Mons. E. Pottier,
hommage de l'auteur.

ÉDOUARD NAVILLE

BY

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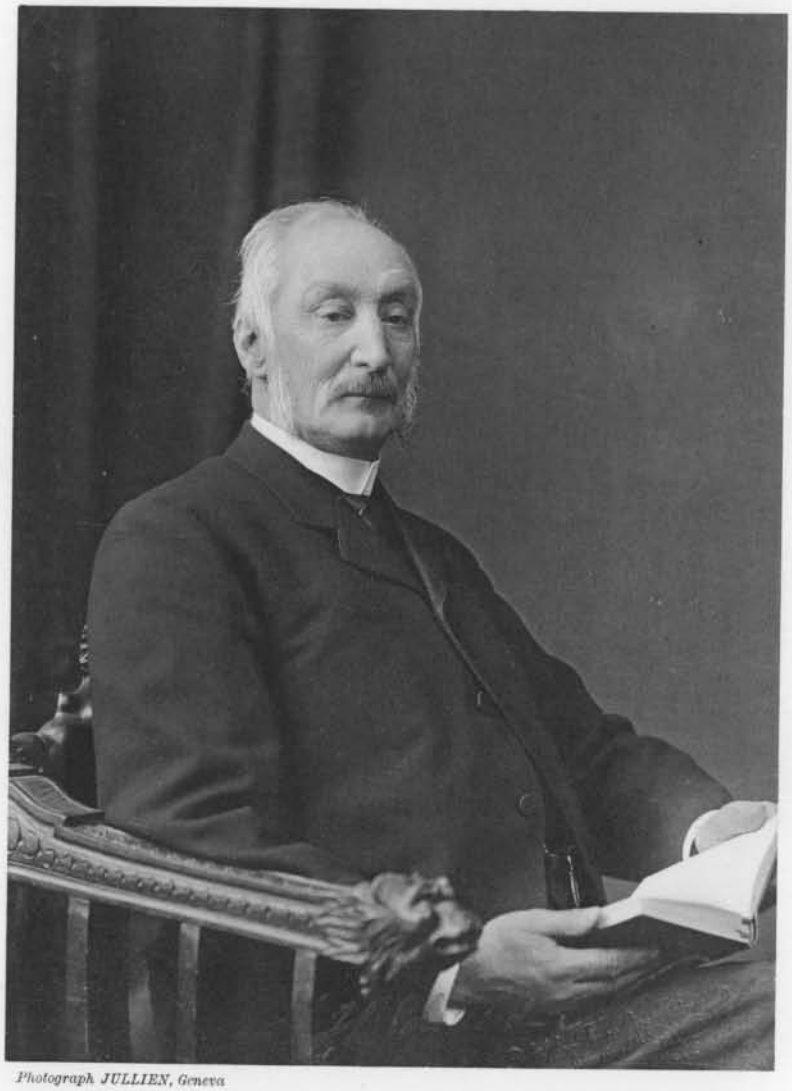
Reprinted from

THE JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume XIII, Parts I and II, 1927.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



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ÉDOUARD NAVILLE

In Professor Édouard Naville the Egypt Exploration Society has lost its first excavator. So long ago as April 1882, not long after the foundation of the Society, he accepted his first call to excavate for it. "I cannot conceive," he writes to the Secretary, "anything more interesting for an egyptologist than to make excavations, and I feel most honoured that the Society should have asked me to be one of its agents." He went to Egypt at the close of 1882 and began work for us at Tell el-Maskhûṭah in January 1883. Pithom and Ramses were dug also during the winter of 1883, and in 1884 followed the investigation of the Route of the Exodus. The results were published in 1885 in a thin volume, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, which was the firstfruits of the Society's work. In his preface Naville says: "in publishing...the results of the first expedition, I hasten to seize the opportunity of paying a just tribute of gratitude to those founders and promoters of the Egypt Exploration Fund to whom I am indebted for my initiatory experience as an explorer in the Eastern Delta of the Nile. The first name which presents itself to my pen—the name of Sir Erasmus Wilson, the enlightened patron of Egyptology in England, and first President of the Egypt Exploration Fund—recalls the heavy bereavement which the Society has recently sustained in the loss of that eminent man, whose commanding intellect ranged over the widest domains of knowledge, and whose nobleness of character and inexhaustible liberality have graven an ineffaceable record upon the age in which he lived." Naville, it may be observed, *par parenthèse*, was rather fond of Johnsonian periods in writing English: it was the influence of French classicism, no doubt. He goes on to say: "I also tender my acknowledgements to the members of the Committee, and especially to the two honorary Secretaries, Miss Amelia B. Edwards and Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, to whose indefatigable zeal the foundation and popularization of the Society are due, and to both of whom I am much indebted for their constant support...." He further thanks others, as M. Maspero, then Director-General of the Museums of Egypt, for their help.

The format of the book was that retained by the Society until the publication of its thirty-seventh memoir, *Balabish*, in 1920. The next volume, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, was presented with a new form of page, although the size remained uniform with the preceding volumes. Some of us may have regretted the abolition of the old-fashioned double column which had been characteristic of the Fund's memoirs for so many years, but really only for sentimental reasons, as the new page is much clearer and more easy to read.

In the same year (1885) appeared the second memoir, Petrie's *Tanis*, I. For in 1884 Sir Flinders Petrie had joined the Fund, and was digging for it at San el-Ḥagar. For many years Naville and he continued to be the protagonists of the Fund, their work representing two different schools of archaeologists: Naville the older-fashioned *déblayeur* of great temples and bringer back of great monuments, Petrie the carer for small things and originator of methodical recording of everything found: for might not the trifle unconsidered to-day be regarded as a crucial object by some future generation of the learned? Naville, however, cared little for "les menus objets."

He pursued with ardour his investigation of the sites in the Eastern Delta which he considered to be connected with the Exodus. In 1885–6 he explored the Wâdî Ṭumilât

or land of Goshen, published in 1887 as *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, and in 1886–9 he excavated Bubastis, published in three important memoirs, *Bubastis* I and II and *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II*. From Bubastis he brought back some important as well as big trophies to the British Museum, including the Twelfth Dynasty colossus and head which are now generally attributed to Amenemḥet III, though then the head was usually considered to be that of a Hyksos. Unfortunately, owing to the earliest actual royal name upon it being that of Osorkon II, and in the absence of any definite conclusion as to its real date, it had then to be mounted among the monuments of the Twenty-second Dynasty, where it is still, many centuries away from its own time. Perhaps later on it may be found possible to move it to its proper position, in spite of its enormous weight. Whole pillars too, and great Hathor-capitals, came to Cairo and to England and America. Naville was fond, when he came to London, of pointing out the big things he had brought back for our national collection; and there are some very fine things among them. His Bubastite Hathor-capital in the Museum it is hoped at no distant date to raise on a high pedestal, in order to give some idea of its real appearance, as has been done with a similar capital at Berlin, and as Naville always hoped he might see it.

Naville now decided to leave the Delta and examine at Aḥnas (Aḥnasîyat el-Medînah) the site of the ancient Ḥnes (Herakleopolis). There he worked in 1890–1. Next year he returned to the Delta for work at Tmai el-Amdîd (Mendes) and Tell Mukdam. From Aḥnas too came big columns, probably in reality of very early date, though with the names of Ramesses II on them, and from Tell Mukdam fragments of Twelfth Dynasty royal statues.

Naville probably considered his greatest work to be the discovery of Pithom and his reconstruction of the route of the Exodus; but posterity will certainly prefer to extol the excavations of Dêr el-baḥrî. The Temple of Hatshepsut was of course well known already. Mariette had dug there, Maspero also; Dümichen had partly copied its inscriptions. The general lay-out of the place with its terraces and friezes was always easily recognizable beneath the stone rubbish and the tumble-down walls and tower of the Coptic monastery of St. Phoibammon. Naville through the Egypt Exploration Fund (or the Egypt Exploration Fund through Naville) cleared the site in the years 1893–6. He had for two seasons the help of Mr. D. G. Hogarth: the plans were supervised by the late Mr. Somers Clarke, who alone superintended the later works of preservation of the terrace-sculptures and upper halls that were necessary, and the facsimile drawing of the reliefs was admirably carried out by Mr. Howard Carter. The results, published in a larger format than usual, formed a splendid series of volumes with Carter's wonderful drawings of sculptures, the finest of all the Fund's publications in appearance, and a worthy commemoration of a great piece of work well carried out. A tablet on the restored wall of the ramp commemorates the excavation of the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut by the Egypt Exploration Society. And, as Naville liked to say, the Temple of Dêr el-baḥrî, the most picturesque in Egypt, and placed just at the spot where tourists most do congregate, opposite Luxor, is the finest advertisement the Fund ever had. And this is true. For although academic and scientific circles may appreciate the work of the newer school of anthropological archaeologists at its true value, the layman cannot. The clearance and preservation of a great building, however, are something that he can easily understand.

Circumstances prevented Naville's return to excavation till November, 1903, when with the present writer as his assistant he set out to investigate the mounds south of the temple of Hatshepsut, where there were indications of an Eleventh Dynasty necropolis. We found tombs, but much more as well: namely the funerary temple of king Neb-ḥapet-Rēʿ Mentuhetep III which now stands, entirely cleared, south of Hatshepsut's temple, with its

platform approached by a ramp between two colonnades, the plan which Hatshepsut's architect obviously imitated in duplicate in her temple. Naville was never until the last year able to spend the whole winter on this work; just as I carried on after he left in December 1903, so during the ensuing winters till 1905–6 I ran the work until he came out (usually in January) and then went home, so that he and I played *Cox and Box* in the direction of the excavations, rarely overlapping for more than a week, sometimes not at all. Ayrton in 1904–5, Currelly after that till the end, Dalison and Dennis, also assisted him. In 1906–7 I came out as a visitor and stayed with Ayrton in the Tombs of the Kings, going over the hill to Dêr el-baḥrî every day, Currelly being Naville's official chief co-adjutor. The premature closing down of the work before the whole of its surroundings had been cleared up was a great disappointment to Currelly and myself, but circumstances at the moment were adverse to a continuation, and Naville thought there would be little more to find. No more big things, either in buildings or statues, perhaps; but that there was more of interest yet to be found the later diggings of the Metropolitan Museum of New York have proved.

For a year or two Naville did not dig, but in 1909 he went to Abydos to see if he could glean, with Ayrton's help, something more from Umm el-Ḳa'âb, an attempt carried on next year with the assistance of Legge and myself, with Peet and Dixon in charge of the necropolis-excavations. Practically nothing turned up at the royal tombs. The digging of the necropolis was not Naville's type of work, and he was not much interested in it except when he thought it proved that the "predynastic" Egyptians were not predynastic, a heresy in which he occasionally indulged, but without, it always seemed to me, much conviction. What he really was interested in at Abydos was the Osireion, the entrance to which had been discovered by Professor Petrie and Miss Murray in 1902, but had been left since then owing to the obviously large amount of money that would be needed to effect its clearance of sand. The *Book of the Dead* was one of Naville's earliest Egyptological loves, and he was always attracted by a religious or funerary text, preferably of the New Kingdom. So that the inscriptions of Meneptah on the sides of the descending staircase were an irresistible magnet to him. His wish was carried out: he dug the Osireion for the Fund, and found that it was an immense subterranean hall, built of large granite and quartzite blocks, and closely resembling the Temple of the Sphinx at Gîzah. So close is the resemblance, in fact, that Naville may easily be excused for thinking (erroneously, as later it turned out) that the Osireion was actually a building of the Old Kingdom. The low transverse hall at its further end, which he discovered, with its beautiful relief sculptures of the time of Seti I, must of course be of the Nineteenth Dynasty, unless it were an old building merely decorated by Seti. Naville was assisted in this work by G. R. Wainwright and by Capt. Gibson as engineer. He did not quite finish it, again; but this time it was from no wish of his own. It was the outbreak of the Great War that put a stop to his excavation of the Osireion; and after the war other commitments at El-'Amarnah prevented our finishing his work at once. When it could be taken up again, to be brought to a conclusion, he was too old to go out, and Mr. H. Frankfort has completed his work, with the assistance of Mr. Felton as engineer. Frankfort has found indisputable proof that the whole building, in spite of its archaic appearance, was erected by Seti. It is in fact his funerary temple at Abydos, and the transverse gallery with its sculptures, at the foot of the great temple which he built, is his cenotaph. Naville saw the completion of his work. It is much to be regretted that he could not himself complete it, but his great age forbade this. The excavation of the Osireion, of which by far the greatest part is his discovery and his digging, was a worthy crown to the work of a long

career in the field. His natural nomination as one of our Vice-Presidents was a great pleasure to him.

Naville's association with British work was characteristic. Few who did not know him, or know something of him, realized, probably, that he was not an Englishman; so closely did he identify himself with this country. As a Swiss Protestant of course he had obvious connexion with Evangelical circles in England. He was a past President of the Evangelical Alliance, and for a time in his youth was a student at King's College, London. This special connexion with England was maintained throughout his life. He never lost his affection for and interest in this country. From religious matters his sympathy with a certain party among us spread to the politics of another, the party with which, as a Genevese of means, connected with many Protestant families of importance, financial or noble, in Switzerland and Prussia, he naturally sympathized: the Tory party. In his English *avatar* Naville was a true-blue Tory, and the Imperialist movement of the 'nineties found in him a strong adherent. During the Boer War he was one of the few prominent Continental men of learning who actively sympathized with the British point of view, so much so that he contributed articles in our favour to the *Journal de Genève*, and wrote numerous pamphlets in our defence and had them translated into most of the languages of Europe, thereby doing the British cause service of undoubted magnitude, and incurring considerable odium himself. In the Great War his sympathies were of course with us and France: but as a neutral, and as one of the directors of the International Red Cross, he could not show them so openly. In the war of 1870–71 he had as a captain in the Swiss military forces helped to escort the prisoners of Bourbaki's army in their winter retreat into Switzerland after his defeat by v. Werder near Dijon. So that he had seen something of military life and a little of war or its results: enough to make him all his life a profound sympathizer with the work of alleviating the sufferings of the wounded, associated by the Geneva Convention with the name of his native city.

Work for a British or Anglo-American Society was then quite natural to him, as of course it is (even without his special connexion) to citizens of small countries in which national enterprises of this kind are not so usual as in the big countries. As an Egyptologist he was of course a great asset to the Fund. His name already was prominent in Egyptology in 1882, and he always remained one of the great figures of the scholarly side of the science. He was primarily a scholar: an excavator and archaeologist secondarily. Yet as an excavator he was certainly better known to the public than as a scholar. He took up excavation when he was over forty years of age, modelling his work on that best known to him, that of Mariette and Maspero and Schliemann. The new ways were not yet. And he was never altogether convinced that they were the best ways. At any rate they were not the best for him; so he went on in his way, leaving other ways to others who preferred them. He was of the generation of Maspero, and began to produce about the same time as he, *i.e.* about 1870, and like all the men of that generation, was a connoisseur and scholar, not an anthropologist. As a student at Bonn, after his stay in England, he had studied in the German way, and his Egyptological master was the great Lepsius, whom he always regarded with reverence, and whose literary executor he was. His first attention was directed towards religious texts, and his edition of the texts relating to the *Mythe d'Horus* at Edfu, published in 1870, and his collated edition of the Eighteenth Dynasty *Todtenbuch* (1886) are among the great Egyptological works of the century. His first visit to Egypt was in 1868, when he copied the Horus texts at Edfu. The *Litanie du soleil*, texts from the Theban royal tombs, appeared in 1875. He was as conservative in his scholarship as in other matters, and never forgave the modern German Egyptologists for improving

upon the science of Lepsius and Brugsch so far as to claim a Semitic origin for the Egyptian language, a very doubtful "improvement," to his mind, and one against which he fought tooth and nail till the day of his death. For Naville was a vigorous controversialist, and if he thought an idea was wrong he said so with emphasis. The result was long controversy with the "Berlin School," by whom however he was always treated with courtesy. And he contributed to the pages of the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift* as freely as to other journals. Nor did he always come off second-best in the argument, by any means. But his opposition was extreme, and he could see no good idea at Berlin, no, not one. So that the proposals of Sethe and Breasted with regard to the Thutmosid *Thronwirren* were opposed by the excavator of Dêr el-baḥrî as vigorously as had been those of Erman and Sethe on the language by the scholar at Geneva. And here again he struck shrewd blows, and got by no means the worst of the argument on the whole, though on certain points the verdict must be given against him.

Yet it must not be supposed that he was a contentious man. He honestly thought that the German School was wrong on certain points, and thought it his duty to say so. He thought that Petrie and he were right about the Route of the Exodus, and so did most others, till recently, when further critical research has made it by no means so clear as it seemed at first that the Exodus took place in the reign of Meneptah and followed the course they marked out for it. Others are beginning to think that possibly Manetho and Josephus were right, and that the Exodus is really nothing but the Expulsion of the Hyksos looked at from the Hebrew angle of vision. If so, it took place *c.* 1580 B.C., which is certainly more probable than so late a date as *c.* 1225 (really, as Burney pointed out, even rather later), which is what Naville had to suppose. The middle view that it must have taken place about 1440 B.C.—in the reign, therefore, of Amenophis II—is one that no Egyptologist can accept, and that Naville would rightly out of his knowledge have rejected with decision, because to us that is the one time when such an event cannot possibly have happened, since that was precisely the time when Egyptian rule in Palestine was least contested, when in fact a *pax aegyptia* ruled the whole of the Near Eastern world. And the route is now generally deflected, in the minds of some of us, northward along the Mediterranean coast through Pelusium, the way the Hyksos fled. Whether afterwards they went south across the Wilderness to the traditional Sinai, or got into the region north of Aḳaba, if the true Sinai lies in that direction, is another matter. But in its time Naville's route to the Red Sea seemed to clear up all difficulties, and his date was generally accepted, until the discovery of the "Israel-Stela" by Petrie at Thebes in 1896 showed that in the reign of Meneptah Israel was already a people of Canaan, so that the Exodus can hardly have ended his reign. We may still accept part of Naville's view, for Ramesses II may still have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression, even if not his successor Meneptah, but his predecessor by two centuries, Amosis, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. For there is no doubt that during the period of the Nineteenth Dynasty, when as we know from recent excavations Seti I and Ramesses II held down Palestine with their chief fortress at Bethshean, many trains of Canaanitish prisoners must have been passed into the land of Goshen to work at the buildings of the great king, and among them no doubt many Hebrews and Israelites (the *Aperiu* of the inscriptions?). And of their labour a tradition would have survived that has in the connected story become intermingled with the older tradition of the stay in Egypt.

Such a theory would hardly have commended itself to Naville, who was conservative in the matter of Biblical criticism, as in all other things. In fact he was generally regarded as an opponent of the "Higher Criticism," though in reality only of its more extreme

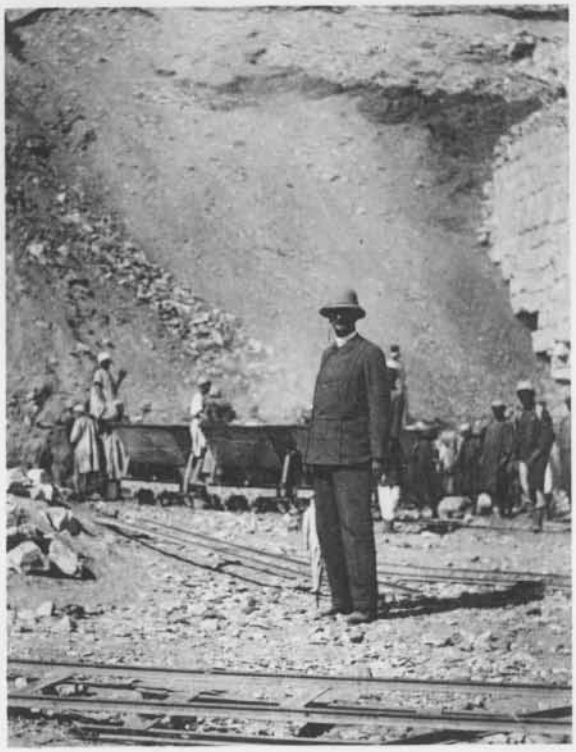
manifestations. He wrote a good deal on the subject of Biblical origins, and his pet theory, that the Pentateuch was originally written in Babylonian cuneiform, was expounded in the Schweich Lectures which he delivered here during the war, in December 1915.

Naville was a big man personally, of imposing presence and strong features. An Egyptian sight that never failed to cause a smile, first and foremost on the face of the great man himself, was Naville riding a very small donkey: the contrast was piquant. His brown topi, tweed Norfolk jacket, and full trousers were well known in Egypt, and his attire there never altered any more than did his grey morning-coat and square hard felt or top-hat in England. The tall figure with the pince-nez on the prominent nose, the benevolent face framed in old-fashioned side-whiskers which he shortened considerably of late years, and with its close-clipped reddish-grey moustache, will be missed by many of us, and more especially by those who worked with him. In all his work he had the help of his devoted wife, whose labours as a copyist of inscriptions are well-known to all users of his publications. The sympathy of the Society is tendered to Madame Naville in full measure.

Naville was Professor at the University of Geneva, a doctor of several universities both in Britain and abroad, an Hon. F.S.A., and Vice-President of our Society. The distinction of which he probably was most proud was that of a Foreign Associate of the Institute of France.

Plate ii, Fig. 1 shows him in a characteristic attitude at Dêr el-baḥrî: in Fig. 2 he is seen with Dr. Schweinfurth, the African explorer, at the old German house at Ḳurnah. The admirable portrait in our frontispiece we owe to the kindness of Madame Naville.

H. R. Hall.



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1. Professor Naville at Dêr el-Baḥrî.
2. Professor Naville and Dr. Schweinfurth.
3. Professor Valdemar Schmidt.
4. Mr. Somers Clarke at the temple of Amenophis III in the desert near El-Kab.