Venice in his time; and Mr. Bonomi has marked the spot in the sea where the real or supposed idol lies, looking, from the distance at which he saw it, like a small dark rock. We may observe here, that a dog, if but rudely sculptured, would naturally be construed by the descendants of Romulus and Remus, into a wolf, which is, in in fact, a species of dog. And the Arabs may be thought to be entitled to some credit with regard to the native traditions of their own land.

The few lines which are sketched as a head-piece to the present Essay, with the view of explaining the relative local situations of the several sculptures—these few lines, and the passages in Maundrell's Journal, wherein these ancient works are mentioned, attest each other's truth, while they illustrate Phœnician, Egyptian, and Assyrian history. Maundrell says, that having "passed the river, you immediately begin to ascend the mountain, or rather great rock hanging over it on that side. To accommodate the passage, you have a path of above two yards in breadth, cut along its side, at a great height above the water, being the work of the Emperor Antoninus; for the promontory allowing of no passage between it and the sea at bottom, that Emperor undertook, with incredible labour, to open this way above; the memory of which good work is perpetuated by an inscription.

* * * * *

"In passing this way, we observed in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved, which seemed to promise something of antiquity; to be satisfied of which, some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone in that region before Antoninus cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo-relievo, and in bigness

equal to the life. Close by each figure was a large table planed in the side of the rock, and bordered round with mouldings. Both the effigies and the tables appeared to have been anciently inscribed all over; but the characters are now so defaced, that nothing but the footsteps of them were visible; only there was *one* of the figures that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire." Thus far Maundrell.

This *one*, is the figure which it is my *principal* purpose to elucidate. It is distinguished in our sketch by its lofty situation, and by a bird which Mr. Bonomi has introduced, flying near it. But concerning the whole assemblage, and more especially concerning the square tablets, Bonomi is more introspective than Maundrell, and much more topographically accurate. He says, "the most ancient but unfortunately the most corroded, of the antiquities, are three Egyptian tablets. On them may be traced, in more places than one, the name, expressed in hieroglyphics, of *Ramses the Second*; to the period of whose reign any connoisseur in Egyptian art would have attributed them, even if the evidence of the name had been wanting, from the beautiful proportions of the tablets, and their curvetto mouldings."

It will be perceived that Mr. Bonomi brought with him to the antiquarian scrutiny, the eye and the tact of an artist, which discerns criteria where phonetic literature sometimes fails. This fortunate or introspective, discovery of the patronymic of *Sesostris*; which latter word being, in all probability, either an heroic addition or a sacred title first expressed in the vernacular language of Egypt, and afterward modified by Herodotus and the Greeks, so as to accord with their own euphonic language—this word, *Sesostris*—could not be expected to be met in any *Egyptian* inscription. The ascertainment on the present tablet, of the hieroglyph of Ramses the Second, is therefore *extremely interesting*, both in itself, and as a luminous beacon in investigating the relative antiquity of those of the Phœnician monuments which contain, or have contained, the arrow-head, or cunieform, inscriptions. These latter are arched at the top, and being altogether different, both in style and subject-matter, from the former, are evidently the work of artists of a different nation. Of these, there exist on the sculptured promon-

tory before us, the remains of five: two of them are large, and close beside two of the Egyptian tablets; the other three are of smaller dimensions, and all are as nearly obliterated as their Egyptian companions, excepting that which is sculptured on the loftiest part of the rock. Owing, perhaps, to its being more out of the reach of the spray of the sea when tempestuous, and of the passing wantonness of ignorant and unreflecting persons, this relievo retains more of its original design and execution than the rest. It is the monument which is particularized by Maundrell, and it is that which, through the kindness of Lord Prudhoe, I have the honour to submit to your notice. But, first—In proof that Ramses the Second, of Egypt, is, either as I have assumed, identical with Sesostris (the Great), so celebrated for his various and distant conquests, or was his brother, and of course his contemporary—we have the veracious and concurrent evidence of the Egyptian priest Manetho, Tacitus, and Josephus, falling in, I believe, with the results of modern critical investigation, and particularly with that of the learned Dr. Prichard.

Sesostris, according to these authorities, appears to have been the grandson, or great grandson, of that Ramses, (sometimes written Ramesses) who beside other laborious works, compelled the captive children of Israel to build a town or city, which he named after himself. This second Ramses is probably known in history by his heroic title or cognomen, used partly for the sake of distinguishing him from his less renowned ancestor. If this warlike monarch lived during the period of the Hebrew Theocracy, as there is reason to think, and during the dominion of their Judges, and if his father Amenoph perished in the Red Sea, his not being mentioned in the Bible, which has excited some surprise, is in a great measure accounted for. The Jewish scribes kept annals not for us, but for their own nation. And the early age when Sesostris-Ramses the Second, or Ramses the *Great*, in consequence of the overwhelming catastrophe, ascended the Egyptian throne, further accounts for his long reign of fifty-one, sixty-three, or sixty-six years, when blindness overtook him on his illustrious career, and disappointed pride led on to suicide!

Surprise would be felt were not the fact well known, that authorities vary considerably concerning the era of the reign of Ramses the Second. Though much has recently been effected toward its ascertainment by our scientific transmarine neighbours, and in our own country by the learning of Dr. Prichard, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Cullimore, and others, the chronology of ancient Egypt must be confessed to be as yet but beginning to synchronise with that of the Asiatic nations. From literature we obtain little in the illustration of such monuments as are before us. On the contrary, Literature is at last tardily looking up for light to ancient Sculpture, whose proffered stores, "rich with the spoils of time," have been too long neglected; but the *charities* of Fine Art have endured all things, hoped all things—in the fondness of her faith and affection, she has become credulous and patient; and her cordial willingness is no more slackened by neglect, than the light of heaven is retarded. Literature will therefore find the elucidation it may seek, whenever ancient sculpture is studied as combined with, and in its relations to, *ancient Astronomy*.

PRIDE ! bend thine eye from heaven to thine estate,
 See how the mighty shrink into a song !
 Can volume, pillar, pile, preserve the great ?
 Or must thou trust Tradition's simple tongue,
 When Flattery sleeps with thee, and History does thee wrong ?
 No : there is Art, and Science, *yet* to con.

The first expedition of Sesostris, according to Herodotus, was southward, along the shores of the Arabian Gulph, attended by a fleet of "*long vessels*;" that is to say, ships of war. On his victorious return to Egypt, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress *northward*, proceeding to the conquest of Thrace and Scythia; in which the line of his march near the sea-coast, shews that he must still have been attended by a numerous and powerful fleet. Advancing through Palestine, Phœnicia, Caria, and Ionia, Sesostris either passed the Propontis, or coasted the southern shores of the Euxine, till he arrived at Colchis, where he was either checked by powerful resistance, or was recalled to

Egypt by a friendly priest, to punish the usurpation of his brother ; though, according to Manetho, he pushed his conquests eastward as far as Media. But *we* have no occasion to attend this great conqueror further on his victorious march than through Palestine and Phœnicia, which he probably overran without much difficulty ; leaving in an enfeebled condition those maritime powers of the sea-coast (termed *Philistines* in the book of Judges), with whom the Children of Israel* were destined soon afterward to contend.

But since we find no mention in history, and no traces in Cilicia itself of Sesostris having passed through that portion of Asia Minor, it seems highly probable that, after the subjugation of Syria, he might have embarked from the Bay of Junia, or mouth of the Lycus, where we find these sculptured rocks, and crossed over to Kittim, since called Cyprus. This idea, when coupled with the known ambition of the Egyptian monarch for perpetuity of fame, affords further reason for his commanding these lasting memorials to be sculptured. His fleet must have attended him in this expedition, as in the *former*, with stores, provisions for his immense army, and munitions of war.

I have put this course of the northern march of our Egyptian hero somewhat hypothetically, because such was the course of my own thoughts on the subject. It was the way in which, from inspecting the map and other documents, it first occurred to me. Reading since what Josephus has cited from Manetho, I find confirmatory evidence of the facts of Sesostris *not having traversed Cilicia*, and of his floating commissariat. Manetho says, that “ investing his brother with the viceroyalty of Egypt, Sethosis (which appears to be his Egyptian epithet) made an expedition against *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and finally against the Assyrians

* The Egyptian priest Manetho, represents *Sethos*, Sethosis, Sesosis, or Sesostris, as being thirteen years of age, at the era of the expulsion of the lepers from Egypt, which expulsion is by some authors supposed to be *the Egyptian account* of the Hebrew exodus; and Count Volney imagines that the great conqueror may have passed and spared the Jews, out of contempt for their recent origin, when he set forth on his Phœnician and Ionian expedition: but if the Jews abode forty years in the wilderness, they had not possessed themselves of the Jerusalem mountains till long after his return, nor perhaps during his life-time.

and the Medes." Please to remark here, that the island of Cyprus was one of his principal objects. This, when regarded with what I shall presently submit to your notice, places this part of my statement upon firmer than hypothetical ground, and enables us easily to trace on the map, the general outline of his victorious march. His fleet sailed from Pelusium; his army proceeded along the sea-coast. At the mouth of the river Lycus, commanding its rocks to be sculptured, he embarked his victorious troops, and crossed over to Cyprus; after the conquest of which, he re-embarked—probably for Pamphylia—where his numerous fleet might find a noble harbour—and proceeded to subjugate other nations, and to sculpture other rocks.

Herodotus, from whom, with small license of illustrative paraphrase, I have chiefly copied, and shall continue to copy, the contours of these historical occurrences, says that Sesostris subdued all the nations which he met with on his march, or received their submissions—erecting permanent memorials in their several countries, upon which he inscribed his *name*, and that of his nation, with the details of his conquests; adding *significant symbols*, to denote whether or not he had been opposed with generous bravery. Artists must therefore have travelled in his train, as Bezaleel and Aholiab did in that of Moses and Aaron. But we may feel no surprise that these symbols are not among the ruined vestigia that remain on these Phœnician rocks, being very certain that under such circumstances, if the Cœlo-Syrians made prudent submission to his fresh and conquering hosts (as it is most likely they did), they would avail themselves of some favourable opportunity of *effacing* the sculptured stigma, which nothing less than a perpetual military guard of protection, could have preserved through centuries of revolutionary vicissitude. That the name—the hieroglyphical name—of Sesostris, should have remained to our time, is almost more than philosophical criticism, or antiquarian speculation, could reasonably have expected: but *here it is*, and precisely corresponds with that which is recorded on the tablet of Abydos.

Herodotus adds—what is extremely pertinent to our present purpose, and I shall venture to add, well worthy of remembrance—namely, that

he *saw* some of these sculptured monuments in *Palestine of Syria*, and that there are two in *Ionia*. Unfortunately for our present problem, he does not describe particularly those which he says he saw ; but describes those of *Ionia*, which he does not say he saw, but which he may nevertheless have seen. In *Ionia* (he says) there are two figures of this king, *carved out of the rock*. One is on the way from Ephesus to Phoea ; the other between Sardis and Smyrna (which, by the way, shews that the progress of Sesostris continued to be near the sea-coast ; so that during the whole expedition he appears to have been too prudent to venture far from his fleet). Both of these sculptures (proceeds Herodotus) represent a man five palms in height (which is about the height of the figures in basso-relievo, in the upper compartments of the remains of the Egyptian tablets, as sketched by Mr. Bonomi) ; “ the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow.” [In this respect the Ionian sculptures do not precisely accord with the Phœnician ; for here the right hand holds a bow, and the left, I believe, a battle-axe. The hero is represented in the act of offering prisoners as victims to his deity.] The rest of his armour (continues our venerable author) is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian ; and across his breast from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters (the hieroglyphics) of Egypt, “ I conquered this country by the force of my arms ;” or more *literally* (and according to the Greek version of the Egyptian idiom), “ I gained for myself this region by my shoulders.” Who the hero is that is here represented, or of *what* country, the inscription across his breast does not specify ; but (as is previously observed) both are told elsewhere on the monument.

Thus far Herodotus.—It would have been fortunate for our researches, and would have set aside all scepticism on the present subject, had the father of profane history, described with the same particularity which he has here bestowed on the Ionian monuments, the *whole* of what he saw on the Egyptian sculptures, which he here (in his *Euterpe*) terms *those of Palestine* in Syria. The hieroglyphical tablets which we find on the south bank of the embouchure of the Lycus, are not, topographically speaking, and speaking according to the lines of demarkation

employed in our present geographical charts—in *Palestine*, although certainly in *Syria*. They are about fifty miles from its present northern limits, and *within Phœnicia*. We may not, therefore, at least till we have submitted a little further explanation, profess to be quite certain whether or not the tablets of Al Kelb were the sculptured rocks seen by Herodotus: or whether there were other such to the southward of these. My auditors will determine this point for themselves, after I shall have submitted a few reflections, which have imparted to my own mind pretty strong assurance that the sculpture of which you see a cast to-night, was inspected, together with the hieroglyphics of Sesostris, more than twenty-two centuries ago, by the venerable father of history.

My own opinions are, that so powerful and famous a commander as Sesostris, would not think it worth his while to make a halt of triumph and order rocks so be sculptured, nearer than are the rocks of the river Lycus to his own paternal dominions, or frontier. It would not, I think, have been consistent with his dignity, or the loftiness of his pretension. Neither, if he had sculptured rocks in *Palestine* proper, would he again have halted to sculpture others, or have commanded others to be sculptured, within fifty miles of its border. Works of so much skill and labour, were not lavished on every-day matters, nor squandered on every few miles of additional territory, but reserved for occasions of eminent importance. Ramses the Second was too proud to be thus superficially vain.

Hieroglyphical inscription, appears to have been the earliest mode of commemoration with which the inventive powers of man brought the world acquainted. It was practised among the aborigines of America, as well as by the ancient Egyptians. And, from having seen such—*possibly* from having seen the very tablets that are here under our notice, the patriarch Job (the time of whose existence is unknown), in his poetical aspirations after perpetuity, exclaims “ Who shall ordain now that my *words* shall be *drawn*? Who shall give that in a *memorial* they shall be *delineated*? That with an instrument of iron, and lead,

they shall be *cut out in the rock for ever**?" This is so pertinent—so precisely descriptive, that, probably, neither poetry nor eloquence could *now* present us with a better literary illustration of the hieroglyphical mode of inscription.

That *these* hieroglyphical tablets were intended to be read—to be preserved with care and respect, and to be referred to and transmitted with the sanction and reverence which is due to legal title deeds, or national treaties, may be inferred from Mr. Bonomi's having remarked on the spot, that they have been originally protected by a kind of folding doors, probably of wood, the holes for the hinges of which, or more properly, for the *cardinet pivots*, on which the doors have turned, are yet remaining.

I have one more observation to make concerning the valuable record of Herodotus, which is nearly conclusive in favour of our Sesostrian hypothesis. It is, that although the historian writes as above quoted, in his *Euterpe*, yet in his *Polymnia*, ch. 89, he says, "The Phœnicians,

* In citing the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of ch. xix. (avoiding the mistakes of our English translation) I have availed myself of the critical powers of the learned author of the *Munimenta Antiqua*, who carefully investigated the original Hebrew. Even the least erudite reader of the present day, will scarcely suppose that the prophetic powers of the venerable patriarch, when he uttered this remarkable exclamation, reached to the fifteenth century of the Christian era, and induced him to wish that his "words were *printed* in a book;" or to the nineteenth, when they might be "graven with an *iron pen*." The most simple and obvious construction we can put upon the words "an instrument of *iron, and lead*," requires a comma where I have placed one; since it means—not that the same instrument was constructed partly of iron and partly of lead, but that the hieroglyphics were first cut in the rough with an iron or steel instrument, probably urged by a mallet, such as is used by the statuary of the present day, and afterward finished more carefully by the friction of the corundum stone (or adamantine spar) reduced to powder, and applied by means of lead; for the softer, or more porous, the metal with which it is applied, the more rapidly will the friction operate. Lead and copper are still used for similar purposes, by lapidaries and seal engravers.—*Vide my first Lecture on Engraving*, pp. 26—7.

† I have employed this somewhat unusual term, to express specifically that more ancient contrivance which preceded the invention of hinges. *Hinges* were not invented till after the destruction of Herculaneum.

by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea, but emigrated thence to the *maritime parts of Syria*, ALL of which district, as far as Egypt, is denominated PALESTINE. The Sculptures of which we are discoursing, then, are not far north of the centre of the *Palestine of Herodotus*.

Under this accumulation of circumstances, I conceive that we hazard little in asserting, and believing, and maintaining, that at least *that one* of the Egyptian tablets of Al Kelb, on which we recognise the name of Sesostris, or Ramses the Second, commemorates his Syrian triumphs, and was sculptured by his direction.

And now, after this preliminary sketch, which I thought indispensable to its explication, we will (if you please) pass to Lord Prudhoe's *Assyrian* monument, the original of which is chiselled close beside that of the Egyptian conqueror. Mr. Bonomi has been the first European traveller who has remarked the *superior antiquity* of the hieroglyphical tablets of Al Kelb over those which I assert to be of Assyrian workmanship. This is a necessary prelude to the solution which I propose to myself the honour of submitting. According to Mr. Cullimore's table of Egyptian kings, Sesostris began to reign one thousand and nine years from the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy, under Menes. Dr. Prichard had previously computed it at one thousand and seven years. This difference of two years, is too inconsiderable in ascertaining the era of an occurrence so remote, to stop us for a single moment. It may be called coincidence. To convert these years of Menes, into years before the commencement of our era, is not quite so easy. The most recent and eminent of our Oriental chronologers have not yet, I believe, agreed on the number of years that intervened between the accession of Menes and the birth of Jesus Christ. Yet we may regard the era of Sesostris, and that of the Assyrian *Pul*, as sufficiently settled for us to state, that within five centuries and a half from the demise of the great Egyptian conqueror, Coelo-Syria, including the dominions of the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, and Samaria, was invaded by *one*, and within the next forty years, by *two more*, of the

powerful monarchs of Assyria, who all of them permitted plunder and exacted tribute ; and the last of whom led the ten tribes of Israel into captivity.

During these centuries, the Jewish Theocracy had merged into the kingdom of Saul and David, which, after rising to glory and importance under Solomon, had suffered sad reverses under the dominion and the disunions of his successors, proceeding chiefly from the unfraternal jealousies of the Hebrews themselves, and the heretical animosities which sprung up between the prophets of Jehovah, and those of their *kings* whose aberrations from the true worship were frequent and flagrant. These powerful and unhappy causes, had conspired, as is well known, to separate the nation into the two kingdoms of Judah and of Israel, which were in frequent hostility with each other. And during these centuries of military and religious horrors, Troy had endured her ten years siege, Greece had triumphed, and Sidon (which was of older standing than either Tyre, or Troy, or Greece, or the Hebrew nation) had become subject to Tyre, coerced by its superior geographical and commercial situation. But Sidon, Babylon, Nineveh, and the Memphis and Thebes of Egypt, (perhaps, too, the Heliopolis of Egypt,) were at this remote period, *the sacred seats of art*—of those arts, I mean, that embellish human nature, and speak to posterity.

The three kings of Assyria, who, according to the Bible, to Josephus, and to Menander (of Ephesus), who translated what fragments he could find of the annals of Tyre—the three Assyrian kings, who invaded and exacted tribute from Phœnicia and Samaria, were—*Pul* (whose very name signifies powerful), Tiglath Pileser (or *Pul-Assyr*—signifying the powerful *Assyrian* king), and, twelve years afterward, *Salman-Assyr*, meaning the lover of Peace, or, *Solomon* of Assyria—an odd assumption for a warrior.

I attribute the basso-relievo before us, to one of these three conquering monarchs. *Which* of the three, not having yet been able to ascertain, I do not presume to pronounce. They may all, as well as Nebuchadnezzar who followed, have left sculptured memorials of their

prowess and atrocities (vulgarly called military glory), among these Phœnician rocks.—And of *which* of the three mighty monarchs I have now the honour to submit the effigy to your notice, will probably remain unknown till the literary scholars shall enable us (if they shall ever enable us) to read the obeliscal characters in which the verbal inscription is engraven; which copious inscription, you will observe, has nearly covered the figure of his Assyrian majesty, as well as the field of the arched enclosure in which he stands, resting on that antique symbol of regal and magisterial authority, which among the languages that were cognate with the Hebrew, was anciently styled a shebat, and is now called a sceptre; as Bishop Newton has explained. The traces of this staff are but faint, the sculpture being much decayed, but they *are here*.

We can easily conceive political reasons—reasons founded on the real or supposed glory of successful war—why a victorious Assyrian monarch, subjugating the same country which had before been subjugated by Sesostris the Great, would choose to record his victories on the *same rock*.—At the foot of the stair-case, or in the saloon, of Apsley House, stands a colossal statue of Napoleon, on whose hand a golden Victory has alighted. The statue was placed there by the conqueror of the Conqueror of the Earth, who, in thus honouring his victim, reflects superior honour on himself. Moreover, the treaty of the *Egyptian* conqueror with his tributary Sidonians, is not unlikely to have been made *the basis* of that of the *Assyrian* king, who followed. He would have pride in shewing how many more talents he had power to levy; or with how much less his moderation was satisfied.

Bible readers will have remarked, that in this enquiry, or enumeration, I have put Sennacherib, who soon followed in the same track with Pul-Assyr and Salman-Assyr, (that is to say, within about eighteen years,) out of the question, because of his miraculous discomfiture, his hasty retreat, and his subsequent assassination. But before he approached Jerusalem, he also had pushed his conquests northward to Hamath, on the Orontes, consequently had over-run the district through which flows the river Lycus, and where these rocks are situate.

I ought, perhaps, to apologise for passing the copious arrow-head inscription which distinguishes this monument, with such slight notice. I probably should not have been quite so avoiding, but that I knew certain learned members of the Royal Society of Literature, the erudite Mr. Cullimore among them, were engaged in endeavouring to decypher it; and thinking those gentlemen much more likely to succeed than myself, I at once resolved to restrict my researches to the Imitative art, and to the Astronomy which I had here discovered. Happy shall I be if I shall finally have the fortune to meet the literary scholars half way, and by bringing the science of astronomy to meet the light of letters in the same focal point, that we should *finally* concur in the elucidation of Lord Prudhoe's Assyrio-Phœnician (or Assyrian) relievo, and of other such interesting monuments. We cannot, indeed, re-lumine any one, without its reflecting more or less of chronological light on many other sculptured records. Amid the literary contradictions transmitted by the *classical*, and by the *native oriental* writers,—nothing is, just now, more desirable than such luminous points as I am here seeking.

I scarcely need add, that to enjoy such monuments with antiquarian zest, and duly to apprehend their philosophical value, is not a thing for mere cursory attention, relaxed to the tone of amusement; but requires that we brace up our minds till they are capable of remote retrospection—of accuracy of notice—of transporting themselves backward into far distant ages, so as to assimilate modern thoughts with the original thinkings of primitive and unsophisticated nations; and of conceiving how artists, astronomers, mythologists, and other contemplatists, then felt, and reasoned, and acted.

Some of those gentlemen who now do me the honour to listen, may, perhaps, have read within the last few days, an account of the present monument, which has been recited at the Royal Society of Literature, and published in certain hebdomadal periodicals, wherein it is termed Persepolitan; but those very ruins of Persepolis, from whence the learned writer has ostensibly drawn his argument, contravene such an

inference. Astronomy, and other indications, of which I shall presently speak, out of the question, the Persian Monarchs and Satraps, who are represented in those Persepolitan sculptures, all wear, not the lofty tiara with which this relievo presents us, but the *Median* diadem, as is shewn in the masterly delineations of Sir R. K. Porter.

The astronomical signs and symbols which are clustered in the upper left-hand quadrant, or space between the pontifical tiara, worn by the monarch, and the circumscribing arch—which I shall now proceed to interpret—will, if I mistake not, enable us to pronounce *within what period*, and to *what time of the year*, the monument refers; but do not enable me to state the particular year in which it was sculptured, or which it commemorates, because the same conjunction of the celestial phenomena which is here displayed, was of annual recurrence in the latitude to which the sculptures of Al Kelb are referable, throughout those seven or eight centuries during which the colure of the vernal equinox intersected the Hyades and Pleiades, or passed through the head and shoulders of the zodiacal Bull, where these remarkable stars are posited.

I know there are antiquaries who deny that any astronomical monuments are extant, of the remote dates which are here under our contemplation. They think so because they have looked only at Grecian remains, and listened only to what has been long taught in the schools; but I, who have looked elsewhere, and who believe that there are still germs of original information waiting for a gelid soil in which to strike their roots, have long since arrived at a different conclusion, and, as I conceive, upon sound, because mathematical, principles. While they have pinned their faith on the sleeve of that *scholastic classical* literature, which has proved but too careless in its records of science and art, I have been studying sculptured Sabæan monuments, which are *records unto themselves*, and to be read without any such phonetic alphabet, with its seven *sigmas* and eleven *mus*, as the learned Thebans of Egypt have been for ten years trumpeting and endeavouring to agree about, though they have not yet agreed. Concerning such Sabæan sculptured monuments

as the present, the schools of Europe *teach nothing*. Even our own *new* universities do not, either of them, afford the least elementary instruction concerning the philosophy of those arts of which the imitation of nature is the rudiment, or which record ancient science. At the universities both new and old, sculptured monuments are either unregarded, or are sealed books.

Before I point out those scientific details upon which my explication depends—to such of my auditors who have not already, by noticing their sidereal meaning, anticipated me on these points—permit me to remind you of three scriptural events: first—That Salman-Assyr not only vanquished Phœnicia and Samaria, but carried the natives of the latter country into captivity, introducing colonies from his own dominions in their stead, in order that the conquered country might not lay desolate; second—That these colonists were of the Sabæan superstition—that is to say, their adoration of the sun, moon, and heavenly host, rested on Astronomy, or (if you please) Astrology, which at that remote period, and among the Orientals, was the same thing; and, thirdly—That though these star-worshippers could not be said to bring with them those objects of their religious veneration which in the clear tropical climates every night gloriously discloses to view, yet they brought with them that habitual veneration for the celestial luminaries in which they had been educated; and brought with them artisans who fabricated such simulachra or representations of these Astral deities as served to remind their votaries by daylight, of what could not then be actually seen, and hence, in their newly adopted country, “the men of Babylon made *Succoth-Benoth*; the men of Cuth made Nergal; and the men of Ham-ath made Ashima,” as we are informed in the book of Kings.

Since our time is limited, we will for the present pass Nergal and Ashima—noting only that they were Cuthean and Hamathean names of the particular constellations, or the stars of magnitude, according to whose risings and settings *with the sun*, the worship and the calendars of the men of Cuth and Ham-ath were regulated. Our present business

is with the Succoth-Benoth, that the men of Babylon made; which Succoth-Benoth we find sculptured, and though now in a mouldering state, still unequivocally and indubitably discernible, on the present monument. Yes, those seven small orbs—the Kimah of the book of Job; the Al-Thuriaya (or stars of abundance) of the astronomers of Arabia; the Pleiades of the Greeks; the Vergilia of the Romans; and simply, “the *seven stars*” of the prophet Amos, (who lived near the era which I assign to the present relieve)—are the *Succoth-Benoth* of Babylonia and of the Hebrews—for by the Hebrews also were these stars adored, during their periods of aberration from the worship of the true God.

These two words *Succoth-Benoth*, literally mean **TENTS** of the *Damsels*, and the stars which—copying the Greeks upon no sound principle of preference—we now term the Pleiades, were thus denominated, in all probability, from their being clustered so as to resemble the tents of a distant encampment, and tents of the *Damsels*, (or Daughters) from their supposed genial and exhilarating influence. But though the Hebrew word Succoth, literally means Tents, Sir William Drummond thinks, with great probability, that the word, as employed by the Chaldean astronomers, may primarily be derived from the Chaldaic סבד, which signifies, to speculate or observe. These stars were the then place of intersection, and indicated the precise degrees, of the Zodiac, through which the colure of the vernal equinox passed during the reigns of Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Salman-Assyr; but they did not continue so long afterward, owing to the interesting phenomenon which is termed the precession of the equinoxes.

But in *what part* of their annual, diurnal, and nocturnal circuit, are these genial and exhilarating stars, here represented? Are they losing their supposed influence? Are they declining from the meridian toward the Occident? No: they are in the Orient—in their station of might and increasing influence. Lords (or ladies, if you please) of the ascendant, they are rising toward the meridian; rising, *with the sun*, and of course, with Al-Debarân.

All these potent astral signs are in the eastern quarter of the sculpture, as it is chiselled on the rocks of Al Kelb, toward which eastern quarter of the heavens the face of the Assyrian monarch is turned. This shows that the stars are intended to be understood as *rising in conjunction*. They are, as you will but too plainly perceive, very much decayed, and in some places hardly traceable, at which we cannot wonder, but ought rather to feel agreeable surprise that such decided vestiges of them as we here behold, have survived the five-and-twenty centuries of time and accident, in a region so much exposed to revolutionary wars. We have a corroborating, and a more distinct representation, both of these seven stars and of the other celestial phenomena which appear on our monument, sculptured on a cylindrical signet, which was brought, by Sir William Boughton, from the banks of the Orontes, which is within fifty or sixty miles of the rocks of Al Kelb: of an impression from which signet, I have the pleasure to exhibit an enlarged representation; and an etching of it will be found in page 263 of my volume of "Sabæan Researches."

Most of my auditors are probably aware that *Al-Debarân* is literally (and in the Arabic language) "the LEADING star," which I beg of them not to forget, because it denotes *commencement*. To *lead* was to commence and head (like the general of an army) the *annual march* of the *host* of heaven; for in that warlike and semi-barbarous age, military metaphors and modes of expression were preferred to all others, and therefore Al-Debarân, literally the leader, or captain, of the heavenly host, was then a phrase in excellent taste, perfectly conformable, I have no doubt, to the *bon-ton* of Babylon: and even yet, this love of the phraseology of war, is scarcely gone out of fashion, so fond are we, in this enlightened age, as it calls itself, of the captains or leaders of the hosts of earth. We may here add, that the same astronomical priests who named the Pleiades, Al-Thuriaya, or stars of abundance, named the *Alpha* of Taurus, Al-Debarân, or the leader of the celestial host of Sabaoth, or *Sabaoth*, literally meaning, *sacred signs*.

Succoth-Benoth, then—the stars of genial abundance, and of special observation—are here rising *heliacally* with Al-Debarân. I say empha-

tically, that they are rising *heliacally* [*i. e.* with the SUN]; for just above them, you will observe a "graven image" (to use Scripture language) of *the Sun*—"the lofty orb of luminous effluence," as he is styled by the learned D'Olivet, in translating the early Hebrew Scriptures. He is sculptured here, exactly as I find him represented on the engraved cylinders of Niniveh and Babylon (as I can have the pleasure of shewing to any person after the conclusion of the lecture); which cylinders were, in their origin, cognate with the deification of the sculptured stars of Al Kelb. Exactly, too, as he is described by the prophet Malachi, when rapt into future times: which prophet doubtless copied his metaphor from the sculptured sun images that were then common in Judea and throughout Cœlo-Syria; namely, "rising with healing on his *wings*," and with rays emanating downward, as if blessing his terrestrial votaries. The expression *wings* being taken from the customary sculptured representations, and the sculptured representations intended to express his incessant rapidity.

Neither was this mode of sculpturing the Sun, restricted to Assyria and the Holy Land; for the sun is thus represented—namely, with wings, if not also with a radiation of blessing influence, proceeding downward—over the portal of every Egyptian temple; over the antique sepulchres of Nakshi Rustum near Persepolis; and among the magnificent sculptures of Persepolis itself; the only difference being, that in the Egyptian instances, the wings are more ample, fashioned with more refinement, and more like those of a bird. Milton, scarcely less admirable as a learned antiquary than as a divine poet, has illustrated the vernal heliacal rising of the chief stars of Taurus, which are here sculptured, in his often-quoted verse—

"—— The grey dawn and the Pleiades
Shedding sweet influence."

But here is *further* symbolical meaning. Upon whom, or upon what, are the stars of genial abundance, shedding their sweet influence? They are shedding this blessed, or, more properly, blessing influence,

upon — the *Assyrian Dove*. Or rather, *when the rock was sculptured*; they were thus shedding their influence ; for unhappily, of the Dove, which has been held by, or perched on, the right hand of the monarch, nothing remains but his tail ; upon which, we must take what care we are able to scatter a little antiquarian salt. But perhaps I should rather say that Mr. Bonomi has *done this*, and we are thereby enabled to *catch* this bird. At least you will probably think these discernible vestiges, corroborated as they are by sculptured doves on other Assyrian monuments, of which I can produce three of very remote antiquity,—sufficient to redeem this dove from utter oblivion. In short, the Dove is well known to have been the ensign or standard, and symbol, of Assyria, as we say of the Roman Eagle, or the British Lion. I could also have produced Scripture evidence here ; but the word which in the original Hebrew is Dove, is in our English Bibles rendered the Oppressor. Jeremiah wrote, “ Fly from the sword of the destroying *Dove* ;” and there is, I believe, a similar deprecation of Assyrian tyranny, in the book of Psalms. But as, among us Christians, the dove is the received and understood emblem of the Holy Spirit—“ Fly from the sword of the *oppressor*,” while it was not less expressive than the Hebrew, was far less liable to be misunderstood.

The remaining star, which ranges with the sun and moon in the upper line, if I mistake not, is the *Lucifer*, or *Helal-ben-Shahar* of the Scriptures ; the Hesperus, or Phosphorus, of the Greeks ; the planet Venus of modern astronomy—a morning star at the time of the present horoscope, and which of course would be visible for a short time after all other stars were extinguished by the rising orb of day.

You will next please to observe the remains of lines, wrought in relief with no small trouble, and therefore for some desirable purpose ; which lines descend toward the dove and the Assyrian monarch, from the orbs above. They are meant, I have no doubt, to express the genial and conjunctive effluence, or celestial virtue, of those stars of Chaldean adoration—Al-Debarán (the leader of the heavenly host) ; *Succoth-Benoth* ; *Baal* (or the lord of the host) ; and *Ashteroth*, and to connect

and conduct all toward the Assyrian king and the Assyrian Dove. I have not before mentioned Asteroth—but Asteroth, Ashdod, Astarte, or the Moon in her crescent phase, is also here; and though but a crescent, reflects her full share of historical and chronological, or antiquarian, light, on the present very interesting production. Her presence in conjunction with the Sun, in the sign Taurus, marks with great precision *the season of the year*, when either victory was gained, or the consequent treaty between Assyria and Phœnicia was ratified; or the season of annual recurrence, when the tribute imposed would be demanded by the officers of the conqueror; or perhaps all of these. We are not to forget here, that the vanquished Phœnicians, as well as the conquering Assyrians, were of the Sabæan persuasion; and that therefore this sculptured astronomical record, if not the long verbal record which covers the royal robe, and has nearly covered all the lower part of the monument,—would be understood by both nations. I submit, however, that even *without* reading the latter, here is strong presumptive evidence that the deities of their mutual adoration were reciprocally believed to have sanctioned, and even ordained, their treaty, and were in a manner witnessing parties to it, as having been *present* at its ratification: for these ancient people had no other idea of their astral gods, than that they were “*disposers*.” Herodotus assures us that this was the etymological and primitive signification of the word for deities. They were believed to be disposers of terrestrial events, and prime authors of the fate of nations, as well as of individuals, whether felicitous, or unfortunate.

These lines of effluent virtue, when regarded together with other such which are found on some of the Assyrian cylinders, seem further to let us into the knowledge of that article of the Sabæan faith, which taught that all sublunary good was primarily derived from the greater luminaries—the supreme deities of the Oriental idolary, to whom the other stars were but as agents, satraps, or ministers.

That such lines of effluent, or emanating, virtue, were thus understood, and that they were not uncommon on Sabæan monuments, may be further evinced by the Pleiades throwing their radiance in the same

manner toward the Cassiopea, or *Cushiopeia*, of the Babylonian sphere, on the cylinder possessed by Sir Wm. Boughton.

These chief stars of Taurus, had other claims to Sabæan homage : they were the sacredly accredited, and profoundly venerated, signs of the *solstitial*, as well as of the *vernal*, season. At that remote period ; namely, from seven to eleven centuries previous to the commencement of our era—just before the sun rose in Leo, which was then his solstitial station, they glowed in meridional splendour ; and in the southern latitudes, to which we are alluding, they culminated from very nearly the zenith, always a station of dignity, and among the Chaldean astronomers, of the very highest dignity ; and they thus culminated, as Baal majestically arose from beneath the horizon. At this diurnal morning season of their sidereal observations, when the Chaldean hierophants beheld the Pleiades on the meridian, they knew that midsummer had arrived, and prepared to hail with due solemnity the solstitial Sun, rising in Leo. On the other hand, when these stars were just visibly above the horizon in the morning crepusculum, they knew that the *Nouroze* festival approached : they looked with pious anxiety for the crescent Moon, and the moment that she also appeared, the sacerdotal trumpet sounded, and the vernal sacrifices commenced.

As we can easily and briefly illustrate these problems by the celestial globe, we will, if you please, in that manner conclude the present evening's discourse. Now, the latitude of Sidon and of the Lycus, or Al Kelb, is somewhere about $33^{\circ} 30'$ N. When I shall have elevated the arctic pole to $33^{\circ} 30'$, gentlemen will soon see, that when the solstitial sun rose there with Leo, the Pleiades must have attained their meridian altitude, just as the star Regulus ascended from the horizon heliacally ; and also, that the Pleiades, and Al-Debarân (of the first magnitude) must, during the reigns of Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Salman-Assyr, have passed over those clear-skied latitudes,—not dimly as they do here at present, but in all the glowing brilliancy of their beauty—in all the exaltation of their sublimity—in all the effulgent sublimity of their holiness !

This reference to the globe,—when taken with what else I have had the honour of submitting,—may serve to shew that the present monument appertains, or belongs to, the far distant date which I have assigned to it, as well as to the southern latitude whence we know it was brought. Having subjected it to this criterion, I have probably done all that you at present expect, in the way of manifesting the truth of the construction I have put upon a mutilated and time-worn work of ancient art and science, produced at least five-and-twenty centuries ago.

To mistake second causes for first causes, or concomitancy for causation, is so frequent and so common to most of us, as to call for the indulgence of reciprocal toleration at least; which perhaps you will liberally infer should reach to our remote ancestry. How then shall we forbear to think that in countries such as Babylonia and Phœnicia, where revelation had not reached, and in whose clear climate, stars seem to shed a more sacred light than through the haze of our northern latitudes—how shall we forbear to think such a religion as their inhabitants professed, should “have been accounted unto them for righteousness.”