

VII.—*On the Chronology of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty, and of the Commencement of the Twenty-seventh.* By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.

Read November 13, 1854.

BEFORE the commencement of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we have no Egyptian chronology that deserves the name. We know the order in which a great number of kings reigned ; but we know the lengths of the reigns of extremely few of these ; nor is this want supplied by our knowing the interval between any particular reign and a fixed epoch. With the exception of that of the first Shishonk, whose conquest of Judea furnishes us with a sure synchronism ; and of those of the Ethiopian kings who immediately preceded the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, we cannot even approximate to the date of any particular reign with anything like certainty. When we go back to remote periods, the limits of possible error, as estimated by the difference of opinion among those who have endeavoured to construct a chronology from the insufficient materials that we possess, are measured by millenaries of years, rather than by centuries.

As to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we possess data on which perfect reliance may be placed ; and from these I think I shall be able to demonstrate that the first year of Nechao II. must have been the 136th of Nabonassar, corresponding to 612 B. C. ; while there is a probability, almost amounting to certainty, that the Dynasty was counted to commence 75 years before this ; the first year of the so-called Stephinates, being the 61st of Nabonassar, nearly coinciding with 687 B. C. It is admitted on all hands that the first year of Darius was the 227th of Nabonassar, corresponding to 521 B. C. The interval between this and the commencement of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty would then be 166 years. It will be convenient to divide this into three periods. The first of 75 years

intervened between the first of Stephinates and the first of Nechao II. This period is not actually measured by monumental chronology; but the duration of it is determined by Greek authorities with a high degree of probability; and the lengths of reigns which these fix with accuracy are proved to be approximately true, both by monumental evidence, and by Assyrian and Jewish synchronisms. On this period I will offer some remarks, after I have treated of those which follow it.

The second period of 40 years intervened between the first year of Nechao II., and the first of Amasis. The proof that this was the precise length of the interval will be found in my paper on the Egyptian Stele, read on the 28th of June, 1841, and printed in the nineteenth volume of the Transactions of the Academy. I divided this interval among the three reigns in this manner:—I supposed that 16 years of Nechao, 6 of Psammitichus, and 19 of Apries, were reduced from 41 to 40 in consequence of the months which were deficient in each reign having in the three reigns made up an entire year. An Egyptian record has since been discovered by MARIETTE, from which LEPSIUS has determined that the actual intervals between the first years of the four kings I have named were 15, 6, and 19 years, respectively; and, moreover, that the year in which Nechao died was called his sixteenth year at its commencement, and the first of Psammitichus II. in its latter part. It appears from this important discovery that the Egyptians counted the year in which a king died as the first year of the reign of his successor; differing in this from the Assyrians and Babylonians, who called the fraction of a year after his predecessor's death "the beginning of the reign" of the new king; and reckoned the following year as his first. See the Nimrûd Obelisk, lines 22 and 26.

The third interval, between the first years of Amasis and of Darius, was counted as 48 years by ROSELLINI, and 49 by WILKINSON, who agreed with each other, and I believe with all previous modern chronologists, in placing the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B. C.; WILKINSON allowed 45 years before this for Amasis and his son; ROSELLINI allowed only 44. In the paper I have cited I maintained that the conquest of Egypt was two years earlier, in 527 B. C.: and accordingly I made the interval between the first years of Amasis and of Darius 50 years. This was, at the time I published it, a novelty; but I have since been followed both by BUNSEN and by LEPSIUS. I now see reason to

amend my statement, and to extend the interval to 51 years. I suppose that Amasis and Cambyses reigned over Egypt 44 and 6 years, respectively; and that the reigns of Psammitichus III. and of the Magian impostor together made up another year. The first year of Amasis would thus be the 176th of Nabonassar, nearly corresponding with 572 B. C.

The grounds on which I was led to allow six years for the reign of Cambyses in Egypt were two. Africanus expressly assigns this number; and although his statement is obviously *in some part* incorrect, the most natural correction is what I then proposed, viz., to substitute θ for ϵ . These Greek letters, in their uncial forms, in the times between Africanus and Georgius Syncellus, were very similar. Making this correction, Africanus says: Καμβύσης ἔτη θ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ϵ '. "Cambyses reigned nine years over his own kingdom of the Persians, and six years over Egypt." This observation was adopted from ΜΑΝΕΘΗΟ, and by him from an Egyptian source; and the correctness of it, as well as the necessity of its being made, will both appear from the fact which I am about to state. Cambyses dated the years of his reign in Egypt from the death of Cyrus; and his last year, the 226th of Nabonassar (522 B. C.), was reckoned as his ninth year in Egyptian records. LEPSIUS has noticed the former of these facts; but he has unaccountably overlooked the latter, though it follows from the very record that he quotes. It appears from the funeral record of a certain Apis, that he was born in the fifth year of Cambyses, that he lived eight years, and died in the fourth year of Darius. LEPSIUS shows that this could not have been the case if the reign of Cambyses had been reckoned to commence at any point later than the death of Cyrus; but he labours to avoid the conclusion, which naturally follows from this record, that the fourth of Darius would have been the thirteenth of Cambyses: and, consequently, that the year before the first of Darius would have been the ninth of Cambyses.

What made LEPSIUS so reluctant to admit this conclusion was this:—In the Canon of Ptolemy only eight years are given to Cambyses; and what seems to prove that he could have reigned no more is, that the eclipse of the moon, which took place on the 197th day of the 225th year of Nabonassar, or on the 16th July, 523 B. C., was in the seventh year of Cambyses.

This is certainly a difficulty; but it strikes me that it is more apparent than

real. The death of Cyrus took place in the 218th year of Nabonassar (530 B. C.). According to the Egyptian mode of computation, this would be reckoned the first year of Cambyses: and, of course, the 226th would have been reckoned his ninth. This is what the Apis inscription proves to have been the case. Ptolemy, however, follows the Babylonian computation, according to which the year which commenced next after the death of Cyrus, that is, the 219th of Nabonassar (529 B. C.), would be counted as the first of Cambyses.*

* [As many persons may find it difficult to admit that what Cambyses called his 8th year was different from what Ptolemy reckoned as his 8th year, it may be well to mention that there are two instances, at least, in the time of the Lagidæ, when a similar difference existed. One of these is universally recognised. What is accounted in the Canon to be the 1st year of Ptolemy Evergates II. is his 25th according to all contemporary monuments. The other instance, though I think it equally certain, is not equally well known. What is accounted in the Canon to be the first year of Ptolemy Philadelphus is, according to contemporary monuments, his fourth; the cause of this being, of course, that the Canon reckons his years from his father's death, while the monuments reckoned them from his being taken into partnership by his father, which was three years earlier. This appears from a Greek papyrus at Leyden, which has a registration in the 29th year of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, on the 2nd of Tybi, being the 29th of Peritius. These dates coincided in A. N. 489, which is, according to the Canon, the 26th of Philadelphus, but not in A. N. 492.

For proof of this I observe, that the dates by which Ptolemy records astronomical observations in the years of Nabonassar 504, 512, and 519, must have been lunar; the interval between the two last dates being 7 Egyptian years and 124 days, or 2679 days; which was equal to 7 Macedonian years, 4 months, and 21 days. It is manifest that this equation could not hold good in a solar year; but if we take 21 days from the above interval, the remainder, 2658 days, is as near as possible to 90 lunations.

To come to accurate calculations: the first day of the first year of the Seleucidæ was 436 Egyptian years and 291 days from the epoch of Nabonassar. Subtracting this interval from those between the same epoch and the 28th Thoth. A. N. 504, the 10th Thoth. A. N. 512, and the 14th Tybi, A. N. 519,—the three Egyptian dates given by Ptolemy,—we have 66 y. 101 d., 74 y. 83 d. and 81 y. 207 d.; or 24191, 27093 and 29772 days respectively. Now, as the Macedonians accounted every month to consist of thirty days, but passed over every sixty-third day, we must add to the above numbers the integral parts of the quotients when they are divided by 63. This will bring them to 24574 days = 819 months and 4 days; 27523 days = 917 months, 13 days; and 30244 days = 1008 months and 4 days. Ptolemy equates the above dates to the 5th Apellæus, 67th year, the 14th Dios, 75th year, and the 5th Xanthicus in the 82nd year; the intervals between which and the 1st Hyperberetæus in the 1st year are precisely what have been found. Let us now seek, in the same manner, the day of the Macedonian year corresponding to the 2nd of Tybi A. N. 292, being the 29th of Philadelphus according to the Canon. The interval between this and the epoch of the

Perhaps, however, it will be objected to this view of the matter, that if the Egyptians counted the years of Cambyses differently from the Babylonians, they should count the years of Darius differently also. It might be sufficient to say, in reply to this supposed objection, that the record already cited shows that they did not count the 226th of Nabonassar as a year of Darius; but I think it best to state the reason why they should not do so.

It appears from the Behistun inscription of Darius that Gomata the Magian seized the kingdom on the 9th of the month *Garmapada*, and that he was killed by Darius on the 10th of *Bágayádish*. The Babylonian date of the former event is preserved; and from comparing the monogram for the month with those in the Calendars, it appears that this was the eighth month of the year. The Babylonian date of the impostor's death has been lost; and it is uncertain whether the seven months which Herodotus states that he reigned should be counted from his usurpation, or from the death of Cambyses. Nay, it may be doubted whether Herodotus was not mistaken in this, as in so many other of his statements. The 9th of the eighth month may, however, be confidently identified with the 299th day of the 226th year of Nabonassar (26th Oct., 522 B. C.), and Cambyses did not die till some time subsequent to this. Almost the entire year would consequently have been reckoned to Cambyses; and Darius, who could not have established his authority over Egypt till the fourth or fifth

Seleucidæ would be 547 years, 195 days, or 19905 actual days. Adding the quotient when this is divided by 63, or 315, for exemptile days, we have 20220 days as counted by the Macedonians, or 674 months exactly. In this year, therefore, the 2nd Tybi would correspond with the 1st of a Macedonian month. But three years before this, A. N. 489, we should have 1095 actual days less; that is, 18810; 298 exemptile days, and 19108 in all; that is, 636 months, 28 days, which exactly corresponds.

An interesting corollary follows from this. BRUGSCH has shown from the inscriptions found by MARIETTE in the tomb of the Apises at Memphis, that the first years of seven successive Apises occurred in the following years of Egyptian kings, which he equates to the years of Nabonassar placed after them. 1. 32nd Philadelphus, A. N. 495. 2. 16th Evergetes, A. N. 517. 3. 12th Philopator, A. N. 538. 4. 20th Epiphanes, A. N. 563. 5. 17th Philometor, A. N. 584. 6. 28th Evérgetes II., A. N. 606. 7. 53rd. Evergetes II., A. N. 631. The intervals he makes 22, 21, 25, 21, 22, and 25 years. These animals were not allowed to live beyond 25 years, but of course they might die sooner. Now, according to the above numbers, only two out of six lived to the end of their term; but I have just shown that the 32nd of Philadelphus was A. N. 492. This would increase the first interval to 25, and consequently give a third out of the six who lived out its appointed period].

month of the following year, would have had no ground whatever for calling that his second year. No dates have been met with, so far as I am aware, bearing the name of Bardis as king; but the record of any event occurring in the beginning of the 227th of Nabonassar would, of necessity, have been dated in either his first or his second year. In Babylon the case was different: the year that began in spring, 521 B. C., would have been called the first year of Bardis, and if Darius had succeeded him regularly in the course of that year, the following year, beginning in 520 B. C., would have been reckoned as his first; but the imposture of Bardis having been detected, Darius would date his reign from the beginning of the year which next followed the death of Cambyses. Thus the year 521 B. C., or the 227th of Nabonassar, was the first of Darius in both Babylon and Egypt. It was the year next following that in which Cambyses died; and it was the year in which Darius actually began to reign.

The other ground on which I assumed in 1841 that Cambyses reigned six months in Egypt was, the inscription found near Cosseir, and published in BURTON'S "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," Pl. viii. No. 1. I understood this inscription as not being a collection of three dates in the 6th Cambyses, the 36th Darius, and the 12th of Xerxes; but as a statement that a certain functionary held office during 6 years of Cambyses, 36 of Darius, and 12 of Xerxes; at the end of which period he was doubtless relieved from its duties in consequence of his age. Now, as this man was a Persian, and as Cambyses would not have been likely to appoint a superintendent in this remote district till the conquered country was tolerably settled, I now argue that Cambyses must have conquered Egypt fully six years, or rather more than six years, before the accession of Darius,—that is to say, he must have conquered it in the year 528 B. C., or in the 220th year of Nabonassar.

Further proof of this, however, is derived from the Apis records. An Apis was born in the fifth year of Cambyses, that is, in the 222nd of Nabonassar. It is evident that these animals were *discovered* when very young, and that they were not sought for till after the deaths of their predecessors. It is evident, also, that this Apis was the successor of the one that Cambyses killed. It appears, also, that another Apis was buried in the fourth year of Cambyses, which was of course the predecessor of the one that was killed. Hence it follows that the death of that Apis, and consequently the return of Cambyses from his ex-

pedition to Ethiopia, must have been in his fourth year, or at latest in the beginning of the fifth. It is certain, however, that Cambyses conquered Egypt a considerable time before his expedition to Ethiopia. Many things are recorded of him by Herodotus which would occupy a considerable time; and further statements of his proceedings appear on a statue in the Vatican, the inscriptions upon which have been explained by Viscount DE ROUGÉ. Cambyses at first designed to allow Psammitichus III. to reign as a dependent king. It could not have been till after he had found that he was not to be depended on, and had put him to death, that he assumed the Pharaonic title which appears on this statue, and made appointments as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt. He then went to Sais, to be initiated in the religious rites of the country, as the kings his predecessors had been; and it was not until after all this that he set out for Ethiopia. Allowing a reasonable time for all this, his conquest of Egypt could not have been later than his third year, that is, the 220th of Nabonassar, 528 B. C. As to this point I should observe, that I do not differ from LEPSIUS as to the year of Cambyses in which he conquered Egypt, as deduced from the Apis records. He concludes from these, as I do, and as I think is unavoidable, that Cambyses conquered Egypt in his third year. What we differ about, and in which I think I have proved that he was mistaken, is—that he counts the 221st, in place of the 220th, of Nabonassar as the third year of Cambyses, according to the Egyptians.

This 220th of Nabonassar must have been also the first and only year of Psammitichus III., and the year before it must have been the forty-fourth of Amasis, whose forty-fourth year has been found by Sir G. WILKINSON as an Egyptian date; while the independent authorities of Herodotus and Africanus both give him a reign of forty-four years. The results of this are, that the first years of the following kings correspond to the years of Nabonassar, and the proleptic Julian years which are placed after them:—

1st Amasis . . .	= 176th Nabonassar,	beginning 13th Jan.,	572 B. C.
1st Apries . . .	= 157th	”	” 18th ” 591 ”
1st Psammitichus II.	= 151st	”	” 20th ” 597 ”
1st Nechao II. . .	= 136th	”	” 23rd ” 612 ”

I have now to speak of the period between the commencement of the Dynasty and the accession of Nechao II. The independent authorities of Hero-

dotus and Africanus concur in assigning to the first Psammitichus 54 years. Various dates of his up to the 45th year were published by YOUNG, having been communicated to him by CHAMPOLLION; and M. MARIETTE has recently found a date of his 53rd year. No reasonable doubt can then exist as to this first year having been the eighty-second of Nabonassar, commencing 6th February, 666 B. C. Before this, Africanus and Eusebius place three reigns, of Stephinates, Nechepsus, and Nechao I., to which they assign, respectively, seven, six, and eight years; precisely agreeing as to these three numbers, though they differ everywhere else in the Dynasty. No such names have as yet, I believe, been found on any Egyptian record; and yet there are good reasons for interposing these kings between Tirhaka and Psammitichus I.

In the first place, it appears from the second Book of Kings (xix. 9) that Tirhaka reigned over Egypt at the time of Sennacherib's expedition; and the Assyrian inscriptions, which have been recently discovered, fix the date of this expedition in 700 B. C., the forty-eighth year of Nabonassar. According to Africanus, he reigned for 18 years; according to Eusebius, 20. If we admit the existence of these three reigns, and thus make his last year to coincide with the 60th of Nabonassar, 688 B. C., either of the above-stated length of his reign is admissible; but if we suppose his reign to have terminated in the 81st of Nabonassar, we must ascribe to him a much longer reign, for which we have no authority whatever. It appears, also, from 2 Kings (xvii. 4) that So, that is, Shebek, one of the two first Ethiopian kings, had possession of Egypt some years before the 26th of Nabonassar (B. C. 722), when Shalmanezer besieged Samaria. The date of this event is certain from the Assyrian inscriptions. This is 56 years before the accession of Psammitichus I., which is a longer interval than is allowed by any of the Greek authorities for the Ethiopian dominion. If, however, we interpose the 21 years in question, the interval would be reduced to 35 years, which harmonizes with the statements of both Africanus and Eusebius from Manetho. I admit that there is an uncertainty as to these Ethiopian reigns; but I contend that all the synchronisms which we have concerning them require that we should insert an interval between Tirhaka and Psammitichus I., which cannot be very different from what is assigned for it by the remarkably concurrent testimony of Africanus and Eusebius.

But what of the monuments? The fact is, I believe, undoubted, that the

name of none of the three first kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty has been found on an Egyptian monument; and it will be expected that some attempt should be made to reconcile this fact with their existence. There are two ways in which the non-appearance of their names may be accounted for; and I believe that both of the causes which I am about to mention existed. In the first place, the authority of the kings of this Dynasty was, for a considerable time, limited in its extent to a small part of Egypt; and that part one from which few monuments have been brought. In the second place, there was a rival sovereign during the early part of this Dynasty, and yet not in its very earliest part, whose partisans would probably have defaced any monuments they might find bearing the names of the Saite princes. I allude to Queen *Amenirtas*, whose daughter was in course of time the wife of Psammitichus I., but who was herself opposed to him, and for a time probably at war with him. It appears from the monuments that this queen was the daughter of a Queen *Mût . schâ . neferu*. I am not aware that her father's name has been found mentioned; but I think it probable that she was the daughter of Tirhaka, because Eusebius mentions "Ammeris the Ethiopian" in connexion with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who could scarcely have been a different person. At any rate, she appears to have been regarded as the legitimate Queen of Egypt, while the Saite princes were regarded as intruders.

By his marriage with *Shapentap*, the daughter of this queen, Psammitichus I. strengthened the title to the crown which he owed in the first instance to conquest, effected by the aid of foreign mercenaries; and Nechao II. imitated him in this policy, marrying his half-sister, *Takhote*, the daughter of Psammitichus I. and *Shapentap*. Psammitichus II. did the same: marrying *Nitakrit*, the daughter of Nechao and *Takhote*; and by her he had a daughter, who was probably married to her half-brother, Apries. Whether this, however, were the case or not, she married Amasis; and had by him a son, Psammitichus III., who alone of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty had the blood of the ancient kings in his veins,—assuming, as I do, that *Amenirtas* inherited it. I give at the end of this paper a Genealogical Table of the kings and queens of this dynasty, exhibiting the two lines of hereditary descent: one, of the Saite princes in the male line; the other, of the blood-royal of Egypt passing in the female line, through five descents, and uniting in the person of the last king, whose

unfortunate fate has been made known to us by Herodotus. The sarcophagus of his mother, *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*, is in the British Museum.

In the Genealogical Table I have given the approximate dates of the births of these kings and queens; and I must now state the grounds on which I have proceeded in estimating these. I depend, in great measure, on the names given to the different persons; and in particular to Apries and *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*. It was very much the custom among the Egyptians, as it has been and is among those of other countries, to call a boy by the name of his grandfather. A deviation from this course had most probably a cause different from mere caprice; and that cause is often traceable. Nechao II. was called after his grandfather, Nechao I.; as was his son, Psammitichus II., from his grandfather, Psammitichus I. In the case of Apries a deviation from this course took place. He received for his name the royal prænomen of Psammitichus I.* Names compounded of royal prænomens were very common. They consisted of a proposition, sometimes declaring the king to be great, or wise, or the like; sometimes of one merely declaring him to be living, or abiding; and sometimes one of declaring him to be "in the solar mountain," that is, to be "a setting Sun." This last name was given when the king was dying, or dead, as a parting tribute of respect; the others were always given during his life. These names, being too long for ordinary use, were often shortened, and that in different ways. When the king, whose prænomen was a part of the name, was in good repute, the concluding part of the name was dropped, and the prænomen retained alone. If the king became afterwards of less repute, the *Ra*, or "sun," of the prænomen was dropped. Thus we have the name *Sotp-het*, in the reign of Amenemhe II., belonging to a person who was born in the reign of Amenemhe I. whose prænomen was *Ra-sotp-het*. The name given to him had, no doubt, some addition, as *nakht*, or *aker*, or *onkh*; which was in the first instance dropped, as making the name too long, and afterwards the *Ra* was omitted also; the memory of this king being apparently not cherished among the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, who regarded Osortasen I. as the head of their family. On the other hand, if the name of the king whose prænomen was used in the name was a decidedly

* According to ROSELLINI and others, the name which he took was that of Psammitichus II. This mistake, which has caused much confusion in respect to this dynasty, has been rectified within the last few years; I am not able to say whether by LERSIUS or by BRUGSCH.

obnoxious one, it was dropped, and the conclusion of the name alone retained. Thus, such a name as *Nakht*, or *Aker*, was not intended to designate the person born as one who would be "brave," or "wise;" but was a remnant of a name describing a king as so, whose memory it was no longer prudent to respect.

Having premised this as to Egyptian names, I draw the obvious conclusion that Apries was born not later than about 612, the year in which Psammitichus I. died. He might have been born some years earlier, but could not be later. The life of Psammitichus I. was therefore not less than three generations, each of which we may estimate at from twenty to thirty years. If, however, we take the smallest number, the age of the king at his accession would be too small; and if we take the highest, he would have lived to an age that is by no means probable. I accordingly take the middle number, twenty-five. I observe, however, that though it is well to give dates for the births of the different personages mentioned, which are tolerably near to the true ones, I draw no inference which assumes the correctness of these dates. I only argue from those of Apries and of the mother of Psammitichus III., which last is fixed with the same certainty; which two dates appear to me to prove that Apries could not have been a son of *Nitakrit*, the queen of Psammitichus II.

I observe, that *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*, the daughter of this king and queen, could not have been born till her father ascended the throne, because his royal prænomen forms part of her name, which signifies that this king "was living for her," or "was her life." This fixes her birth in 591 at latest, and in 597 at soonest. I take the mean 594. She would thus be 18 years younger than Apries, whose birth I have fixed at 612, its latest possible date. In fact, the least possible interval between their births is 15 years; and the addition of a few years to this is highly probable. Now, as she was the descendant in the fourth degree from *Amenirtas*, who was born before 687, we should have about 24 years for a descent in the female line; and this shows that neither Apries, nor, for a like reason, his father, nor his grandfather, could be a son of that princess of the blood royal whom his father married.

This being premised, I come to speak of the probable nature of the Egyptian government in the early part of what Manetho calls the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as well as in the time of the twenty-fifth. An Assyrian inscription containing Sennacherib's account of his expedition to Palestine, which was certainly

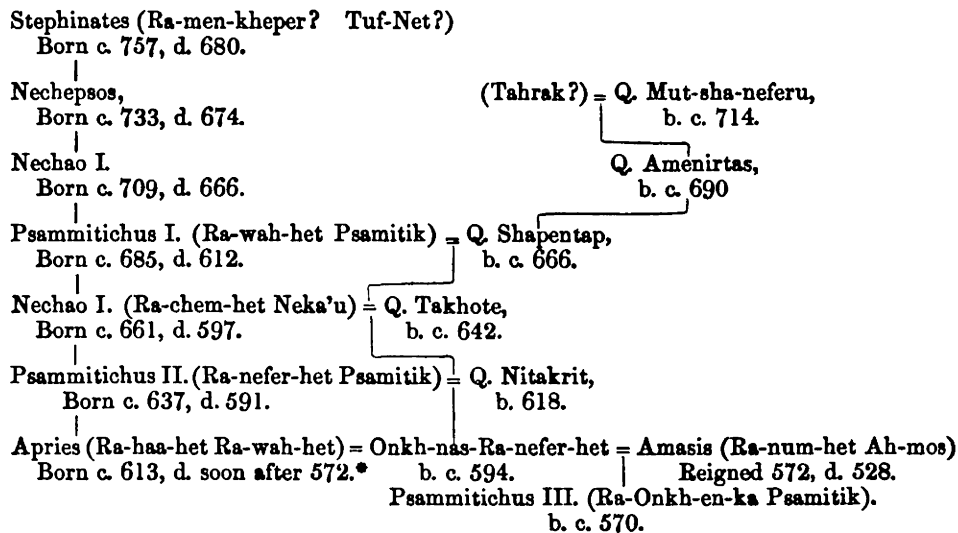
in 700 B. c., gives us the interesting information that there were *kings* of Egypt opposed to him, as well as the King of Meroe, Tirhaka, who is, however, considered by Manetho as the King of Egypt, and is so entitled on contemporary Egyptian monuments. The number of these Egyptian kings is not stated. More light would probably be thrown on the matter if the beautifully executed and perfectly legible cylinder belonging to the executors of Colonel TAYLOR were accessible; but this is not now the case. Another Assyrian inscription, which would necessarily throw light on the matter, has been mentioned by Colonel RAWLINSON. It contains a record of the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon. I am not aware that Colonel RAWLINSON has given any of the particulars of this conquest; and the inscription is accessible to him only. The published inscriptions of Esarhaddon describe him as the King of Egypt, and subduer of *Milukh*, or *Kuts* (Meroe, or Kush); names which are used as equivalent, and which should put an end to the fancies of recent commentators as to the Biblical Kush being in Asia.

Now, although Herodotus was certainly misinformed as to the circumstances connected with the dodecarchy, it is hard to think that his statements were altogether without foundation. The probability seems to be that under the Ethiopian rule there were twelve kings of Egypt who acknowledged the supremacy of the Ethiopian monarch as lord paramount. The latter had the title of *Suten Heb*, or "King of Upper and Lower Egypt;" and was probably, through the female line, regarded as the legitimate sovereign, while the dodecarchs had some inferior title expressive of royalty conceded to them. Stephinates, so called, was, I suppose, one of these dodecarchs; and I think it likely that on the death of Tirhaka he assumed the titles of supreme royalty. I believe him to have been the king who is represented on a stele in the Louvre, with the prænomen that Thothmos III. had previously used, *Ra-men-kheper*, but with the name hammered out. This stele is evidently of late age; and the name of the princess which accompanies that of the King, *Mût-irtas*, is analogous to that of *Amen-irtas* and others which were common in the Saitic period, but not, I believe, used at a much earlier date. The conquests of Esarhaddon reduced the son of Stephinates to the rank of dodecarch; and after his death Amenirtas, whom we may suppose to have married one of the dodecarchs of Thebes, acquired the supreme dominion; and to her I ascribe the defacement of the royal name on the stele in the Louvre.

The dodecarchy lasted during a considerable portion of the reign of Psammitichus I.; and it very probably terminated by the other dodecarchs combining against him, by his subduing him through the aid of foreign mercenaries, and by his marriage with the daughter of Amenirtas.

The name Stephinates is evidently not Egyptian; but it seems to me a not unnatural corruption of *Tufnet*, "Neith is his breath;" a name which was borne by a person of whom, and of whose descendants there are several naophorous statues in different Museums, from which it may be inferred that he was born in the latter part of the reign of Psammitichus I. His grandfather, consequently, from whom he inherited the name, might very well have been born before 680 B. C., when Stephinates would have died. The name which I read *Tufnet* was read by CHAMPOLLION *Pef-pa-net*; but the second element, signifying "breath," must have had the value *tu*, because it is not only used as a determinative to this word (SHARPE, "Egyptian Inscriptions," 77.4), but is used for its initial character, replacing the *semicircle*, on a coffin of the age of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Museum at Belfast. Now, *pef-tu* and *tuf* are equivalent forms, which are habitually interchanged. As to the age when this Tufnet lived, we have the following data. There are two naophorous statues of himself, one in the British Museum, executed when Apries was King, and exhibiting his royal shields; another in the Louvre, executed some time later, when Amasis had succeeded him. There are two statues of his sons: one in a private collection in London, representing a son named after Apries, and of course born in his reign; the other in the Vatican, representing his brother *Ucha-Hor-Sún*, the inscriptions on which have been explained at great length by VISCOUNT DE ROUGE. They represent him as having lived through the calamitous reign of Cambyses to that of Darius. A fifth statue of this family, in the British Museum, represents a son of *Ucha-Hor-Sún*, named *Ra-num-het-men*, which name implies that he was born, and probably that the statue was made, in the reign of Amasis. It is most likely that this person died before his father; as the latter speaks of providing for his brothers, taking no notice of his son. The reason why I suppose the statue to have been made in the reign of Amasis is, that the name I have given is called "a good name," and the prænomen *Ra-num-het* is included in a royal shield. It is not likely that this would have been the case under Cambyses.

The inference to be drawn from what has been stated is, that *Ucha-Hor-Sin* was born within a few years before or after 586 B. C., so as to be between 60 and 70 at the accession of Darius. This would leave 58 years during which he might have a son sufficiently grown up to hold office, as it appears he did. It is certainly within the limits of probability that the great grandfather of this person, bearing the same name as his father, should have been born before 680 B. C. I am not aware that any other record of this family exists beyond the five statues I have mentioned; but it is very possible there may be such. Neither am I aware that any other person who bore the name of *Tuf-net* has been found mentioned; but this also is very possible. Those who have the charge of Museums would do well to investigate the matter.



* [In the Paper as originally sent, I had, instead of this date of the death of Apries, written "after 570;" and I had added the following note, viz.:—"Though Amasis dated the years of his reign from 572, it appears that Apries lived and was acknowledged as King for some years after. LEPSIUS mentions that he has found a date of his 22nd year. Diodorus gives him 22 years; Herodotus, 25." On further considering, however, the sentence in LEPSIUS'S Paper to which I referred, I am perfectly satisfied that it is the result of an error of the press, or of a *lapsus manûs* of his own. The context makes it quite evident that it was Psamitik I. of whom he intended to say that he had found a date of the 22nd year. Though Herodotus says that Amasis did not put Apries to death immediately, it is by no means likely that he recognised him as king. Africanus distinctly states that he reigned 19 years only; and the monuments prove that what would have been his 20th was reckoned the first of Amasis].