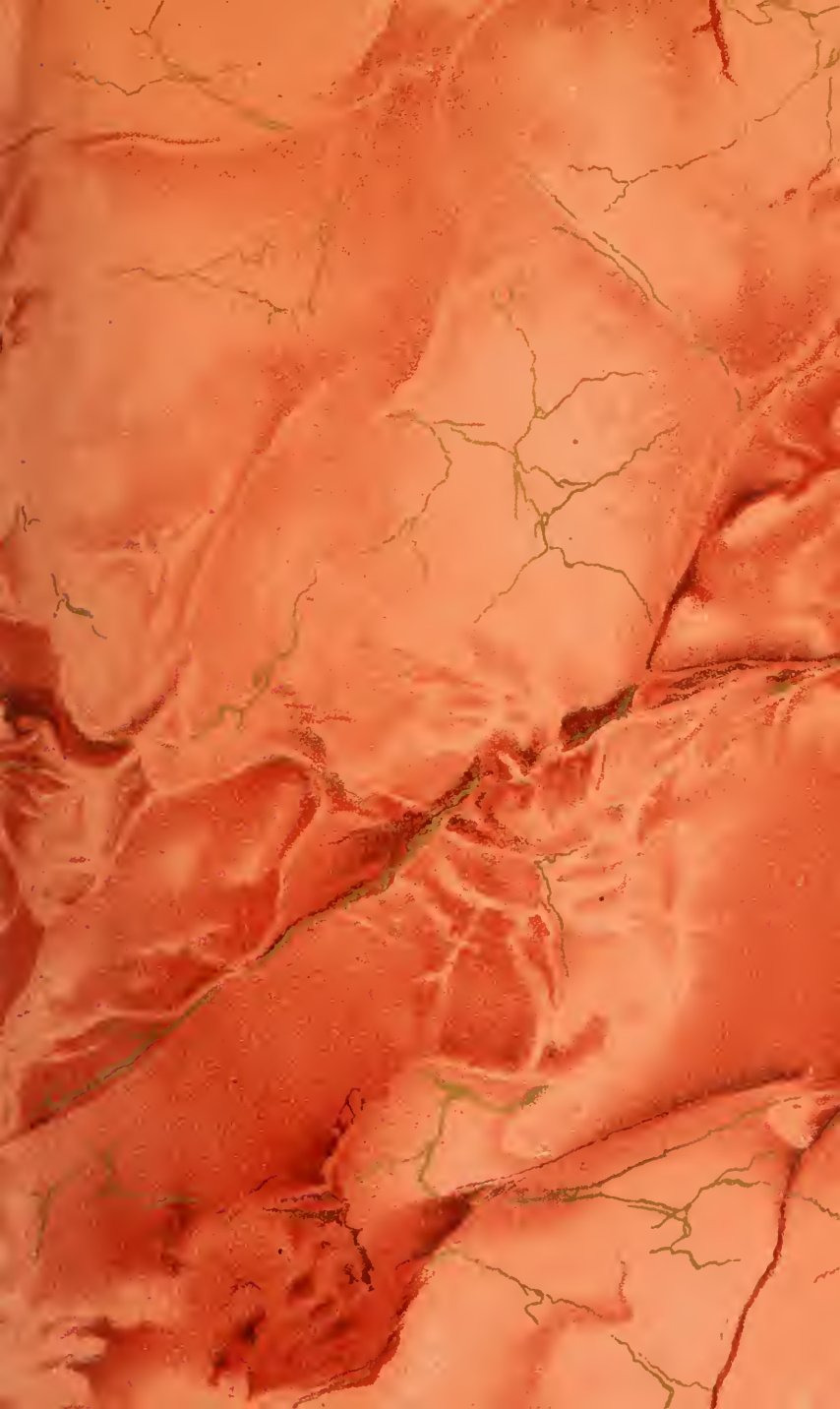


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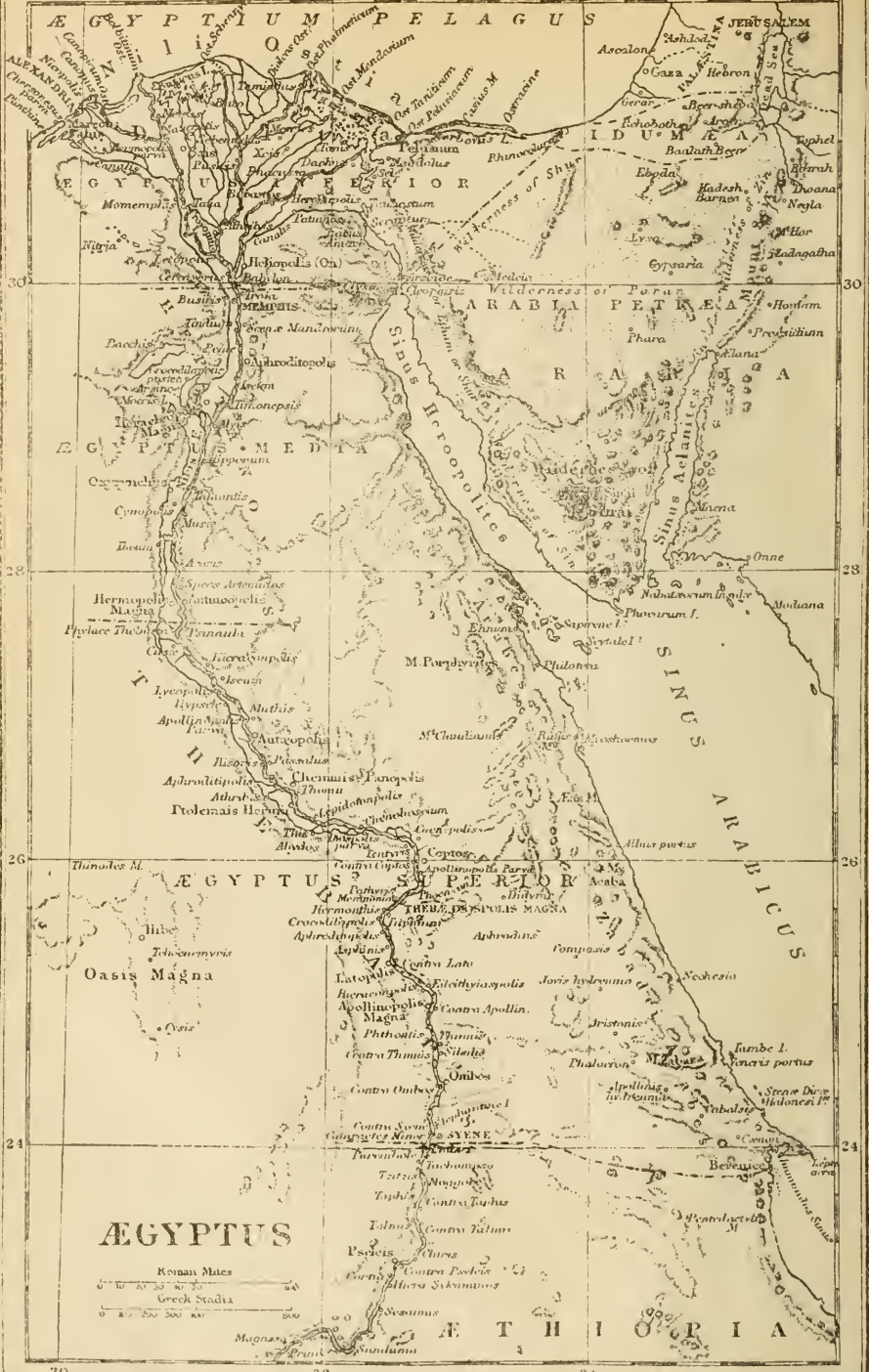


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EDITION DE LUXE

The Works of
George Rawlinson, M.A.

*A HISTORY OF
ANCIENT EGYPT*

Volume One

VOLUME IV.

Maps, Diagrams and Illustrations

THE NOTTINGHAM SOCIETY

NEW YORK

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P R E F A C E.

THE work here offered to the public, conceived and commenced in the year 1876, was designed to supply what seemed a crying need of English literature—viz., an account of Ancient Egypt, combining its antiquities with its history, addressed partly to the eye, and presenting to the reader, within a reasonable compass, the chief points of Egyptian life—manners, customs, art, science, literature, religion—together with a tolerably full statement of the general course of historical events, whereof Egypt was the scene, from the foundation of the monarchy to the loss of independence. Existing English histories of Ancient Egypt were either slight and scantily illustrated, like those of Canon Trevor and Dr. Birch, or wanting in illustrations altogether, like Mr. Kenrick's, or not confined to the period which seemed to deserve special attention, like the "Egypt" of Mr. Samuel Sharpe. Accordingly, the present writer, having become aware that no "History of Egypt" on a large scale was contemplated by Dr. Birch, designed in 1876 the work now published, regarding it in part as necessary to round off and complete his other principal labors in the historical field, in part as calculated to fill up a gap, which it was important to fill up, in the historical literature of his country. Since his intention was announced, and the sheets of his first volume to some extent printed off, English literature has been enriched by two most important publications on the subject of Egypt—Dr. Birch's excellent edition of Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," and the translation of Dr. Brugsch's "Geschichte Aegyptens" made by the late Mr. Danby Seymour and Mr. Philip Smith. Had these works existed in the year 1876, or had he then known that they were forthcoming, the author

feels that the present volumes would never have seen the light. But, as they were tolerably advanced when he first became aware to what rivalry his poor efforts would be subjected, it was scarcely possible for him to draw back and retract his announced intentions. Instead of so doing, he took refuge in the hope that neither of the two new works would altogether pre-occupy the ground which he had marked out for himself, and in the pleasing persuasion that the general public, when books are published on a subject in which it feels an interest, and are devoured with avidity, has its appetite rather whetted by the process than satisfied. He trusts therefore to find, in England and America, a sufficient body of readers to justify his present venture, and prevent his publishers from suffering any loss through him.

In preparing the volumes, the author has endeavored to utilize the enormous stores of antiquarian and historical material accumulated during the last eighty years, and laid up in works of vast size and enormous cost, quite inaccessible to the general public. Of these the most magnificent are the "Description de l'Egypte," published by the French savants who accompanied the expedition of the great Napoleon; the "Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia" of Ippolito Rosellini; and the "Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien" of Professor Lepsius. M. Mariette's "Monuments Divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie" have also furnished him with a considerable number of illustrations. Possessing only a rudimentary knowledge of the Egyptian language and writing, he has made it his aim to consult, as far as possible, the various translations of the Egyptian documents which have been put forth by advanced students, and to select the rendering which seemed on the internal evidence most satisfactory. He has based his general narrative to a large extent on these translations; and, where they failed him, has endeavored to supply their place by a careful study, not only of finished "Histories of Egypt," like those of Lenormant, Birch, and Brugsch, but those of elaborate "monographs" upon special points, in which French and German scholars subject to the

keenest scrutiny the entire evidence upon this or that subject or period. Such books as De Rougé's "Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon," Chabas' "Pasteurs en Egypte," "Mélanges Egyptologiques," and "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIXme Dynastie et spécialement à celle des temps de l'Exode," Lepsius's pamphlet "Ueber die XII. ägyptische Königsdynastie, nebst einigen Bemerkungen zu der XXVI. und andern Dynastien des neuen Reichs," and his "Königsbuch der alten Aegypter," Dümichen's "Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin" and "Historische Inschriften alt-ägyptischer Denkmäler," are specimens of the class of works to which allusion is here made, and have been the sources of the present narrative much more than any methodized "Histories." The author, however, is far from wishing to ignore the obligations under which he lies to former historians of Egypt, such as Bunsen, Kenrick, Lenormant, Birch, and Brugsch, without whose works his could certainly not have been written. He is only anxious to claim for it a distinct basis in the monographs of the best Egyptologists and the great collections of illustrations above noticed, and to call attention to the fact that he has endeavored in all cases to go behind the statements of the historiographers, and to draw his own conclusions from the materials on which those statements were based.

In conclusion he would express his obligations to his engraver and artist, Mr. G. Pearson and Mr. P. Hundley, in respect of his illustrations; to the late Colonel Howard Vyse in respect of all that he has ventured to say concerning the Pyramids; to Mr. James Fergusson in respect of his remarks on the rest of Egyptian architecture; to his old friend and colleague, the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in respect of the entire subject of Egyptian customs and manners; to M. Wiedemann in respect of the history of the twenty-sixth dynasty; and to Mr. R. Stuart Poole, Dr. Eisenlohr, M. Deveria, and other writers on Egyptian subjects in the "Dictionary of the Bible," the "Revue Archéologique," and the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology." He has lived to feel,

continually more and more, how small a part of each "History" is due to the nominal author, and how large a share belongs to the earlier workers in the field. He trusts that in the past he has never failed conspicuously in the duty of acknowledging obligations; but, however that may be, he would at any rate wish, in the present and in the future, not to be liable to the charge of such failure. To all those whose works he has used he would hereby express himself greatly beholden; he would ask their pardon if he has involuntarily misrepresented them, and would crave at their hands a lenient judgment of the present volumes.

CANTERBURY, December 31, 1880.

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HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND.

Geography of Egypt. Boundaries, Dimensions, and Character of the Country. Proportion of cultivable Territory. Dependence on the Nile. Course of the Nile—its Tributaries—Time and Causes of the Inundation. Chief Divisions of the Territory: the Nile Valley; the Delta; the Fayoum; the Eastern Desert; the Valley of the Natron Lakes. Character of the adjoining Countries.

Αἴγυπτος . . . ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ ὄρων τοῦ ποταμοῦ.—HEROD. ii, 5.

THE broad stretch of desert which extends from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean across Africa and Western Asia, almost to the foot of the Zagros mountain range, is pierced in one place only by a thin thread of verdure. A single stream, issuing from the equatorial regions, has strength to penetrate the "frightful desert of interminable scorching sand,"¹ and to bring its waters safely through two thousand miles of arid, thirsty plain, in order to mingle them with the blue waves of the Mediterranean. It is this fact which has produced Egypt. The life-giving fluid on its way through the desert, spreads verdure and fertility along its course on either bank; and a strip of most productive territory is thus created, suited to attract the attention of such a being as man, and to become the home of a powerful nation. Egypt proper is the land to which the river gave birth,² and from which it took name,³ or, at any rate, that land to a certain distance from the Mediterranean; but, as the race settled in this home naturally and almost necessarily exercises dominion beyond the narrow bounds of the valley, it is usual⁴ and it is right to include under the name of "Egypt" a certain quantity of the arid territory on either side of the Nile, and thus to give to the country an

expansion considerably beyond that which it would have if we confined the name strictly to the fluvial and alluvial region.

The boundaries of Egypt are, by general consent, on the north the Mediterranean, on the east the Red Sea, and a line drawn from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Wady-el-Arish, or "River of Egypt" of the Hebrews; ⁵ on the south the first cataract (lat. $24^{\circ} 5'$), and a line drawn thence to the Red Sea at the ruins of Berenice; on the west the great Libyan Desert. The tract included within these limits is, in the main, an irregular parallelogram, lying obliquely from N.N.W. to S.S.E., and extending about 520 miles in this direction, with a width of about 160 miles. From the parallelogram thus formed lie out two considerable projections, both triangular, one of them on the southeast, having its apex at Berenice, a little outside the tropic of Cancer; ⁶ the other on the northeast, having its base along the line of the Suez Canal, and its apex at the mouth of the El-Arish river. The area of the entire tract, including the two projections, is probably not much short of 100,000 square miles. Egypt is thus almost twice the size of England, and rather larger than the peninsula of Italy. ⁷

Within these limits the character of the territory presents some most extreme and violent contrasts. A narrow strip of the richest soil in the world is enclosed on either side by regions of remarkable sterility: on the west by wastes of trackless and wholly unproductive sand, on the east by a rocky region of limestone and sandstone, penetrated by deep gorges, and presenting occasionally a scant but welcome vegetation. Towards the north the sandy region, interrupted by the Nile deposit, is continued again eastward of the Suez Canal in the desert, which stretches thence to the borders of Palestine; while towards the south the rocky tract is prolonged a distance of 160 miles from Assouan (Syêné) to Berenice.

It is difficult to calculate with exactness the proportion of the cultivable to the unproductive territory. The Nile Valley, if we take its curves into account, extends from Syêné to the Mediterranean, a distance of nearly 700 miles. ⁸ From Cairo to the Mediterranean it is not so much a real valley as a vast plain, from seventy to a hundred miles wide, ⁹ with a superficies of at least 7,000 square miles. ¹⁰ Above Cairo the Nile is hemmed in for above 500 miles between two rocky barriers, and the width of the valley varies from two to twelve, or even in some places fifteen miles, the average being calculated at about seven miles. ¹¹ This would appear to give an additional cultivable territory of above 4,000 square miles. Further, the district of

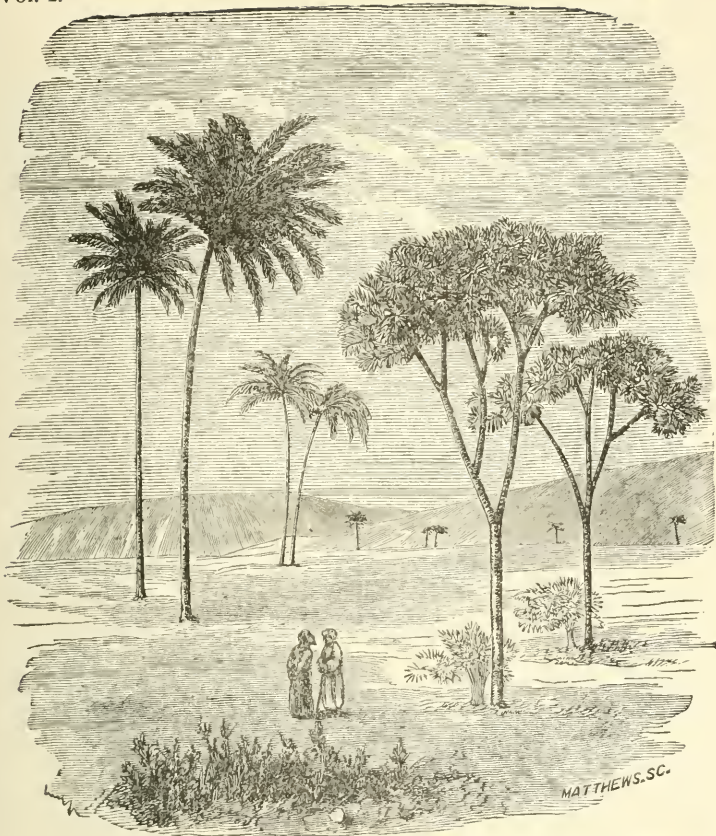


Fig. 1.—DOM AND DATE PALMS (from the *Description*).—See Page 25.

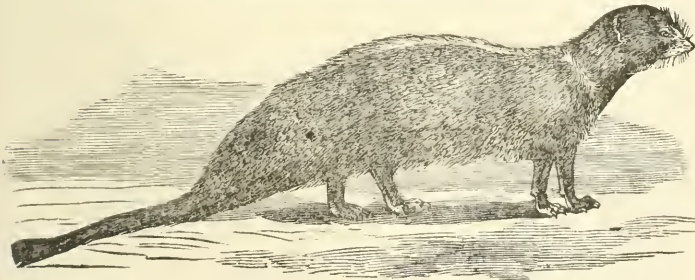


Fig. 2.—ICHNEUMON (from the *Description*).—See Page 35.

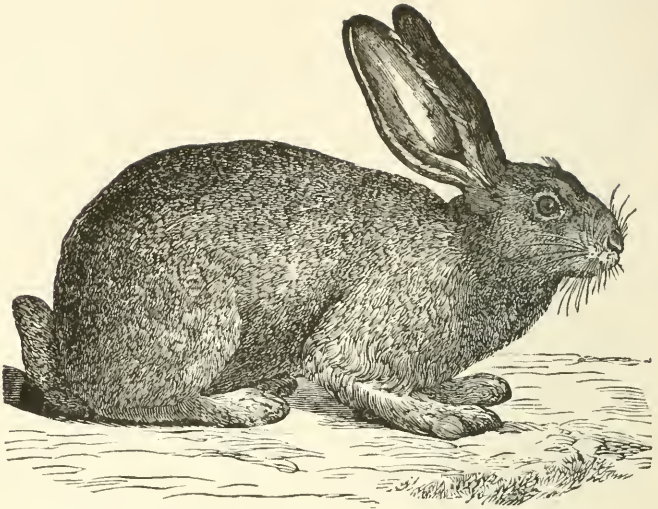


Fig. 3.—EGYPTIAN HARE (from the *Description*).—See Page 35.



Fig. 4.—IBEX, ORYX, AND GAZELLE (from the *Monuments*).—See Page 36.

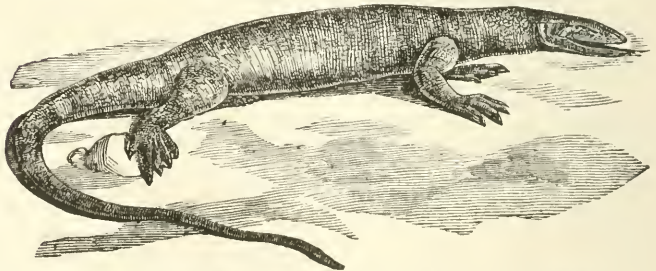


Fig. 5.—THE SMALLER MONITOR (from the *Description*).—See Page 37.

the Fayoum is reckoned to have a superficies of 400 square miles. The entire result would thus seem to be that the cultivable area of Egypt is 11,400 square miles, or 7,296,000 acres.¹²

It was found, however, by the scientific men who accompanied the great French expedition at the close of the last century that the land actually under cultivation amounted to no more than 1,907,757 hectares,¹³ or 4,714,543 acres. But they saw and noted that, besides this cultivated territory, there were considerable tracts quite fit for crops, which remained untilled. These they estimated to amount to 465,873 hectares,¹⁴ which is equivalent to 1,151,290 acres; so that the total *cultivable* land at the time of their observations was 5,865,833 acres. Another estimate,¹⁵ somewhat less exact, reduced the amount to 5,189,625 acres.

The difference between the cultivable area, and the actual superficies of the Nile valley, which appears to exceed 1,430,000 acres, is due chiefly to the fact that a considerable portion of the low country is occupied by sands. The verdure spread by the Nile reaches in few places the foot of the hills which enclose its vale. Sands intervene on both sides, or at any rate on one; and while the entire width of the valley is estimated to average seven miles, the width of the productive tract is thought scarcely to average more than five.¹⁶ Sands also occur within the actual limits of the cultivated region.¹⁷ Again, the space occupied by the Nile itself and its canals, as well as by the Lake Mœris and various ponds and reservoirs, has to be deducted from the gross superficies. As the Nile itself averages probably a mile in width from the point where it enters Egypt to the commencement of the Delta, and after dividing occupies certainly no less a space, and as the Lake Mœris is calculated to have an area of 150 square miles,¹⁸ the entire water surface is manifestly considerable, being probably not far short of 850 square miles,¹⁹ or 542,000 acres. The sands cannot be reckoned at much less than 1,500 square miles, or 960,000 acres.²⁰

It is argued by M. Jomard that the occupation of the Nile valley by sands is wholly and entirely an encroachment, due to the neglect of man, and maintained that anciently, under the Pharaohs, the sands were successfully shut out, and the whole of the plain country between the Libyan and the Arabian ranges brought under cultivation. He believes that the additional quantity of cultivable soil thus enjoyed by the ancient Egyptians was not much less than one-half of the present cultivable area. This calculation is probably in excess; but we

shall scarcely transcend the limits of moderation if we add one-fourth in respect of this difference, and view the productive area of the Nile valley in ancient times as somewhat exceeding seven millions of acres.

A certain addition might be made to this amount in respect of the fertile territory included within the limits of the Eastern desert; but the quantity of such territory is so small, and its productiveness so slight, that it will perhaps be better to make no estimate at all in respect of it.

If, then, we regard the entire area of Ancient Egypt as amounting to from 95,000 to 100,000 square miles, and the cultivable surface as only about seven millions of acres, we must come to the conclusion that considerably more than seven-eighths of the soil, perhaps not much short of eight-ninths, was infertile and almost worthless.

In fact, Egypt depends for her fertility almost wholly upon the Nile. The Arabian desert, which fences her in upon the right, is little less unproductive than the "frightful" Sahara upon the left; and, had the Nile not existed, or had it taken a different course, the depressed tract through which it runs from Syêné to the Mediterranean would have been no less barren and arid than the Wadys of Arabia Petræa or even than the Sahara itself. The land, if not "the gift of the river" in the sense which Herodotus intended,²¹ is at any rate, as a country, created by the river²² and sustained by it; and hence the necessity, felt by all who have ever made Egypt the subject of their pens, of placing the Nile in the forefront of their works,²³ and describing as fully as they could its course and its phenomena. The duty thus incumbent on every historian of Ancient or Modern Egypt is, at the present day, happily beset with fewer difficulties than at any former time. The long untrodden interior of Africa has been penetrated by British enterprise, and the hitherto inscrutable Sphinx has been forced to reveal her secrets. Speke and Grant, Baker, Livingstone, Gordon, and Cameron have explored, till there is little left to learn, the water system of the African interior; and the modern historian, thanks to their noble labors, can track the mighty stream of the Nile from its source to its embouchure, can tell the mystery of its origin, describe its course, explain its changes and account for them, declare the causes of that fertility which it spreads around and of that un-failing abundance whereof it boasts, paint the regions through which it flows, give, at least approximately, the limits of its basin, and enumerate—in some cases describe—its tributaries. The profound ignorance of seventeen centuries was succeeded,

about ten years since, by a time of half-knowledge, of bold hypothesis, of ingenious, unproved and conflicting theories. This twilight time of speculation²⁴ has gone by. The areas occupied by the basins of the Nile, the Congo and the Zambesi are tolerably nearly ascertained. The great reservoirs from which the Nile flows are known; and if any problems still remain unsolved,²⁵ they are of an insignificant character, and may properly be considered as mere details, interesting no doubt, but of comparatively slight importance.

The Nile, then, rises in Equatorial Africa from the two great basins of the Albert and Victoria Nyanzas, which both lie under the Equator, the former in long. 29° to $31^{\circ} 30'$, the latter in long. 32° to 36° , E. from Greenwich.²⁶ The Victoria Nyanza is a pear-shaped lake, with the "stalk" at Muanza, in long. 33° and south latitude 3° nearly. It swells out to its greatest width between south latitude 1° and the Equator, where it attains a breadth of above four degrees, or nearly three hundred miles. After this it contracts rapidly, and is rounded off towards the north at the distance of about ten or fifteen miles above the Equator. From the "stalk" at Muanza to the opposite coast, where the great issue of the water takes place (long. 33° nearly), is a distance of not quite four degrees, or about 270 miles. The entire area of the lake cannot be less than 40,000 square miles. Its surface is estimated to be about 3,500 feet above the level of the ocean.²⁷ The other great reservoir, the Albert Nyanza, is a long and, comparatively speaking, narrow lake, set obliquely from S.S.E. to N.N.W., and with coasts that undulate somewhat, alternately projecting and receding. Its shores are still incompletely explored; but it is believed to have a length of nearly six degrees, or above four hundred miles, and a width in places of about ninety miles. Its average width is probably not more than sixty miles, and its area may be reckoned at about 25,000 square miles. Its elevation above the ocean is about 3,000 feet.²⁸

The Albert and Victoria Nyanzas are separated by a tract of mountain ground, the general altitude of which is estimated at from 4,200 to 5,000 feet. The Victoria Nyanza receives the waters which drain from the eastern side of this range, together with all those that flow from the highlands south and east of the lake, as far in the one direction as lat. 4° south, and in the other as long. 38° east. Its basin has thus a width of eight degrees. The Albert Nyanza receives the streams that flow westward from the tract between the reservoirs, together with all those from the southwest and west, to a distance which is not ascertained, but which can scarcely fall

short of the 27th or 26th meridian.²⁹ Its basin is thus at the least from four to five degrees in width, and is considerably longer than that of its eastern sister. Moreover, the Albert Nyanza receives, towards its northern extremity, the whole surplus water of the Victoria by the stream known as the River Somerset or Victoria Nile, which flows northwards from that lake as far as the Karuma Falls (lat. $2^{\circ} 15'$ north) and then westward by Murchison's Falls and Magungo into the Albert. The stream which thus joins the two lakes may be regarded as in some sense the Nile, or not so regarded, according as we please; but the river which issues from the northeastern extremity of the Albert Nyanza, and which runs thence, with a course only a very little east of north, by Gondokoro to Khartoum, is undoubtedly the Nile³⁰—all other streams that join it from right or left are mere affluents—and a description of the course of the Nile commences, therefore, most properly at this point, where the head streams are for the first time joined together, and the whole waters of the Upper Nile basin flow in one channel.

The Nile quits the Albert Nyanza³¹ in about N. lat. $2^{\circ} 45'$, and runs with a course that is very nearly northeast to the first cataract³² (lat. $3^{\circ} 36'$, long. $32^{\circ} 2'$), receiving on its way a small tributary, the Un-y-Amé, from the S.E., which enters it a few miles above the cataract, in lat. $3^{\circ} 32'$. Below the junction the river has a width between the reeds that thickly fringe its banks of about 400 yards,³³ which expands to 1,200 a little lower,³⁴ where its course is obstructed by numerous islands. A rocky defile is then entered, through which the stream chafes and roars, reduced to a width of 120 yards, and forming a series of falls and rapids.³⁵ At the same time the direction is altered, the river turning to the west of north, and running N.W. by N. till it touches long. $31^{\circ} 30'$, when it once more resumes its northeastern course, and so flows to Gondokoro. On the way are at least three further rapids; but the stream is said in this part not to be unnavigable,³⁶ as the volume of water is increased by numerous tributaries flowing in from the eastern mountains, one of which, the Asua, or Ashua,³⁷ is of some importance. From Gondokoro the Nile is without obstruction until it reaches Nubia. The river in this part of its course flows through an almost interminable region of long grass, swamps, and marshes, with endless windings and a current varying from one to three miles an hour.³⁸ Its banks are fringed with reeds and with tangled masses of water-plants, which make it impossible to calculate the real width of the stream; the clear space between the water-plants is sometimes

as little as 100, and scarcely anywhere more than 500 yards. The general course is from south to north, but with a strong bend to the west between lat. 6° and $9^{\circ} 30'$; after which the direction is east, and even partly south of east, to the junction with the Sobat (lat. $9^{\circ} 21'$). This river, which has a long and circuitous course from the Kaffa country augments the main stream with a considerable body of water. It is 120 yards wide at its mouth in the dry season, and is sometimes from twenty-seven to twenty-eight feet deep, with a current of between two and three miles an hour.³⁹ Between Gondokoro and the Sobat the Nile receives on its left bank the Bahr Ghazal from the Darfur country, and sends off on its right bank a branch—the Bahr Zaraffe or Giraffe river,⁴⁰—which leaves the main stream in lat. $5^{\circ} 20'$ and rejoins it in lat. 9° , about thirty-six miles above the entrance of the Sobat river.⁴¹ After receiving the Sobat, the Nile, which has now about 700 yards of clear water,⁴² runs through a flat and marshy country, with a slow stream and a course that is a very little east of north to Khartoum,⁴³ in lat. $15^{\circ} 36' 6''$, where it receives its chief affluent, the Bahr el Azrek or Blue Nile, which, until the recent discoveries, was considered by most geographers to be the main river.

The Blue Nile rises in the highlands of Abyssinia, in lat. 11° , long. 37° nearly,⁴⁴ at an elevation of above 6,000 feet.⁴⁵ Its course is N.N.W. to Lake Tzana or Dembea, which it enters at its southwestern and leaves at its southeastern corner. From this point it flows S.E. and then S. to the tenth parallel of north latitude, when it turns suddenly to the west, and passing within seventy miles of its source, runs W. by N. and then almost due northwest to Khartoum.⁴⁶ It receives on its way the waters of numerous tributaries, whereof the chief are the Rahad, the Dinder, and the Tumet. In the dry season the stream is small; ⁴⁷ but during the great rains it brings with it a vast volume of water, charged heavily with earthy matter of a red color, and contributes largely to the swell of the Nile and the fertilizing deposit which gives its productiveness to Egypt.⁴⁸

The White (or true) Nile at its junction with the Blue is about two miles in width, when the water is at a medium height.⁴⁹ From this point it flows at first nearly due north, but after a while inclines towards the east, and where it receives its last tributary, the Atbara, has reached its extreme easterly limit, which is E. long. 34° nearly. The latitude of the junction is $17^{\circ} 37'$, according to Sir Samuel Baker.⁵⁰ Here—1,100 miles from its mouth—the river has its greatest

volume. Between the Atbara junction and the Mediterranean not a single stream is received from either side ; and the Nile runs on for 1,100 miles through dry regions of rock and sand, suffering a constant loss through absorption and evaporation,⁶¹ yet still pouring into the Mediterranean a volume of water which has been estimated at 150,566 millions of cubic mètres a day in the low, and at 705,514 millions of cubic mètres a day in the high season.⁶² In lat. $17^{\circ} 37'$ the volume must be very much more considerable.

After receiving the Atbara, the direction of the Nile is N.N.W. for about 150 miles to Abu Hamed, after which it proceeds to make the greatest and most remarkable bend in its entire course, flowing first southwest, then north, then northeast, and finally, for a short distance, southeast, to Korosko, in lat. $22^{\circ} 44'$. Cataracts are frequent in this portion of the river,⁶³ and, at once to avoid them and shorten the circuitous route, travellers are accustomed to journey by camels for 230 miles across the Nubian desert,⁶⁴ leaving the Nile at Abu Hamed and reaching it again at Korosko in about seven or eight days.⁶⁵ From Korosko the general course is northeast for about sixty or seventy miles, after which it is north and a little west of north, to Assouan (lat. $24^{\circ} 5'$). Here Egypt begins—the longest cataract is passed—the Nubian granite and syenite give place to sandstone⁶⁶—and the river having taken its last plunge, flows placidly between precipitous cliffs, less than three miles apart, with narrow strips of cultivable soil between them and the water.⁶⁷ The course is north, with slight deflections to east and west, past Ombos (Koum-Ombos) to Silsilis,⁶⁸ where the sandstone rocks close in and skirt the river for a distance of three-quarters of a mile.⁶⁹ The valley then expands a little ; there is a broadish plain on the left, in which stand the ruins of important cities ;⁷⁰ the stream bends somewhat to the west, until a little below Esné (Latopolis), the hills again approach, the defile called the Gibelein, or “the two mountains,” is passed, the sandstone ends, and is succeeded by limestone ranges ;⁷¹ and the Nile, turning to the northeast, flows through the plains of Hermonthis and of Thebes, the first really wide space on which it has entered since it issued from the Nubian desert. Below Thebes the northern course is again resumed and continued to Dendyra (Tentyris), when the stream turns and flows almost due west to Abydos (Arabat-el-Matfour), thence proceeding northwest across the 27th parallel to Cusæ (Qousyeh) in lat. $27^{\circ} 27'$. The valley between Abydos and Cusæ is from six to ten miles wide,⁷² and the left bank is watered by canals derived from the main stream. Beyond Cusæ the course of the

Nile is once more nearly due north to Cynopolis (Samallout), in lat. $28^{\circ} 18'$, after which it is N. N. E. to the Convent of St. Antony (lat. $29^{\circ} 14'$). A little below Cusæ⁶³ the Great Canal of Egypt, known as the *Bahr-Yousuf*, or "River of Joseph," goes off from the Nile on its left bank, and is carried along the base of the Libyan range of hills a distance of 120 miles to Zâouy⁶⁴ or Zouyieh (lat. $29^{\circ} 22'$), where it rejoins the main river. The Nile itself skirts the base of the Arabian range; and the flat tract left between it and the *Bahr-Yousuf*, which is from seven to twelve miles wide, forms the richest and most productive portion of Middle Egypt.⁶⁵ From the convent of St. Antony to the ruins of Memphis (lat. $29^{\circ} 50'$), the course of the Nile is again nearly due north, but about lat. $29^{\circ} 55'$ it becomes west of north, and so continues till the stream divides in lat. $30^{\circ} 13'$, long. $31^{\circ} 10'$ nearly. In ancient times the point of separation was somewhat higher up the stream,⁶⁶ and the water passed by three main channels:⁶⁷ the Canopic branch, which corresponded closely with the present Rosetta one; the Sebennytic, which followed at first the line of the Damietta stream, but left it about Semennoud, and turning west of north ran into the Mediterranean through Lake Bourlos, in long. $30^{\circ} 55'$; and the Pelusiatic, which skirting the Arabian hills, ran by Bubastis and Daphne through Lake Menzaleh to Tineh or Pelusium. The courses of these streams were respectively about 130, 110, and 120 miles.

Thus the entire course of the Nile, from the point where it quits the Albert Nyanza (lat. $2^{\circ} 45'$) to that of its most northern issue into the Mediterranean (lat. $31^{\circ} 35'$) was a distance of nearly twenty-nine degrees, which is about 2,000 English miles. Allowing the moderate addition of one-fourth for main windings, we must assign to the river a further length of 500 miles, and make its entire course 2,500 miles.⁶⁸ This is a length more than double that of the Tigris, more than one-fourth longer than that of the Euphrates, and considerably beyond that of the Indus, Oxus, or Ganges.

The Nile, it will have been seen, has not many tributaries. The chief are the Atbara and *Bahr-el-Azrek* (or Blue Nile) from Abyssinia, the Sobat from the Kafa country, and the Asua from the Madi and adjacent mountains. These all flow in from the east or right bank. From the other side the only tributaries received are the *Bahr-el-Ghazal*,⁶⁹ which is said to give "little or no water," the Ye, which is described as a third-class stream,⁷⁰ and another unnamed river of the same character.⁷¹ The important affluents are thus only the Sobat, the *Bahr-el-Azrek*, and the Atbara.

Of these, the Bahr-el-Azrek has been described already.⁷² The Sobat is known only in its lower course. It is "the most powerful affluent of the White Nile,"⁷³ and is said to be fed by numerous tributaries from the Galla country about Kaffa, as well as by several from the Berri and Latooka countries. The course of the main stream⁷⁴ is believed to be at first south, between the 10th and the 15th parallels, after which it runs southwest and then northwest to its junction with the White Nile in lat. $9^{\circ} 21' 14''$. It has a strong current, and in the rainy season (June to January) brings down a large body of water, being at its mouth sometimes 250 yards wide⁷⁵ and nearly thirty feet deep.⁷⁶

The Atbara is not a permanent river. In the spring and early summer, from the beginning of March to June, it is for upwards of 150 miles from its junction with the Nile, perfectly dry, except in places.⁷⁷ In the deeper hollows of its sandy channel, at intervals of a few miles, water remains during these months; and the denizens of the stream, hippopotamuses, crocodiles, fish, and large turtle, are crowded together in discontinuous pools, where they have to remain until the rains set them at liberty.⁷⁸ This change occurs about the middle of June, from which time until the middle of September the storms are incessant, and the Atbara becomes a raging torrent, bringing down with it in wild confusion forest trees, masses of bamboo and driftwood, bodies of elephants and buffaloes, and quantities of a red soil washed from the fertile lands along its course and the courses of its tributaries. These are the Settite, the Royân, the Salaam, and the Angrab—all of them large rivers in the wet season, and never without water even at the driest time.⁷⁹ Increased by these streams, the Atbara is, from June to September, a great river, being 450 yards in average width and from twenty-five to thirty feet deep⁸⁰ for many miles above its junction with the Nile, in lat. $17^{\circ} 37'$ nearly.

The great inundation of the Nile, which causes the peculiar fertility of Egypt, commences ordinarily towards the end of June or beginning of July, and continues till November or December. The rise at Cairo is in average years between twenty-three and twenty-four feet;⁸¹ but it is sometimes as much as twenty-six, and sometimes as little as twenty-two feet.⁸² In Upper Egypt, where the valley is narrower, the rise of course is greater. At Thebes the average increase is reckoned at thirty-six feet, while at Syêné (Assouan) it is about forty feet.⁸³ On the other hand, in the open plain of the Delta the height to which the water rises is very much

less, being about twenty feet near Heliopolis, eleven at Xoïs and Mendes, and no more than four at the Rosetta and Damietta embouchures.⁸⁴ The extent to which the inundation reaches depends upon the height attained by the river. If the rise is under the average, much of the higher ground is left uncovered, and has to be irrigated with great trouble by means of canals and shadoofs or hand-swipes. If, on the contrary, the average is much exceeded, calamitous results ensue;⁸⁵ the mounds which keep the water from the villages are overflowed or broken down; the cottages, built of mud, collapse and are washed away; the cattle are drowned; the corn in store is spoiled, and the inhabitants with difficulty save their lives by climbing trees or making their way to some neighboring eminence. Providentially, these excessive inundations occur but seldom; the uniformity which characterizes the operations of nature is nowhere more observable than in Egypt; and a rise of even two feet above the average is a rare and unusual occurrence.

It has sometimes been supposed that, although within the time since Egypt has been subjected to modern scientific observation the results presented are thus uniform, yet in the course of ages very great changes have happened, and that still greater may be expected if the world continues to exist for a few more thousand years. Herodotus declares⁸⁶ that less than nine hundred years before his visit to Egypt, or in the fourteenth century B.C.,⁸⁷ the Nile overflowed all the country below Memphis as soon as it rose so little as eight cubits; and as in his own day, for the inundation to be a full one, the rise required was sixteen cubits, he concludes that the land had risen eight cubits in nine centuries. At such a rate of growth, he observes,⁸⁸ it would not be long before the fields would cease to be inundated, and the boasted fertility of Egypt would disappear altogether. Had the facts been as he supposed, his conclusion would not have been erroneous; but all the evidence which we possess seems to show that the rise of the Nile during the flood time has never been either greater or less than it is at present;⁸⁹ and that, though the land is upraised, there is no need of any greater rise of the river to overflow it. The explanation is,⁹⁰ that the bed of the river is elevated in an equal ratio with the land on either side of it; and the real effect of the elevation is rather to extend the Nile irrigation than to contract it; for as the centre of the valley rises the waters at the time of their overflow spread further and further over the base of the hills which bound it—the alluvium gradually extends itself and the cultivable surface

becomes greater.⁹¹ If the soil actually under cultivation be less now than formerly, it is not nature that is in fault. Mohammedan misrule checks all energy and enterprise; the oppressed *fellahin*, having no security that they will enjoy the fruits of their labors, are less industrious than the ancient Egyptians, and avail themselves more scantily of the advantages which are offered them by the peculiar circumstances of their country.

In one part of Egypt only does it seem that there has been any considerable change since the time of the Pharaohs. A barrier of rock once crossed the river at Silsilis, and the water of the Nile south of that point stood at a much higher level.⁹² Broad tracks were overflowed at that period which the inundation now never reaches.⁹³ But these tracts belonged to Ethiopia rather than to Egypt; and within the latter country it was only the small portion of the Nile Valley between "the first cataract" and Silsilis that suffered any disadvantage. In that tract the river does not rise now within twenty-six feet of the height to which it attained anciently;⁹⁴ and though the narrowness of the valley there prevented the change from causing a very sensible loss, yet no doubt some diminution of the cultivable territory was produced by the giving way of the barrier.

It has long been known⁹⁵ that the annual inundation of the Nile is caused, at any rate mainly,⁹⁶ by the rains which fall in Abyssinia between May and September;⁹⁷ but it is only recently that the entire Nile system, and the part played in its economy by the Abyssinian and Equatorial basins, have come to be clearly understood and appreciated. The White Nile is now found to be, not only the main, but the only true river. Fed by the great Equatorial lakes, and supported by a rainfall which continues for more than nine months of the year, from February to November,⁹⁸ this mighty and unfailing stream carries down to the Mediterranean a vast and only slightly varying⁹⁹ body of water, the amount of which may be estimated by considering the volume poured into the sea, even when the Nile is lowest, which is said to be above 150,000 millions of cubic mètres daily.¹⁰⁰ The contribution of the Blue Nile at this season is so small,¹⁰¹ that it must be considered a barely sufficient set-off against the loss by absorption and evaporation which the stream must suffer in the 1,400 miles between Khartoum and the sea, and thus the whole of the 150,000 millions of mètres may be put to the account of the White Nile. Were the White Nile diverted from its course above Khartoum, the Blue Nile alone would fail in the dry season to reach the Mediterranean; it would shrink and dis-

appear long before it had passed the Nubian desert,¹⁰² and Egypt would then be absolutely without water and uninhabitable. But the abundant reservoirs under the Equator forbid this result, and enable the river to hold its own and make head against the absorbing power of the desert and the evaporating power of the atmosphere while it traverses a space of above sixteen degrees with a course which, including only main bends, cannot be far short of 1,400 miles.

On the other hand, without the Abyssinian streams, it is doubtful whether the Nile would ever rise above its banks or flood Egypt at all. If it did, it is certain that it would leave little deposit, and have but a slight fertilizing power.¹⁰³ The Atbara and Blue Nile bring down the whole of that red argillaceous mud,¹⁰⁴ which being spread annually over the land forms a dressing of such richness that no further manure is needed to maintain Egypt in perpetual fertility and enable it to produce an endless series of the most abundant harvests that can be conceived. The fat soil is washed year by year from the highlands of Abyssinia by the heavy summer rains, and spread from Syêné to Alexandria over the Egyptian lowlands, *tending* to fill up the hollow which nature has placed between the Libyan and Arabian hills. There will be no diminution of Egyptian fertility until the day comes when the Abyssinian mountains have been washed bare, and the rivers which flow from them cease to bring down an earthy deposit in their flood-time, remaining equally pellucid during all seasons, whatever their rise or fall. That day must, however, be almost indefinitely distant; and the inhabitants of Egypt will not need for long ages to be under any apprehension of its productiveness suffering serious diminution.

It has been customary among writers on Egypt to divide the country either into two or into three portions; ¹⁰⁵ but to the present author it seems more convenient to make a five-fold division of the Egyptian territory. The Nile Valley, the great plain of the Delta, the curious basin of the Fayoum, the Eastern Desert, and the valley of the Natron Lakes are regions which have a natural distinctness, and which seem to deserve separate treatment. It is proposed, therefore, to describe these five tracts severally before proceeding to an account of the countries by which Egypt was bordered.

The Nile Valley from Syêné to the apex of the Delta is a long and narrow strip of the most fertile land in the world, extending from lat. $24^{\circ} 5'$ to $30^{\circ} 10'$, a distance of above six degrees, or 360 geographical miles. The general direction of the valley is from south to north; but during the greater

portion of the distance there is a tendency to incline towards the west; this prevails as far as lat. $28^{\circ} 18'$, where E. long. $30^{\circ} 40'$ is touched; after which the inclination is for above a degree to the east of north as far as Atfieh, whence the valley runs almost due north to the old apex of the Delta near Heliopolis. Through these deflections the length of the valley is increased from 360 to about 500 geographical miles, or 580 miles of the British statute measure. The valley is extremely narrow from Syêné to near Thebes,¹⁰⁶ where it expands;¹⁰⁷ but it contracts again below the Theban plain, and continues narrowish until How or Diospolis Parva, whence it is, comparatively speaking, broad¹⁰⁸ to about Atfieh. It is then again narrow¹⁰⁹ till it expands into the Delta below Cairo. The greatest width of the valley is about fifteen, the least about two miles.¹¹⁰ In many parts, on the western side especially, a sandy tract intervenes between the foot of the hills and the cultivated territory,¹¹¹ which is thus narrowed to a width that rarely exceeds ten miles.

The great plain of the Delta is, speaking roughly, triangular; but its base towards the sea is the segment of a circle, and not a straight line. The deposit which the Nile has brought down during the long course of ages causes a projection of the coast line, which in E. long. $31^{\circ} 10'$ is more than half a degree in advance of the shore at Pelusium and at Marea. Like the Nile valley, the Delta is bounded on either side by hills; on the west by a range which runs N.W. from Memphis to Lake Marea, and then W. to the coast near Plinthiné (long. 29° nearly); on the east by one which has a general northeasterly direction from Cairo to Lake Serbónis and Mount Casius.¹¹² The distance along the coast-line from Plinthiné to Mount Casius is about 300 miles;¹¹³ that from the apex of the Delta to the sea about a hundred miles.¹¹⁴ It is believed that the old apex was about six miles higher up the stream than the present point of separation,¹¹⁵ which is in lat. $30^{\circ} 13'$, whereas the old point of separation was about lat. $30^{\circ} 8'$. The entire Delta is a vast alluvial plain without a natural elevation of any kind; it is intersected by numerous streams derived from the two great branches of the Nile, and has experienced in the course of time very great changes in respect of its water-courses.¹¹⁶ The general tendency has been for the water to run off more and more towards the west. The Pelusiac branch, which was originally a principal one,¹¹⁷ is now almost entirely dried up; the Tanitic and Mendesian branches have similarly disappeared; the present most easterly mouth of the Nile is the Damietta one, which was originally the fourth, as

one proceeded along the coast from east to west. Even this conveys but a small proportion of the Nile water, and tends to silt up. At Rosetta there is a bar across the mouth of the river; and the Mahmoudiyeh canal, which connects Alexandria with the Nile at Foueh, forms the only permanently navigable channel between the coast and the capital. The cause of this gradual change seems to be the current in the Mediterranean, which runs constantly from west to east along the Egyptian coast, and carries the Nile mud eastward, depositing it little by little as it goes. Port Said is continually threatened with destruction from this cause, and it is only by constant dredging that the mouth of the canal can be kept clear.

About one-fourth of the natural area of the Delta is occupied by lakes, which are separated from the sea by thin lines of rock or sand-bank. Commencing on the west we find, first, Lake Marea or Mareotis, which extends from Plinthiné for thirty-five miles in a northeast direction, and runs inland a distance of five-and-twenty miles towards the southeast. Adjoining it on the east, and separated from it by only a narrow strip of alluvium,¹¹⁸ is Lake Menelaites (now Ma'dyeh), a basin of no great size, its dimensions being about ten miles by seven or eight. Both these lakes are protected from the sea by a low limestone range,¹¹⁹ which terminates in the rock forming the western extremity of Aboukir Bay. From this point as far as Mount Casius, the rest of the coast consists entirely of sand and alluvium.¹²⁰ South of Aboukir Bay is Lake Metelites (*Edkou*), with a length of twenty miles and a width of about ten, reaching on the one side nearly to Lake Ma'dyeh, and on the other to the Bolbitine or Rosetta branch of the Nile. At a little distance beyond the Rosetta branch commences Lake *Bourlos* (Lacus Buticus), which has a breadth of twenty miles with a length of nearly forty,¹²¹ and is divided from the Mediterranean by a thin tongue of sand extending from the Rosetta mouth to the most northerly point of Egypt, opposite Beltym. A broad tract of land now intervenes between Lake Bourlos and the Damietta branch of the Nile; but east of the Damietta branch occurs almost immediately another lake, the greatest of all, the Lake *Menzaleh*, which has a length of forty-five miles and a width in places of nearly thirty. The country south and southwest of this lake is a vast marsh,¹²² containing only occasional dry spots, but the resort in all times of a numerous and hardy population.¹²³ Still further to the east, beyond the Pelusiac mouth, and beyond the limits of the Delta proper, is Lake Serbônîs, which has a

length of fifty miles, but a width varying from one mile only to six or seven. A low and narrow sand-bank,¹²⁴ midway in which the Mons Casius rises, separates this lake from the sea.

It has been much disputed whether the Delta projects increasingly into the Mediterranean, and whether consequently it is now larger than in ancient times. The French savants who examined the country at the time of Napoleon's great expedition were decidedly of opinion that the coast-line advanced constantly,¹²⁵ and regarded the general area of the Delta as thus considerably augmented. They thought, however, that as much land had been lost internally by the neglect of the old dykes, and the enlargement of Lake Bourlos and Menzaleh¹²⁶ as had been gained from the sea, and believed that thus the cultivable area of the Delta was about the same in their own day as anciently.

On the other hand, Sir Gardner Wilkinson declares that the "Mediterranean has encroached, and that the Delta has lost instead of gaining along the whole of its extent from Canopus to Pelusium." He maintains that "the land is always sinking along the north coast of Egypt," and appears to think that the Nile deposit is barely sufficient to compensate for this continued subsidence. According to him¹²⁷ "the Nile now enters the sea at the same distance north of the Lake Mœris as it did in the age of early kings of Egypt," and "the sites of the oldest cities are as near the seashore as they ever were." He thus believes the coast-line to have made no advance at all in historical times, and appears even to regard the remarkable projection of the land between the Canopic and Pelusiatic mouths as an original formation and not the result of deposit.

It is difficult to decide between two such weighty authorities; but it may be observed that the English Egyptologist is scarcely consistent with himself, since, while stating that the sea "has encroached," he allows that the Nile enters it at the *same* distance below Lake Mœris as formerly, which implies that the sea has not encroached. It may further be remarked that he gives no proof of the subsidence of the coast along the north of Egypt, and that his statement on the subject is open to question. On the whole, we may perhaps with most reason conclude that there is an advance, especially towards the east, whither the mud is swept by the current, but that the progress made is slow and the gain of territory inconsiderable.

The curious basin of the Fayoum has from a remote antiquity attracted the attention of geographers,¹²⁸ and in modern times has been carefully examined and described by M.

Jomard¹²⁹ and M. Linant de Bellefonds.¹³⁰ It is a natural depression in the Libyan chain of hills, having an area of about 400 square miles,¹³¹ of which 150 are occupied by a long and narrow lake,¹³² the Birket-el-Keroun (or "Lake of the Horn"), whose waters cover the northwestern portion of the basin. The whole tract lies at a much lower level than that of the Nile valley, with which it is connected by a rocky ravine about eight miles in length,¹³³ having a direction from N.W. to S.E., and lying in about lat. $29^{\circ} 20'$. Originally the basin was most probably cup-shaped; but at present the ground within it slopes from the opening of the gorge in all directions—to the north, the west, and the south—the upper ground consisting of deposits of Nile mud, which have accumulated in the course of ages. A branch from the Bahr-Yousuf—still in use—was conducted in ancient times through the gorge; and an elaborate system of irrigation,¹³⁴ involving the construction of numerous dykes, canals, and sluices, brought almost the whole tract under cultivation, and rendered it one of the most productive portions of Egypt. The lake itself—which is a construction of nature and not of art—was of great value as a fishery,¹³⁵ and the Arsenoite nome, as the whole tract was called, took rank among the chief wonders of a most wonderful country.¹³⁶

The Eastern Desert is by far the largest of all the divisions of Egypt. Its length may be estimated at above 500 miles, and its average width at 130 or 140 miles.¹³⁷ Its entire area is probably not less than 65,000 square miles, or considerably more than two-thirds of the area of Egypt. It is in the main a region of rock, gravel, and sand, arid, waterless, treeless.¹³⁸ On the side of the Nile, the ridge rises in terraces,¹³⁹ which are steep and precipitous, presenting towards the west ranges of cliffs like walls; after this, mountains alternate with broad gravelly or sandy plains; the land gradually rises; the elevation of the hills is sometimes as much as 6,000 feet,¹⁴⁰ and is greatest about half way between the Nile and the Red Sea. The geological formation is limestone towards the north, sandstone about lat. 25° , and granite in lat. 24° ; but occasionally masses of primitive rock are intruded into the secondary regions,¹⁴¹ extending as far northward as lat. $27^{\circ} 10'$. In a few places the desert is intersected by rocky gorges of a less arid character, which furnish lines of communication between the Nile valley and the Red Sea;¹⁴² of these the most remarkable are, one about lat. 30° , connecting Cairo with the Gulf of Suez;¹⁴³ a second, in lat. 26° , uniting Coptos and Thebes with Cosseir;¹⁴⁴ and a third, branching off from the Nile in

lat. 25° , and joining Edfou (Apollinopolis Magna) with Berenice,¹⁴⁵ in lat. $23^{\circ} 50'$. Other similar gorges or ravines penetrate into the desert region for a longer or a shorter distance, and then suddenly terminate. For the most part these valleys are, to a certain extent, fertile. Trees grow in them; ¹⁴⁶ and they produce in abundance a thorny plant, called *basillah*,¹⁴⁷ which affords a sufficient nourishment for camels, goats, and even sheep. In places the vegetation is richer. "Delightful ravines, ornamented with beautiful shrubs," and producing date-trees and wild wheat, are said to exist in the northern portion of the desert,¹⁴⁸ while near the Red Sea, in lat. $28^{\circ} 45'$, the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul are situated in "verdant spots," and "surrounded with thriving orchards of dates, olives, and apricots."¹⁴⁹ The great want of the region is water, which exists only in wells, scattered at wide intervals over its surface, and is always of an unpleasant and sometimes of an unwholesome character.¹⁵⁰ The only really valuable portion of the Eastern desert is that of Mount Zabara,¹⁵¹ the region of the emerald mines, in lat. $24^{\circ} 25'$, long. 35° nearly.

The valley of the Natron Lakes¹⁵² is a long and narrow depression in the Libyan desert, lying chiefly between lat. 30° and 31° . It may be viewed as branching off from the valley of the Nile about Abousyr, between the great pyramids of Gizeh and those of Sakkara. Its general direction is from S.E.E. to N.W.W.; and it thus runs parallel with the western skirt of the Delta, from which it is separated by an arid track of limestone rock and gravelly desert, from thirty to fifty miles in width. The length of the valley from the point where it quits the Nile to the place where it is lost in the sands south of Marea a little exceeds ninety miles. The lakes occupy the central portion of the depression, lying between lat. $30^{\circ} 16'$ and lat. $33^{\circ} 24'$. They are six in number, and form a continuous line, which is reckoned at six French leagues,¹⁵³ or about sixteen and a half English miles. Their ordinary width is from 100 to 150 yards. The water is supplied from springs which rise in the limestone range bounding the valley on the northeast and flow copiously from midsummer till December, after which they shrink and gradually fail till the ensuing June.¹⁵⁴ During the time of their failure some of the lakes become dry. Though the water of the springs which supply the lakes is quite drinkable, yet it contains in solution several salts, as especially the muriate of soda or common sea salt, the subcarbonate of soda,¹⁵⁵ or natron, and the sulphate of soda; and these salts, continually accumulating in the lakes, which have no outlet, crystallize on their surface

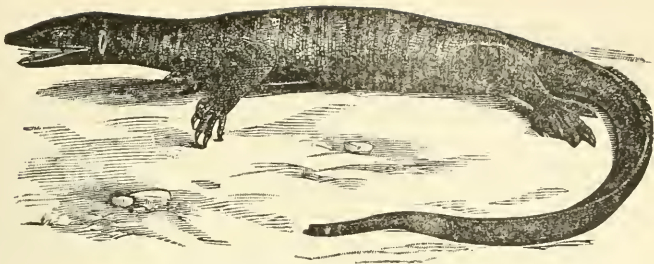


Fig. 6.—THE GREAT MONITOR.—See Page 37.



Fig. 7.—FRUIT OF THE *Nymphaea nelumbo*.
—See Page 30.

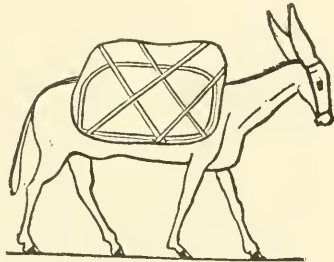


Fig. 8.—EGYPTIAN ASS (from the Monuments).—See Page 38.

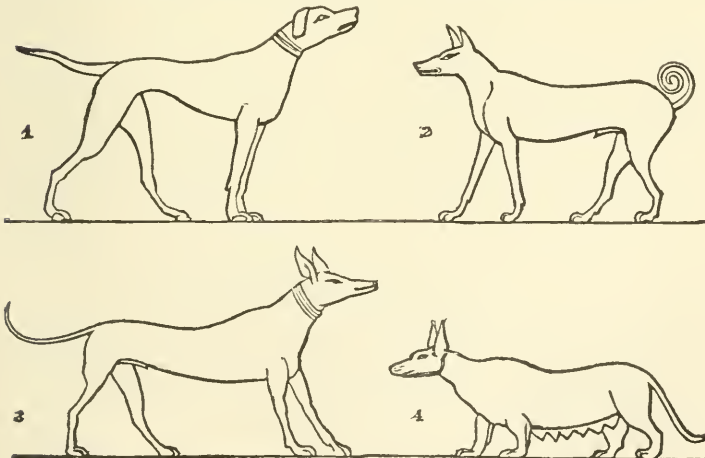


Fig. 9.—EGYPTIAN DOGS (from the Monuments).—See Page 39.



Fig. 10.—HYENA CAUGHT IN A TRAP (from the Monuments.—See Page 34.



Fig. 11.—HEAD OF EGYPTIAN MAN.—See Page 50.

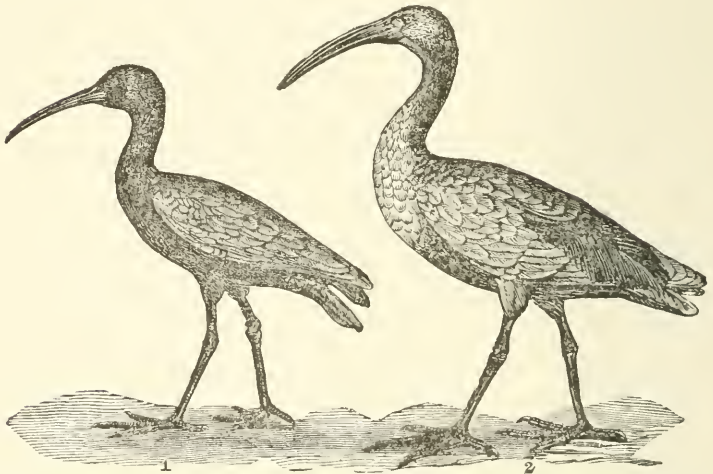


Fig. 12.—1. THE GLOSSY IBIS; 2. THE *Ibis Religiosa* (from the *Description*).—Page 40.

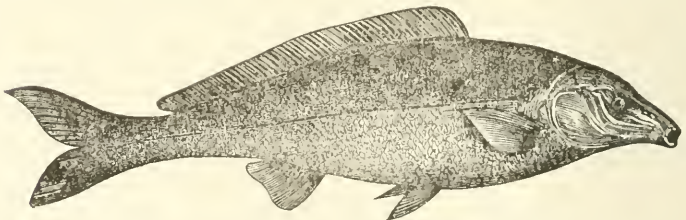


Fig. 13.—THE OXYRHYNCHUS OR MIZDEH.—See Page 42.

in large quantities, and become valuable objects of commerce.¹⁵⁶ Excepting immediately round the lakes, there is little vegetation; ¹⁵⁷ yet the valley is permanently inhabited at the present day by the monks of three convents, besides being visited from time to time by caravans of merchants, bent on conveying its treasures to Cairo or Alexandria. South of the Natron Valley, and separated from it by a low ridge, is a waterless ravine, containing a quantity of petrified wood, which has been regarded by some as an old branch of the Nile,¹⁵⁸ and supposed to have a connection with the Birket-el-Keroun; ¹⁵⁹ but this latter supposition is entirely erroneous,¹⁶⁰ and it may be doubted whether the presumed connection with the Nile is not equally without foundation.¹⁶¹

The countries whereby ancient Egypt was bordered were three only, Ethiopia, Libya, and Syria including Palestine. Ethiopia, which lay towards the south, was a tract considerably larger than Egypt, comprising, as it did, not only Nubia, but the whole of the modern Abyssinia, or the tract from which flow the Atbara and Blue Nile rivers. It was also, in part, a region of great fertility, capable of supporting a numerous population, which, inhabiting a mountain territory, would naturally be brave and hardy.¹⁶² Egypt could not but have something to fear from this quarter; but a certain degree of security was afforded by the fact, that between her frontier and the fertile portion of Ethiopia lay a desert tract, extending for above six degrees, or more than 400 miles, between the mouth of the Atbara and Syêné. The dangers of the desert might indeed be avoided by following the course of the Nile; but the distance was under such circumstances very considerably increased, the march from Meroë to Syêné being augmented from one of 450 to one of 850 miles. Hence the ordinary route followed was that across the Nubian desert,¹⁶³ a distance of not less than ten days' march for an army; and thus, practically, it may be said that a barrier difficult to surmount protected Egypt on the south, and rendered her, unless upon rare occasions, secure from attack on that side.

The vast tract, known to the ancients vaguely as Libya, and inhabited by Libyans, extended from the Delta and the Nile valley westward across the entire continent,¹⁶⁴ comprehending all North Africa west of Egypt, excepting the small Greek settlements of Cyrene and Barca, and the Phœnician ones of Carthage, Utica, and Hippo. The geographical area was enormous; but the inhospitable nature of the region, which is for the most part an arid and unproductive desert, though dotted with palm-bearing oases,¹⁶⁵ rendered it in the

main unfit for the habitation of man, and kept the scattered tribes that wandered over its surface from multiplying. The portion of North Africa which borders on Egypt is particularly sterile and unattractive; a scant and sparse population can alone contrive to find subsistence amid its parched and barren wastes; and this population, engaged in a perpetual struggle for existence, is naturally broken up into tribes which regard each other with animosity, and live in a state of constant war, rapine, and mutual injury. Combination is almost impossible under such circumstances; and thus the great and powerful monarchy of Egypt could have little to fear from the tribes upon its western frontier, which were individually weak,¹⁶⁶ and were unapt to form leagues or alliances. Once alone in the history of Egypt does any great attack come from this quarter, some peculiar circumstances having favored a temporary union between races ordinarily very much disinclined to act together.

On the east Egypt was protected along the greater portion of her frontier by a water barrier, a broad and impassable¹⁶⁷ moat, the Red Sea and its western prolongation, the Gulf of Suez. It was only at the extreme north, where Africa is joined on to Asia, that on this side she had neighbors. And here, again, she enjoyed to some extent the protection of a desert. Egypt is separated from Syria by the sandy tract, known to the Arabs as El-Tij, the "Wilderness of the Wanderings." The width of the desert is, however, not great; armies have at all times traversed it without much difficulty;¹⁶⁸ and with the support of a fleet, it is easy to conduct a force along the coast route from Gaza to Pelusium. Accordingly, we shall find that it was especially in this quarter, on her northeastern border, that Egypt came into contact with other countries, made her own chief military expeditions, and lay open to attack from formidable enemies. The strip of fertile land—alternate mountain and rich plain—which intervenes between the eastern Mediterranean and the Palmyrene or Syrian desert, has at all times been a nursery of powerful and warlike nations—Emim, Rephaim, Philistines, Canaanites, Israelites, Hittites, Jews, Saracens, Druses. Here in this desirable region, which she could not help coveting, Egypt was brought into collision with foemen "worthy of her steel"—here was the scene of her early military exploits—and hence came the assault of her first really dangerous enemy.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, it was through this country alone, along this fertile but somewhat narrow strip, that she could pass to broader and richer regions—to Mesopotamia, Assyria, Asia Minor—seats of a civilization almost

as ancient as her own—wealthy, populous, well-cultivated tracts—next to the Nile valley, the fairest portions of the earth's surface. Thus her chief efforts were always made on this side, and her history connects her not so much with Africa as with Asia. For twenty centuries the struggle for the first place among the nations of the earth was carried on in these regions—Egypt's rivals and enemies were Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia—her armies and those of her adversaries were perpetually traversing the Syrian and Palestinian plains and valleys—the country between the “river of Egypt” and the Euphrates at Carchemish was the battle-ground of the “Great Powers”—and the tract is consequently one with which Egyptian history is vitally connected. Its main features are simple and easily intelligible. A spur from Taurus¹⁷⁰ detaches itself in E. long. 37°, and, skirting the Gulf of Issus, runs south and a little west of south from the 37th parallel to beyond the 33d, where we may regard it as terminating in Mount Carmel. Another parallel range¹⁷¹ rises in Northern Syria about Aleppo, and, running at a short distance from the first, culminates towards the south in Hermon. Between them lies the deep and fertile valley of Cœlesyria, watered in its more northern parts by the Orontes, and in its more southern by the Litany. Extending for above 200 miles from north to south, almost in a direct line, and without further break than an occasional screen of low hills, Cœlesyria furnishes the most convenient line of passage between Africa and Asia, alike for the journeys of merchants and the march of armies.¹⁷² Below Hermon the mountains cease, and are replaced by uplands of a moderate elevation. The country is everywhere traversable; but the readiest route is that which, passing from the Bukaa¹⁷³ over the hills of Galilee, descends into the plain of Esdraëlon, and then, after crossing the low range which joins Carmel to the Samaritan highland, proceeds along the coast through the plain of Sharon and the Shephelah to the Egyptian frontier at the Wady-el-Arish. Such are the chief features of Syria considered strategically. It presents one, and one only, *regular* line of march for the passage of armies. This line of march is from south to north by Philistia, Sharon, the Esdraëlon plain, Galilee, and the Cœlesyrian valley, to the latitude of Aleppo, whence are several routes to the Euphrates. There is also one *secondary* line, which passing out of Galilee, to the northeast, and leaving Hermon and Anti-libanus to the left, proceeds by way of Damascus along the eastern skirt of the mountains to Chalcis, Gabbula, and Hierapolis. But directly, from west to east, through the Syrian desert, there is no route

that an army can traverse. Caravans may pass from Damascus by Palmyra to Circesium, and possibly may cross the desert by other lines and in other directions ; but such routes must be left out of sight when the tract is viewed strategically. The line of communication between Africa and Asia, between Egypt and the Mesopotamian plain, so far as armies are concerned, lies north and south, by Palestine and Cœlesyria to the latitude of Antioch and Aleppo.

Politically, Syria, though scarcely suitable for the seat of a great power, is a country that may well hold a high secondary rank. Well watered and well wooded, possessing numerous broad valleys and rich plains, she can nurture a population of many millions, and in her mountain fastnesses can breed races of a high physical development and excellent moral qualities. The classical idea of Syrian weakness and sensuality¹⁷⁴ belongs to comparatively late times, and applies especially to the inhabitants of luxurious and over-civilized cities. In the mountain regions of Libanus and Anti-libanus, on the table-land of Moab and Ammon, and even in the hill-tracts of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa, the natives are naturally hardy, warlike, even fierce. The land itself is favorable for defense, possessing many strong positions, capable of being held by a handful of brave men against almost any numbers. Syria was thus by far the most powerful of the countries bordering upon Egypt ; and it was natural that she should play an important part in Egyptian history. Libya was too weak for offence, too poor to tempt aggression ; Ethiopia was too remote and isolated ; Syria alone was near, rich, attractive ; too strong to be readily overpowered, too freedom-loving to be long held in subjection, of sufficient force to be occasionally aggressive ; sure therefore to come frequently into collision with her neighbor, and likely to maintain an equal struggle with her for centuries. Above all, she lay on the road which Egyptian effort was sure to take ; she was the link between Africa and Asia ; she at once separated and united the countries which were the earliest seats of empire. If Egypt were ambitious, if she strove to measure her strength against that of other first-rate powers, she could only reach them through Syria ; if they retaliated it was on the side of Syria that she must expect their expeditions. We shall find in the sequel that, from the time of the twelfth to that of the twenty-sixth dynasty, connection between Egypt and Syria, generally hostile, was almost perpetual, and that consequently to all who understand Egyptian history, a knowledge of Syria, both geographically and politically, is indispensable.

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

Climate of Egypt—of the Nile Valley—of the Eastern Highland. Vegetable Productions—Indigenous Trees and Plants—Plants anciently cultivated. Indigenous Wild Animals—Domesticated Animals. Birds, Fish, Reptiles, and Insects. Mineral Products.

“Provincia . . . omni granorum ac leguminum genere fertilis.”

LEO AFRIC. viii, 1.

IN considering the climate of Egypt, we must begin by making a distinction between Egypt proper or the valley of the Nile, including the Delta, and that desert and (comparatively speaking) mountainous tract which intervenes between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, and which we have reckoned to Egypt in the preceding chapter.¹ The difference between the climates of the two regions is considerable; and no description which should extend to both could be at once minute and accurate.

The leading characteristics of the climate of the Nile valley are, combined warmth and dryness. In Southern Egypt, which lies but a very little outside of the tropic of Cancer, the heat during the summer time is excessive, being scarcely surpassed even by that of Central Bengal, which lies under the same parallel. The range of the thermometer throughout this portion of the year is from 100° to 112° in the shade during the daytime.² At night, of course, the heat is less, but still it is very great. In Northern Egypt several causes combine to keep the summer temperature at a lower level. The difference in latitude, which is seven degrees, by substituting oblique for vertical rays, causes a certain diminution in the solar power. The spread of the inundation over the low lands, happening at this time,³ produces a general absorption, instead of a reflection of the sun's rays; while the prevalence of northerly and northwesterly winds, noted by Herodotus⁴ as well as by modern observers,⁵ brings into the valley a continual current of air, coming from a cool quarter, and still further cooled by its passage over the Mediterranean. The summer may be considered to commence in April, and to terminate at the end of October. The heats at this time subside, and a mild pleasant temperature succeeds, which continues with little change throughout the remainder of the year, until summer comes round again. Hence, Egypt has been said to have but two

seasons, spring and summer.⁶ Snow and frost are wholly unknown, and the temperature rarely falls below 40° of Fahrenheit.⁷

The dryness of the Nile valley is very remarkable. In ancient times it was even believed that rain scarcely ever fell in any part of it. Mela⁸ calls Egypt "a land devoid of showers;" and Herodotus regards even a slight drizzle⁹ in the Thebaid as a prodigy. These views are exaggerated, but rest upon a basis of truth. There is less rain in Egypt than in almost any other known country. In the upper portion of the valley, showers ordinarily occur only on about five or six days in the year,¹⁰ while heavy rain is a rare phenomenon, not witnessed more than once in every fifteen or twenty years. A continuance of heavy rain for two or three days is almost unheard of,¹¹ and would cause the fall of many buildings, no provision being made against it. In Lower Egypt the case is somewhat different. At Alexandria and other places upon the coast, rain is as common in winter as it is in the south of Europe. But during the rest of the year, as little falls as in the upper country; and at fifty or sixty miles from the coast the winter rains cease, the climate of Cairo being no less dry than that of the Thebaid. At the same time it must be noted that, notwithstanding the rarity of rain, the air is moderately moist, evaporation from the broad surface of the Nile keeping¹² supplied with a fair degree of humidity.

In the desert tract between the Nile valley and the Red Sea the air is considerably drier than in the valley itself, and the alternations of heat and cold are greater. In summer the air is suffocating, while in winter the days are cool and the nights positively cold. Heavy rain and violent thunder-storms are frequent at this season; the torrent beds become full of water, and pour their contents into the Nile on the one hand and the Red Sea on the other. A month or two later these beds are perfectly dry, and are covered with a drapery of green herbage, interspersed with numerous small flowers, until about May, when the heat of the sun and the oppressive wind from the Desert, known as the Khamseen, withers them up, and nothing remains except a few acacia trees and some sapless shrubs from which only a camel can derive any sustenance.¹²

The Khamseen wind is one of the chief drawbacks upon the delights of the Egyptian climate. It arises for the most part suddenly, and without warning, from the south or south-west. "The sky instantly becomes black and heavy; the sun loses its splendor and appears of a dim violet hue; a light warm breeze is felt, which gradually increases in heat till it

almost equals that of an oven. Though no vapor darkens the air, it becomes so gray and thick with the floating clouds of impalpable sand that it is sometimes necessary to use candles at noonday. Every green leaf is instantly shrivelled, and everything formed of wood is warped and cracked."¹³ The animal creation suffers. The pores of the skin are closed, and fever commences; the hot sand entering the lungs, irritates them, and the breathing grows difficult and quick. Intense thirst is felt, which no drinking will assuage, and an intolerable sense of discomfort and oppression spreads over the whole frame. In towns and villages the inhabitants remain secluded in their houses, striving, but in vain, to prevent the sand from entering through their doors and windows. In the open fields and deserts, where shelter is unattainable, they wrap their cloaks or shawls around their heads while the storm lasts, and pray that it may cease. If it continues for more than a day, their danger is great. Whole caravans and even armies are said in such cases to have been destroyed by its effects;¹⁴ and the solitary traveller who is caught in one can scarcely hope to escape. Fortunately, however, prolonged storms of the kind are rare; their duration very seldom exceeds a day;¹⁵ and thus upon the whole the Khamseen winds must be regarded rather as an annoyance and discomfort than as an actual peril to life.¹⁶

The vegetable productions of Egypt may be enumerated under the six heads of trees, shrubs, esculent plants, wild and cultivated, grain, artificial grasses, and plants valuable for medicinal or manufacturing purposes. The trees are few in number, comprising only the *dom* and date palms, the sycamore, the tamarisk, the *mokhayt* or myxa, the *sunt* or acanthus, and three or four other kinds of acacias.

The *dom* palm (*cucifera Thebaica*) (Fig. 1), is among the most important of the vegetable products. It first appears a little north of Manfaloot¹⁷ (lat. 27° 10') and is abundant throughout the whole of Upper Egypt. The wood is more solid and compact than that of the ordinary date tree. It is suitable for beams and rafters, as well as for boats, rafts, and other purposes which necessitate contact with water. The fruit is a large rounded nut, with a fibrous, exterior envelope; it has a sweet flavor, very similar to our gingerbread. The natives eat it both unripe and ripe: in the former case its texture is like that of cartilage or horn; in the latter it is very much harder, and has been compared with the edible part of the cocoanut.¹⁸ The wood of the *dom* palm was used by the ancient Egyptians for the handles of their tools,¹⁹ and for all

other purposes for which a hard material was requisite ; from the shell of the nut they made beads, which took a high polish ;²⁰ the leaves served them for baskets, sacks, mats, cushions, and other textile fabrics, for fans, fly-flaps, brushes, and even for certain parts of their sandals.²¹

The *dom* palm is a picturesque tree, very different in its growth from the ordinary palm. Instead of the single long slender stem of its date-bearing sister, with a single tuft of leaves at the top, the *dom* palm, by a system of bifurcation, spreads itself out on every side into numerous limbs or branches, each of which is crowned by a mass of leaves and fruit.²² The bifurcation begins generally about five feet from the ground,²³ and is repeated at intervals of nearly the same length, till an elevation is reached of about thirty feet. The blossoms are of two kinds, male and female,²⁴ from the latter of which the fruit is developed. This grows in large clusters, and attains the size of a goose's egg externally, but the nut within is not much bigger than a large almond.²⁵

The date palm is too well known to require description here. In Egypt the trees are of two kinds, cultivated and wild. The wild tree, which springs from seed, bears often an extraordinary number of dates ;²⁶ but being of small size and bad quality, they are rarely gathered. The cultivated kind is grown from offsets, which are selected with care, planted out at regular intervals,²⁷ and abundantly irrigated. They begin to bear in about five or six years, and continue to be productive for sixty or seventy. In Roman times it was said that the dates grown in Lower Egypt were bad, while those of the Thebaid were of first-rate quality ;²⁸ but under the Pharaohs we may be tolerably sure that a good system of cultivation produced fruit of fair quality everywhere. The wild tree furnishes, and has probably always furnished, the principal timber used in Egypt for building purposes. It is employed for beams and rafters either entire or split in half,²⁹ and though not a hard wood, is a sufficiently good material, being tough and elastic. The leaves, branches, and indeed every part of the tree, serve some useful purpose or other ;³⁰ the dates have always constituted a main element in the food of the people ; from the sap is derived an exhilarating drink ; from the fruit may be made, without much difficulty, wine, brandy, and vinegar.

The Egyptian sycamore (*Ficus sycamorus*) is another tree of considerable value. The fruit, indeed, which ripens in the beginning of June, is not greatly esteemed, being insipid, though juicy ;³¹ but the shade is welcome, and the wood is of

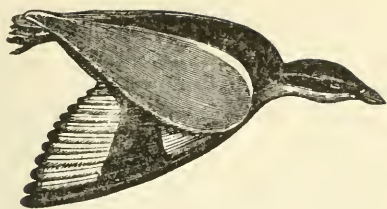


Fig. 14.—THE SIC-SAC OR TROCHILUS.—See Page 41.



Fig. 15.—EGYPTIAN CHILD.—Page 50.

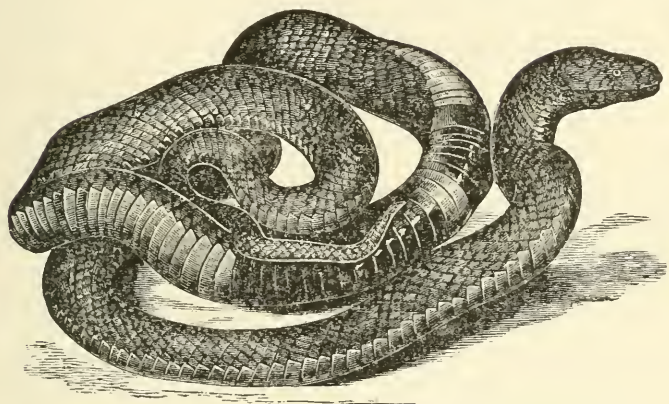


Fig. 16.—THE EGYPTIAN ASP (*Coluber haje*).—See Page 44.

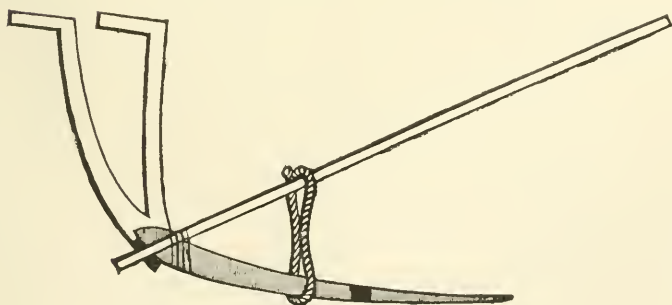


Fig. 17.—EGYPTIAN PLOUGH.—See Page 81.






























Signs in common use.	Signs employed more rarely.	Equivalent in English.
	—	A (as in father).
	—	I (sounded as ee in see).
	—	U (sounded as oo in food)
		B
		P
	—	F
		G (deep guttural).
		K
		KH (sounded like the Hebrew כ).
	—	D
		T
		M
		N
	—	L
		S
	—	SH
		H
		J

Fig. 18.— See Page 62.

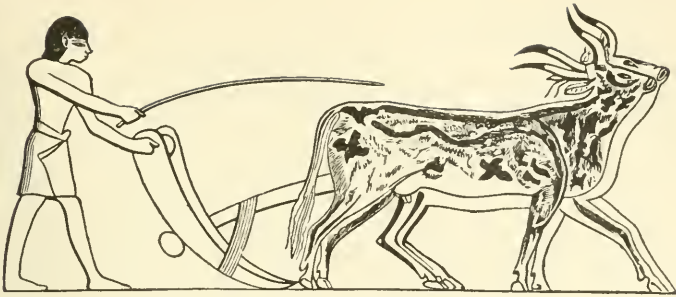


Fig. 19.—MODE OF PLOUGHING.—See Page 81.

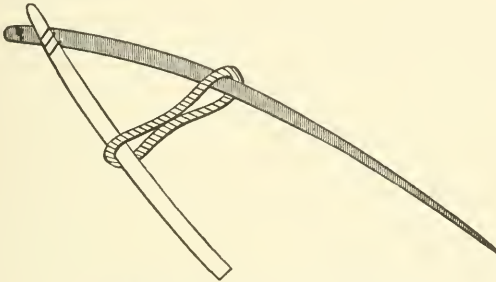


Fig. 20.—EGYPTIAN HOE.—See Page 82.

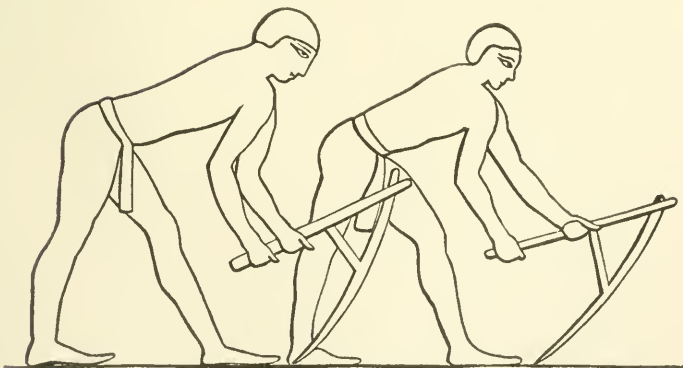


Fig. 21.—EGYPTIANS HOEING.—See Page 82.

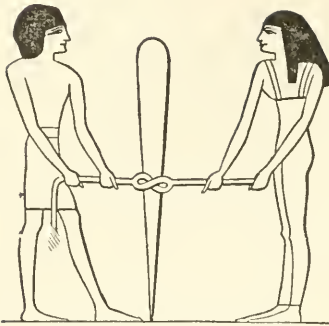


Fig. 22.—EGYPTIAN MAN AND WOMAN (from the Monuments).—Page 50.

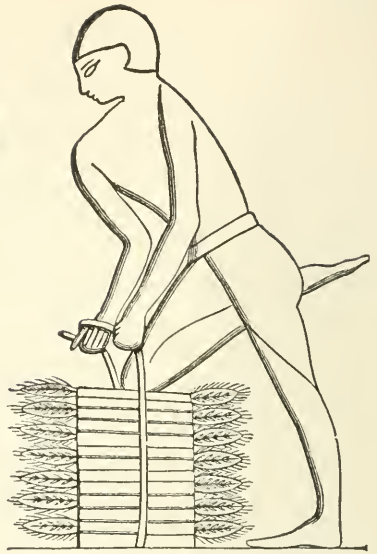


Fig. 23.—BINDING WHEAT.—See Page 83.

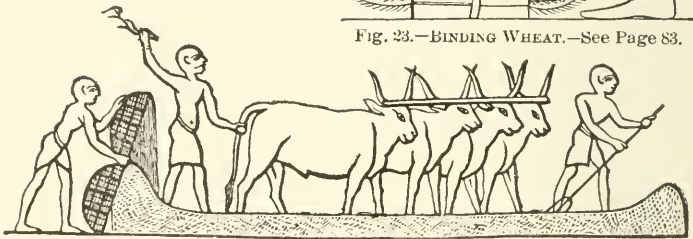


Fig. 24.—OXEN TREADING OUT CORN.—See Page 83.

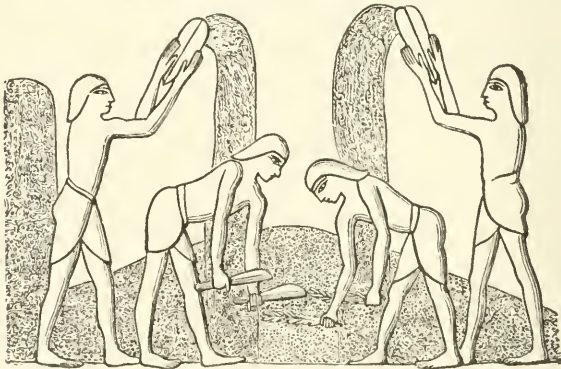


Fig. 25.—WINNOWING.—See Page 86.

excellent quality. It is hard and close-grained, well fitted for all kinds of furniture. The ancient Egyptians used it for head-rests,³² for figures or images,³³ for coffins,³⁴ and probably for many other purposes. Its superiority to most woods is shown in the fact, that the existing mummy-cases, which are in most instances made of it, have resisted the powers of decomposition for twenty, thirty, or even forty centuries. The tree grows to an extraordinary size in Egypt, some specimens, which have been measured, exceeding fifty feet in circumference.

The *mokhayt* (*Cardia myxa*) grows to the height of about thirty feet, and has a diameter of three feet at the base.³⁵ The stem is straight, and rises without branches to a height of ten or twelve feet, when it separates into a number of boughs which form a large rounded head, rather taller than it is broad. The wood, which is hard and white, is employed in the manufacture of saddles.³⁶ The tree blossoms in May, and exhales at that time a delicious odor. Its fruit ripens about June, and is of a pale yellow color, with two external skins, and a nut or stone in the centre. The texture of the fruit is viscous, and the flavor not very agreeable; but it is eaten by the natives, and the Arabs employ it as a medicine. In ancient times the Egyptians, we are told, obtained from it a fermented liquor, which was regarded as a species of wine.³⁷

The *sont* or *acantha* (*Mimosa Nilotica*) is a tree of no great size, groves of which are found in many parts of Egypt. At present it is valued chiefly on account of its producing the gum arabic;³⁸ but anciently it would appear to have been largely used in the construction of the boats engaged in the navigation of the Nile.³⁹ This is a purpose to which it is still applied to some extent;⁴⁰ but the wood of the *dom* palm, being found to answer better, is now employed more commonly. Herodotus says that the Nile boats were not only built of the *acantha*, but had also a mast of the same material. This, however, seems to be unlikely, as the wood is quite unsuited for that purpose.

The other acacias which grow in Egypt are the *lebbek's* (*Mimosa Lebeck* of Linnæus), the *tuhl* (*Acacia gummifera*), the *fitneh* (*Acacia Farnesiana*), the *harras* (*Acacia albida*), and the *seyal* (*Acacia Seyal*). Of these the last is the most important, since it furnishes the great bulk of the gum arabic of commerce,⁴¹ while at the same time its wood is valuable, being both by color and texture well adapted for cabinet work. The general hue is orange with a darker heart; the grain is

close, and the material hard. It is generally believed to be the "shittim wood" of Scripture, which was employed for the Ark of the Covenant, and all the other furniture of the Tabernacle.⁴² The *seyal* is "a gnarled and thorny tree, somewhat like a solitary hawthorn in its habit and manner of growth, but much larger."⁴³ Its height, when full grown, is from fifteen to twenty feet.⁴⁴ It flourishes in the driest situations, and is common in the Suez desert, in the tract between the Nile and Red Sea, in the plain of Medinet-Habou, and in the environs of Syêné.

Among the shrubs and fruit-trees of Egypt the most important are the fig, the pomegranate, the mulberry, the vine, the olive, the apricot, the peach, the pear, the plum, the apple, the orange, the lemon, the banana, the carob or locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), the persea, the palma Christi or castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*), the *nebk* (*Rhamnus nabeca*), and the prickly pear or *shôk* (*Cactus opuntia*). Of these, the orange, lemon, apricot, and banana are probably importations of comparatively recent times; but the remainder may be assigned, either positively or with a high degree of probability, to the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

It is unnecessary to describe the greater number of these products; but there are some with which the ordinary reader is not likely to be familiar, and of these some account must be given. The persea (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), which is now rare in the Nile valley,⁴⁵ but is met with in the Ababdeh desert, and grows in great profusion on the road from Coptos to Berenice,⁴⁶ is a bushy tree or shrub, which attains the height of eighteen or twenty feet under favorable circumstances.⁴⁷ The bark is whitish, the branches gracefully curved, the foliage of an ashy gray, more especially on its under surface. The lower branches are thickly garnished with long thorns, but the upper ones are thornless. The fruit, which grows chiefly on the upper boughs, and which the Arabs call *lalôb*,⁴⁸ is about the size of a small date, and resembles the date in general character.⁴⁹ Its exterior is "a pulpy substance of a subacid flavor;"⁵⁰ the stone inside is large in proportion to the size of the fruit, and contains a kernel of a yellowish-white color, oily and bitter.⁵¹ Both the external envelope and the kernel are eaten by the natives.

The sillicyprium, or castor-oil tree (*Ricinus communis*), grows abundantly in Egypt.⁵² It is a plant of a considerable size, with leaves like those of the vine,⁵³ and bears a berry from which the oil is extracted. This has medicinal qualities, and was used anciently for medical purposes;⁵⁴ but its main em-

ployment has always been as a lamp-oil of a coarse kind. According to Strabo, the common people in Egypt applied it also to the anointment of their persons.⁵⁵

The *nebk* or *sidr* (*Rhamnus nabeca*) is a fruit-tree common in Egypt, and in the interior of Africa,⁵⁶ but not found in many other places. The fruit, which ripens very early in the year, usually in March or April,⁵⁷ is a fleshy substance of a texture not unlike that of the date, with a hard stone in the centre. It is eaten both raw and dried in the sun, the fleshy part being in the latter case detached from the stone. Its flavor is agreeable, and it is recommended as well suited for sustenance during a journey.⁵⁸

One species of fig, called *hamát* in Arabic, is indigenous in Egypt, and may often be found in desert situations, growing wild from clefts in the rocks.⁵⁹ The fruit, called by the Romans "cottana,"⁶⁰ and by the modern Arabs "qottáyn," is small in size, but remarkably sweet.

The esculent plants of Egypt may be divided into the wild and the uncultivated; among those which grew wild, the most important were the byblus, or papyrus, the *Nymphæa lotus*, the *Lotus cærulea* and the *Nymphæa nelumbo*.

The byblus, or papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*), anciently so common in Egypt, is not now found within the limits of the country. It is a tall smooth flag or reed, with a large triangular stalk,⁶¹ inside of which is contained the pith from which the Egyptians made their paper. The paper was manufactured by cutting the pith into strips, arranging them horizontally, and then placing across them another layer of strips, uniting the two layers by a paste, and subjecting the whole to a heavy pressure.⁶² The upper and middle portions of the reed were employed for this purpose; the lower portion, together with the root, was esteemed a delicacy, and was eaten after it had been baked in a close vessel.⁶³ The papyrus needed a moist soil, and was carefully cultivated in the shallow lakes and marshes, more especially those of the Sebennytic nome in the central part of the Delta. There was a second coarser kind—probably the *Cyperus dives* of botanists⁶⁴—which was employed in the construction of boats,⁶⁵ of sails,⁶⁶ of mats, baskets, sandals, and the like.⁶⁷

The *Nymphæa lotus*, which nearly resembles our white water-lily,⁶⁸ grows freely in the lowlands of the Delta during the time of the inundations, being found at that period in ponds and channels which are ordinarily dry.⁶⁹ In ancient times the peasants collected and dried the seed-vessels of this plant, which they crushed and made into cakes that served them for bread,⁷⁰

They also ate the rest of the plant, which was considered to have "a pleasant sweet taste,"⁷¹ and was eaten either raw, baked, or boiled. A recent writer compares the flavor to that of "a bad truffle," and complains that the taste is "exceedingly insipid;"⁷² but it seems to have commended itself to the Egyptian palate, which was probably less fastidious than that of modern Europeans.

The *Lotus cœrulea* is scarcely more than a variety of the *Nymphæa*.⁷³ Its blossoms, which are of a pale blue color, have fewer petals than those of the ordinary plant; its leaves have a somewhat more oval shape, and are darker on their under surface. The seed-vessels and roots are almost exactly similar, though the Arabs pretend to make a distinction and to prefer the blue variety, which they call *beshnin a'rabiy*, "the lotus of Arabs," while they term the white *beshnin el-khanzyr*, "the lotus of pigs."⁷⁴ Both the ordinary lotus and the *cœrulea* were valued on account of their flowers, which were employed at banquets and woven into garlands for the guests.⁷⁵

The *Nelumbium*, or *Nymphœa nelumbo* (Fig. 7), though not now found in Egypt, nor indeed in Africa,⁷⁶ was beyond all doubt a denizen of the country in ancient times, though it may not have been indigenous.⁷⁷ The Greeks and Romans knew it as "the Egyptian bean;"⁷⁸ and the latter people regarded it as so characteristic of Egypt that they used it constantly where they wanted an Egyptian emblem.⁷⁹ It has the general features of the lotus tribe, growing in water, with round leaves which float on the top, and having a large conical bud, from which bursts a corolla of petals, that curve inwards, and form a sort of cup.⁸⁰ The peculiarities of the *nelumbo* are the large size of its leaves, and the size and lovely color of its blossoms. The diameter of the leaf varies from a foot to a foot and a half; the petals are six inches in length, and of a beautiful crimson or rose-purple hue. They are arranged in two rows, one inner and one outer, while within them, at their base, is a dense fringe of stamens, surrounding and protecting the ovary. Here the fruit forms itself. It consists of a fleshy substance, shaped like the rose of a watering-pot;⁸¹ and studded thickly with seeds, which project from the upper surface of the fruit, a circle about three inches in diameter.

The number of the seeds is from twenty to thirty.⁸² They are about the size of a small acorn, and contain inside their shell a white sweet-flavored nut or almond, divided into two lobes, between which is a green leaf or "corculum," which is bitter, and should be removed before the nut is eaten. This nut, and

also the root of the plant, were employed as food by the poorer classes among the ancient Egyptians.⁸³

The cultivated vegetables of Egypt resemble in most respects those of the same class in other countries. They comprise peas, beans, lentils of two kinds, the *loobieh* (a sort of French bean), the endive, leeks, garlic, onions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, lettuce, capers, cumin, mustard, coriander, aniseed, and various others.⁸⁴ There is a perpetual succession of these different esculents, some of which are constantly in season, while others have a longer or a shorter term. The melon and cucumber class flourishes especially, the varieties being numerous,⁸⁵ and the fruit growing to a great size. The lentils, which form the chief food of the lower classes,⁸⁶ are of good quality. The mustard, aniseed, and coriander seed were anciently in especial repute.⁸⁷ The caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*) bears a fruit called *lussuf* by the Arabs, which is shaped like a small cucumber, and is two and a half inches long.⁸⁸

Only three kinds of grain seem to have been cultivated by the ancient Egyptians. These were wheat, barley, and the *Holcus sorghum*, or modern *doora*.⁸⁹ Of wheat, there are now produced in Egypt six varieties;⁹⁰ and it is supposed that the same sorts existed in ancient as in modern times.⁹¹ All of them but one are bearded, the others differing chiefly in color, and in the size of the ear. The common Egyptian wheat is white; it is sown in November, and reaped early in April, after an interval of about five months.⁹² The barley cultivated is of two kinds, one red, and the other white. The two kinds are grown in about equal quantities, and are in equal repute.⁹³ The time of sowing, as with the wheat, is the month of November; but the grain is reaped much earlier, some coming to maturity in the latter half of February, while the remainder is harvested during the month of March.⁹⁴ There are five varieties of the *doora*;⁹⁵ but their differences are not important. Some is sown in November, and this ripens early in May; some in April, which ripens in July; and some in August, which comes to maturity in December. The *doora* is probably the "*olyra*" or "*zea*" of Herodotus, which (according to him) was the grain whereon the Egyptians mainly subsisted.⁹⁶

Of artificial grasses, or plants cultivated as fodder for cattle, there were produced in ancient Egypt these four⁹⁷—clover, vetches, lupins, and a plant called *gilbān* by the Arabs, and known to Pliny as the *Lathyrus sativus*.⁹⁸ The clover is thought to have been either the *Trifolium Alexandrinum* or the *Trigonella fænumgræcum*, both of which are now common

in Egypt.⁹⁹ The vetch was the *Cicer arietinum* of Linnæus and Pliny;¹⁰⁰ the lupin was the *Lupinus termis*, which is still known as *termes* to the Arabs.¹⁰¹ These plants were, all of them, of rapid growth, and some were capable of yielding three and even four crops in a year.¹⁰² They were eaten green, and also made into hay, and stored up for the use of the cattle during the time of the inundation.¹⁰³

Among plants valuable for manufacturing and medicinal purposes may be mentioned, in the first place, those from which the Egyptians obtained oil for lamps and for anointing themselves. For the former purpose oil was obtained chiefly from three plants—the “kiki,” or castor-oil plant (*Ricinus communis*), the *seemga* (*Raphanus oleifer*), and the *simsim* or sesame. The castor-oil plant has been already described:¹⁰⁴ it gives out an oil with an unpleasant smell, but one which is well suited for burning.¹⁰⁵ The Egyptians obtained it either by pressing the berries, or by boiling them down and then skimming the oil from the surface.¹⁰⁶ The *seemga*, which now grows only in Nubia and the adjoining parts of Upper Egypt,¹⁰⁷ was largely cultivated in ancient Egypt; and, in Roman times at any rate, its seeds furnished the great bulk of the oil consumed.¹⁰⁸ The sesame plant was also largely cultivated,¹⁰⁹ as it is at the present day, the oil extracted from its seeds being now reckoned the best lamp-oil in the country.¹¹⁰

For anointing the body a greater number of oils were used. The poorer classes applied to the purpose even the unpleasant smelling “kiki;”¹¹¹ and the sesame oil was used largely for adulterating the oils and unguents regarded as appropriate to the person.¹¹² But the richer classes employed either olive oil or unguents of a more expensive kind, such as were the “metopiom” or bitter-almond oil (amygdalinum),¹¹³ the “cyprium,”¹¹⁴ which was derived from the cyprus, “a tree resembling the ziziphus in its foliage, with seeds like the coriander,”¹¹⁵ the “œnanthinum,”¹¹⁶ the “amaracum” or “sampsuchum,”¹¹⁷ the “cnidinum,” yielded by a kind of urtica, or nettle,¹¹⁸ and an oil derived from a species of grass called “chorticon.”¹¹⁹ Altogether, Egypt was considered to be better adapted for the manufacture of unguents than any other country,¹²⁰ and by a mixture of various ingredients recondite ointments were produced, which were regarded as of very superior quality.¹²¹

For manufacturing purposes the plants chiefly cultivated by the Egyptians were flax, which was very largely grown, cotton, indigo, and the safflower or *Carthamus tinctorius*. Linen was the ordinary material of the undergarment with all classes in

Egypt; ¹²² the priests could wear nothing else when officiating; ¹²³ all dead bodies were wrapped in it previous to interment; ¹²⁴ and it was employed also for ropes, ¹²⁶ corselets, ¹²⁶ and various other purposes. The representation of the flax harvest is frequent upon the monuments. ¹²⁷ The kind chiefly cultivated is believed to have been the *Linum usitatissimum*, ¹²⁸ which is now the only sort that is thought worth growing; ¹²⁹ but anciently cultivation extended, we are told, to four varieties, which were known respectively as the Butic flax, the Tanitic, the Tentyric, and the Pelusiac. ¹³⁰ Cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*) was a product of the more southern parts of Egypt; ¹³¹ it was in almost equal repute with linen as a material for dress, ¹³² being preferred on account of its softness, though not regarded as possessing the highest degree of purity. Indigo and safflower were grown for the sake of the dyes which they furnished. Mummy-cloths were frequently stained with the safflower; ¹³³ while indigo was used to color textile fabrics of all kinds, ¹³⁴ and also for the ornamental painting of walls. ¹³⁵

The number of medicinal plants and herbs produced in Egypt was matter of comment as early as the time of Homer. ¹³⁶ Some of these grew naturally, while others were carefully cultivated. Among the former may be mentioned the colocinth, ¹³⁷ the cassia senna, ¹³⁸ the *Origanum Egyptiacum*, ¹³⁹ the myrobalanus ¹⁴⁰ or *Moringa aptera*, ¹⁴¹ the *Clematis Egyptia* (*Daphnoeides* or *Polygonoeides*) ¹⁴² and two arums, ¹⁴³ probably the *Arum arisarum* and the *Arum colocasia*. ¹⁴⁴ Among the latter, the most important were the anise ¹⁴⁵ (*Pimpinella anisum*), an endive called "seris" ¹⁴⁶ (*Cichorium endivia* ?), the coriander-plant ¹⁴⁷ (*Coriandrum sativum*), the Corchorum ¹⁴⁸ (*Corchorus olitorius*), and the "cnecum" or "atrac-tilis," ¹⁴⁹ which is thought to be the *Carthamus Creticus*. ¹⁵⁰ Besides these, we find mentioned as medicinal plants produced in Egypt, the "*Apsinthius marinus*," ¹⁵¹ the balsam, ¹⁵² the "acacalis," ¹⁵³ the "cyprus," ¹⁵⁴ the "helenium," ¹⁵⁵ the "myosotis," ¹⁵⁶ and the "stratiotes." ¹⁵⁷ There was also a medicinal use of the tamarisk, ¹⁵⁸ the papyrus, ¹⁵⁹ the *Mimosa Nilotica*, ¹⁶⁰ the dom and date palm, ¹⁶¹ the pomegranate, ¹⁶² the myrtle, ¹⁶³ the locust-tree, ¹⁶⁴ the "persea," ¹⁶⁵ and many other plants.

Among the wild animals indigenous in Egypt the principal were the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the lion, the hyena, the wolf, the jackal, the fox, the ichneumon, the hare, the jerboa, the rat, the mouse, the shrew-mouse, the porcupine, the hedgehog, and perhaps the bear, the wild boar, the ibex, the gazelle, three kinds of antelopes, the stag, the wild sheep, the

Monitor Niloticus, and the wild-cat or *Felis Chæüs*. The hippopotamus seems in ancient times to have been common, even in the more northern parts of Egypt,¹⁶⁶ and to chase it was a favorite amusement. By degrees it was driven southwards, and it is now uncommon even in Nubia,¹⁶⁷ although occasionally it has been known to descend the river beyond the First Cataract, and to pass Syêné or Assouan.¹⁶⁸

The crocodile is still very common in Upper Egypt, but at present seldom descends below Manfaloot (lat. $27^{\circ} 10'$).¹⁶⁹ Anciently, however, it was found along the whole lower course of the Nile, even to the close vicinity of the sea,¹⁷⁰ as well as in the Fayoum or Arsinoite canton.¹⁷¹ Notwithstanding its great size and strength, it is a timid animal, "flying on the approach of man, and, generally speaking, only venturing to attack its prey on a sudden."¹⁷² It will, however, seize and destroy men, if it take them at a disadvantage; and instances of its sweeping incautious persons from the bank of the river into the water by the force of its tail, catching them as they fall into its huge jaws, and carrying them instantaneously to the bottom, are of no rare occurrence.¹⁷³ Still, for the most part, it lives on fish, which abound in the Nile, and only occasionally indulges itself in the luxury of devouring warm-blooded animals. It is very unwieldy upon land, and never goes far from the water's edge, but still it passes a good deal of its time in the air, more especially during the summer months, when it delights in frequenting the sand-banks, where it sleeps with its mouth wide open and turned to the prevailing wind.¹⁷⁴

Lions are not now found in any part of Egypt, nor anywhere in the Nile valley lower down than the junction with the Atbara.¹⁷⁵ It is believed, however, that anciently they inhabited the Egyptian deserts on either side of the river;¹⁷⁶ and the monuments show us that they were tamed and used by the upper classes in the chase of gazelles and ibexes.¹⁷⁷

Hyenas, wolves, jackals, and foxes are among the most common of Egyptian wild animals.¹⁷⁸ The hyena of the country is the ordinary or striped hyena (*Hyæna vulgaris*) (Fig. 10). It is both carnivorous and graminivorous, feeding in part upon wheat and *doora*, and doing great mischief to the standing crops,¹⁷⁹ while it will also attack cattle, and, on occasions, even man. In these cases, "it is a rude and dangerous antagonist."¹⁸⁰ It attacks by rushing furiously forward and throwing its adversary down by a blow of its large bony head, after which it uses its fangs and claws. In a sandy place it will even (we are told)¹⁸¹ begin by throwing up a cloud of

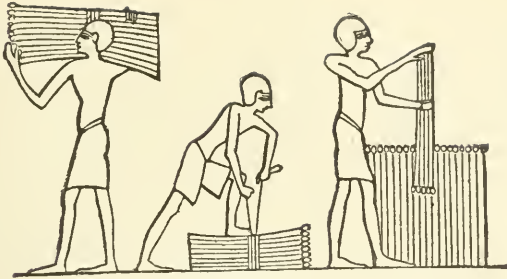


Fig. 26.—DOORA HARVEST.—See Page 83.

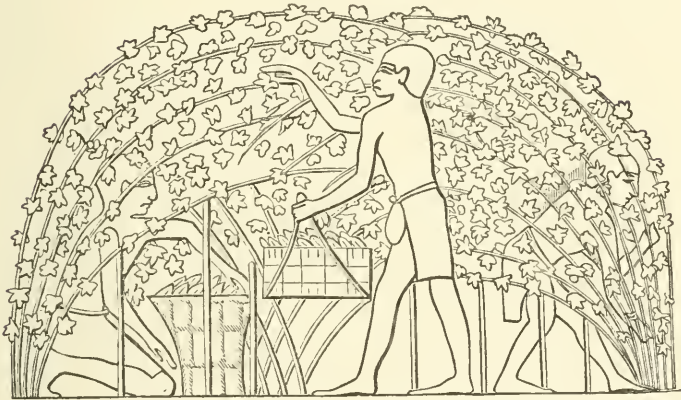


Fig. 27.—VINES GROWN IN BOWERS.—See Page 86.

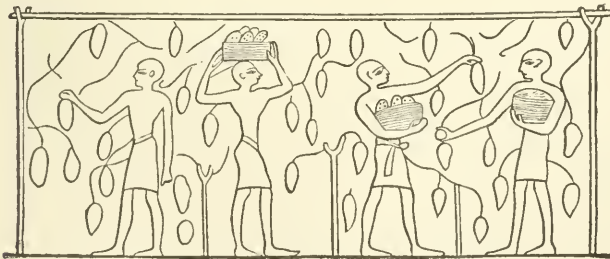


Fig. 28.—VINES TRAINED ON POSTS.—See Page 86.

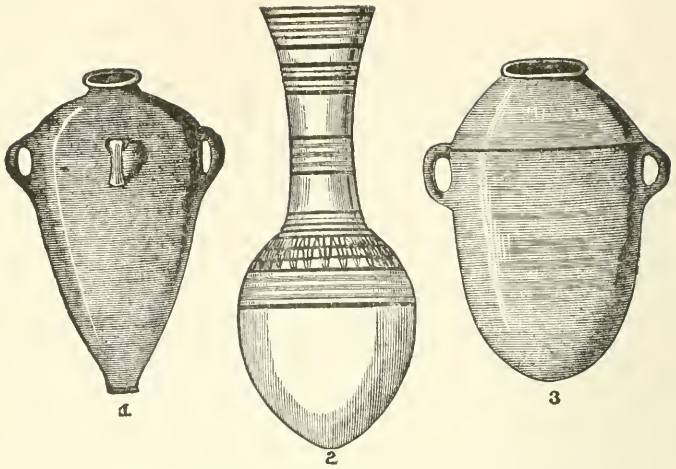


Fig. 29.—EGYPTIAN VASE AND AMPHORE.—See Page 87.

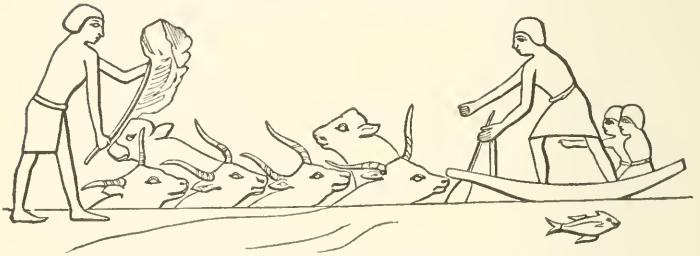


Fig. 30.—RESCUING CATTLE FROM THE INUNDATION.—See Page 87.



Fig. 31.—MEDICINE ADMINISTERED TO CATTLE.—See Page 88.

dust with its hind legs, and, after thus disconcerting its opponent, make its charge and bring him to the ground. The hyena was much dreaded by the Egyptian peasants, who lost no opportunity of checking its ravages, by hunting it or catching it in traps.¹⁸² There is nothing that is remarkable in the jackals or foxes of Egypt; but the wolves are peculiar. They are small in size,¹⁸³ inactive in their habits,¹⁸⁴ and never gregarious. Usually they are met with prowling about singly; and it scarcely ever happens that more than two of them are seen together.¹⁸⁵

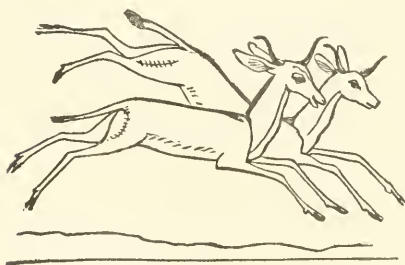
The ichneumon (*Viverra ichneumon*) (Fig. 2) is a species of mangoust.¹⁸⁶ It lives principally in Lower Egypt and the Fayoum,¹⁸⁷ and haunts the borders of the Nile and the cultivated fields, where it conceals itself in the shallow ditches constructed for the irrigation of the crops.¹⁸⁸ It is excessively timid, and in the wild state is rarely seen. In length a full-grown specimen measures about two feet and a half, the body being fifteen inches long, and the tail of the same (or a little greater) length with the body.¹⁸⁹ In a state of nature, it subsists chiefly upon eggs, and is said¹⁹⁰ to discover and devour great numbers of the eggs which the crocodile lays and leaves to hatch in the sand. It will also eat young birds and field-mice, if it finds the opportunity. The ichneumon has a singular antipathy to snakes. No sooner does it see one, than it advances to the attack. On the snake raising its head from the ground, the ichneumon springs upon it, seizes it at the back of the neck, and with a single bite lays it dead at its feet.¹⁹¹ Ichneumons are frequently tamed, and, when made inmates of houses, answer the purpose of cats, clearing the residence of rats and mice with great rapidity.¹⁹² It is difficult, however, to prevent them from appropriating such things as eggs, poultry, pigeons, and the like, on which account their services are for the most part dispensed with.¹⁹³ Many extraordinary tales were told of the ichneumon by the ancient naturalists,¹⁹⁴ who, like the early historians,¹⁹⁵ aimed at amusing rather than instructing their readers.

The Egyptian hare (Fig. 3) is in no respects peculiar, excepting that it is smaller than that of Europe, and has longer ears.¹⁹⁶ The jerboa (*Dipus jaculus*), which is common both in the upper and the lower country, presents (it is said¹⁹⁷) two varieties, and can scarcely have been absent from ancient Egypt, though it is not represented on the monuments. The rat, mouse, and hedgehog, all of which are represented, require no description. The porcupine, which appears on the monuments frequently,¹⁹⁸ is also too well known to need any comment.

It is a disputed point whether bears were ever indigenous in Egypt. On the one hand, we have the positive statement of Herodotus,¹⁹⁹ that in his time they were not unknown there, although uncommon; on the other, we have the facts, that they appear on the monuments only among the curiosities brought by foreigners,²⁰⁰ that they are not now found there, and that no other author besides Herodotus assigns them to the locality. On the whole, it is perhaps best to suppose that Herodotus was, for once, mistaken.

It seems very improbable that Egypt could have been in ancient times without the wild boar. Egypt is of all countries the one which pre-eminently suits the habits of the animal; and it now abounds in the marshy regions of the Delta, and also in the Fayoum.²⁰¹ Yet representations of it are entirely absent from the monuments.²⁰² We may perhaps conjecture that the impurity, which attached to the domestic animal,²⁰³ extended also to his wild congener; and that though the wild boar existed in the country, he was not hunted, and so escaped representation in the only sculptures in which he was likely to have appeared, namely, those representing hunting scenes.

The ibex, gazelle, oryx (Fig. 4), antelope, stag, and wild sheep were certainly hunted by the Egyptians,²⁰⁴ and were therefore, it is probable, denizens of some part or other of their country. The habits of these animals unfit them for such a region as Egypt Proper—the valley of the Nile and the Delta—but if we use the term “Egypt” in a looser sense, including under it the tract between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, together with a strip of the Western or Libyan desert, we shall find within such limits a very suitable *habitat* for these wild



Gazelles (from the monuments).

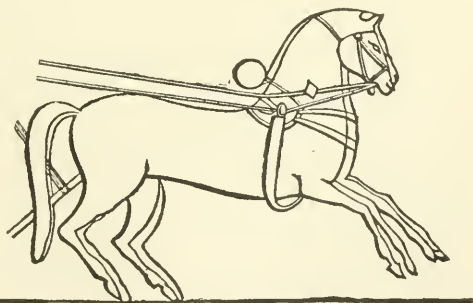
ruminants. The gazelle, the ibex, and the wild sheep are still to be met with in the Eastern Desert, especially in the more southern part of it,²⁰⁵ and the stag, according to some accounts, is occasionally to be seen in the vicinity of the Natron Lakes.²⁰⁶ The oryx, the antelope *beisa*, and the antelope *addax* inhabit Abyssinia;²⁰⁷ while the antelope *defassa*, which seems to be one of those most frequently hunted by the Egyptians, is found in the Western Desert.²⁰⁸ This last is a large animal, standing about

four feet high at the shoulder, of a reddish sandy color, with a black tuft at the end of its tail. It is not improbable that anciently these several varieties of the antelope tribe had, one and all, a wider *habitat* than at present, and one which brought them within the limits of Egypt, in the more extended sense of the term.

The wild-cat, or *Felis chaus* of Linnæus, is now common in the vicinity of the Pyramids and of Heliopolis,²⁰⁹ but is neither depicted on the monuments²¹⁰ nor mentioned by any of the ancient writers on Egypt. It is, therefore, doubtful whether it inhabited the Egypt of the Pharaohs or not, though, as its introduction at any later period is highly improbable, it seems best, on the whole, to regard it as belonging to the class of indigenous animals.

The monitor of the Nile (*Lacerta Nilotica*) (Fig. 5) is another animal, which, though not represented upon the sculptures, and not even distinctly alluded to by any ancient writer,²¹¹ must almost necessarily be regarded as an indigenous animal, an inhabitant of the Nile from remote antiquity. It is a species of lizard, about three feet long,²¹² which passes its time mainly in the water, and is therefore called *wurran-el-bahr*, "the wurran of the river," by the Arabs. There is also another and even larger²¹³ lizard (the *Lacerta scincus*) (Fig. 6), which is a native of Egypt, a land animal, frequenting dry places, and called by the Arabs *wurran-e'-gebel*, "wurran of the mountains," or *wurran-el-ard*, "wurran of the earth."²¹⁴ This also, like the former, was probably included among the ancient denizens of the country, since its artificial introduction would be very unlikely; though, no doubt, it is possible that it may have come in from the more western parts of Africa, where it was certainly found in ancient times.²¹⁵

The domestic animals of ancient Egypt were the horse, the ass, the camel, the Indian or humped ox, the cow, the sheep, the goat, the pig, the cat, and the dog. Horses seem not to have been known in the early times²¹⁶ and were probably introduced from



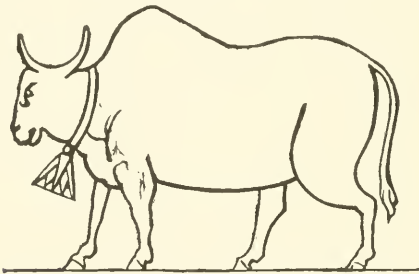
Egyptian Horses (from the monuments).

Arabia, bringing with them their Semitic name.²¹⁷ From the time, however, of their introduction great pains were bestowed upon the breed,²¹⁸ which seems to have resembled the best Arab stock, being light, agile and high-spirited. Egyptian horses were, in consequence, highly esteemed, and were largely exported to neighboring countries.²¹⁹

The ass (Fig. 8) was known in Egypt much earlier than the horse,²²⁰ and was probably employed as the chief beast of burden from a remote antiquity. We may assume that it resembled the modern animal, so familiar to travellers, which is of small size, but active, and capable of bearing great fatigue.

The camel is placed among the domestic animals of Egypt,²²¹ partly on account of its being mentioned in Genesis among the elements of Abraham's wealth while he was in that country, but partly also on grounds of probability,²²² since without the camel it would have been scarcely possible to keep up communication with Syria, or with the Sinaitic Desert, where from a very remote time the Egyptians had valuable possessions.

The Indian or humped ox is represented upon the monuments in such a way as to imply that it was bred by the



Egyptian Humped Ox (from the monuments).

Egyptian farmers, and used largely both for sacrifice and for the table.²²³

It is not now found in Egypt, though it is common in Abyssinia. Cows and oxen of the ordinary kind were also kept in considerable numbers,

the flesh of the males being freely eaten,²²⁴ and the oxen employed for various purposes connected with husbandry.²²⁵ Sheep and goats were numerous in all parts of the country.²²⁶ Sheep were kept chiefly for the sake of their wool,²²⁷ since it was unlawful to eat them in most parts of Egypt. They were usually sheared twice in the year, and bred twice.²²⁸ Pigs, although reckoned unclean,²²⁹ formed a portion of the stock on most farms; according to Herodotus, they were universally employed to tread in the corn;²³⁰ at any rate they were so numerous, that their keepers—the caste, or class of swineherds—obtained mention as a special section of the population.²³¹

Cats were great favorites with the ancient Egyptians.²³² Herodotus assures us²³³ that, when a fire occurred in an Egyp-

tian town, the chief attention of the inhabitants was directed to the preservation of the cats. Allowing the houses to burn, they formed themselves into bodies all round the conflagration, and endeavored to prevent the cats from rushing into the flames. We see on the monuments pet cats seated by the master of the house when he entertains a party of friends, or accompanying him in his fowling excursions abroad.²³⁴ Cats were favored when living and mourned when dead.²³⁵ Numerous mummies of cats have been found; and the care bestowed on them must have been almost equal to that which was given to the bodies of men.²³⁶

Dogs (Fig. 9) were also great favorites, and were of several kinds. The most common was a sort of fox dog (No. 2), with erect ears, and a short curly tail, which is thought²³⁷ to have been the parent stock of the modern red dog of Egypt, so common at Cairo and other towns of the lower country. Another kind, which occurs often (No. 1), is a hound, tall and with a long straight tail; which was used to hunt the antelope²³⁸ and other wild animals.²³⁹ There was also a short-legged dog (No. 4), not unlike our turnspit,²⁴⁰ with a pointed nose, erect ears, and a moderately long tail; which is said to have been fashionable about the time of Osirtasen I.²⁴¹ Finally, we see represented on the sculptures a tall thin animal (No. 3), about the size of a hound, but with ears like a wolf, and a long thin tail.²⁴²

The most remarkable among the existing birds of Egypt are the eagle, which is of four kinds,²⁴³ the falcon (three varieties),²⁴⁴ the Ætolian kite, the black vulture, the bearded vulture, the *Vultur percnopterus*, the osprey, the horned owl, the screech owl, the raven, the ostrich, the ibis, the pelican, the vulpanser or fox-goose, the Nile duck (*Anas Nilotica*), the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*), the sea-swallow (*Sterna Nilotica*), the Egyptian kingfisher (*Alcedo Ægyptiacus*), the quail, the oriental dotterel, the benno (*Ardea bubulcus*), and the sicsac (*Charadrius melanocephalus*). Besides these, there are found the common swallow, the sparrow, the wagtail, the crested plover, the heron and various other wading birds, the common kite, several kinds of hawks, the common vulture, the common owl, the white owl, the turtle-dove, the missel thrush, the common kingfisher, two kinds of larks, and various finches.²⁴⁴ As most of these birds are well known, it will not be necessary to describe them; but a few words will be said with respect to such of them as are either peculiar to Egypt, or may be presumed to be unfamiliar to most readers.

The Ætolian kite (*Milvus Ætolius*) is of a grayish-brown hue,

smaller and with the tail less forked than the ordinary kite.²⁴⁶ It is common in Egypt during the autumn, and is at that time so tame as to come and sit on the window-sills of the houses.²⁴⁷ The bearded vulture (*Phene gigantea* of St. Hilaire) is a huge bird, blackish brown with patches of gray. One shot in the desert between Cairo and the Red Sea during the French occupation of Egypt measured about fifteen feet from tip to tip of the wings.²⁴⁸ A bearded vulture of a smaller kind is described and figured by Bruce as a "golden eagle;"²⁴⁹ but there can be no doubt that it is rightly assigned to the vulture tribe. The *Vultur percnopterus* is a small white variety,²⁵⁰ known to the Arabs by the name of *rokhama*, and to the modern Egyptians as "Pharaoh's hen."²⁵¹ It is most valuable as a scavenger, and, though unpleasing in its appearance, enjoyed a considerable degree of favor among the ancient Egyptians, as it still does among their successors.²⁵²

Two varieties of the ibis existed in ancient Egypt.²⁵³ One was probably the *Ibis falcinella*, or "glossy ibis" (Fig. 12), which measures about a foot from the breast to the tail, and is of a reddish-brown color, shot with dark green and purple.²⁵⁴ The other was the *Ibis religiosa* or *Ibis Numenia*, the *abou hannes* of Bruce (Fig. 12). This is a bird of the stork class, standing about two feet high, and measuring about two feet six inches from the tip of the beak to the extremity of the tail. The bill is long and curved, measuring about six or seven inches. The head and neck, for more than six inches below the eyes, are entirely bare of feathers, and present nothing but a black cutaneous surface. The greater part of the body is of a yellowish-white color; but the wings are tipped with a greenish black, while on either side of the tail, which is white, "long funereal-looking plumes, of a purplish black color, proceeding from beneath the tertiary wing feathers, hang not ungracefully."²⁵⁵ The legs and feet are of a deep leaden hue, and the claws are black. The *Ibis religiosa* rendered important services to the Egyptians by destroying snakes and various insects, and was therefore greatly esteemed, and placed under the protection of Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury.

The vulpanser or fox-goose (*Anser Egyptianus*) was a wild goose of no very peculiar character.²⁵⁶ It is said by Herodotus to have been sacred;²⁵⁷ but this is questioned,²⁵⁸ since it was certainly used freely for food by the natives.²⁵⁹ The Egyptian duck (*Anas Nilotica*) has a more distinctive character. "The neck and inferior part of the head are white, with black spots, and a gray line runs lengthways behind the eyes; the under

part of the body, and the thighs, are of the same color.”²⁶⁰ It occurs wild in Upper Egypt, and in the lower country is seen not unfrequently domesticated among the occupants of the farmyard.

The sea-swallow (*Sterna Nilotica*) is a small but beautiful bird. It frequents both the Nile itself and the various canals which are led off from the main stream. The beak is black; the head and neck grayish, with small white spots; the back, wings, and tail gray; the belly and under part of the neck white; the feet red, and the claws black.²⁶¹ The oriental dotterel, a species of *Charadrius*,²⁶² is said to be about the size of a crow, and to have a shrill but pleasing note, like that of the black woodpecker.²⁶³ It feeds chiefly on rats and mice, with which Egypt abounds, and is thus of considerable service to the inhabitants. The places which it chiefly frequents are the acacia groves in the neighborhood of villages; but it is found also in various parts of the desert. The *benno* (*Ardea bubulcus*) is a bird of the crane or heron kind. It is of a pure white color, and is specially distinguished from all other herons, cranes, or storks, by having a tuft formed of two long feathers which stream from the back of the head. In ancient Egypt it was sacred to Osiris, the god of agriculture; and moderns remark that to the present day it lives in the cultivated fields and follows the plough, in order to feed on the worms and insects which are exposed when the soil is turned up.²⁶⁴ It is often represented in the Egyptian sculptures.²⁶⁵

The sic-sac (*Charadrius melanocephalus*) (Fig. 14) is a small species of plover, not more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The head is black (whence Linnæus's name), with two white stripes running from the bill and meeting at the nape of the neck. The back and tail are slate color; the neck and abdomen white; the wings white tipped with black, and with a broad transverse black band; moreover, a sort of black mantle extends from the shoulders to the tail. The beak is black and the feet blue.²⁶⁶ The sic-sac haunts the sand-banks, which are frequented also by the crocodile, and chirps loudly with a shrill note on the approach of man; whence the bird has been supposed to be the crocodile's friend, and to give him warning, *intentionally*, of the advent of danger.²⁶⁵

The “river of Egypt” was celebrated for its fish, and not only produced a most abundant supply²⁶⁹ of a food excellently suited for such a climate, but had several varieties which either were, or at any rate were thought to be, peculiar to itself.²⁷⁰ Among these, those most highly regarded were the oxyrhynchus, the lepidotus, and the latus. The oxyrhynchus is now

generally considered to be the *Mormyrus oxyrhynchus*,²⁷¹ the *mizdeh* of the modern Arabs (Fig. 13), which has a long pointed nose curving downwards. It is a smooth-skinned fish, apparently of the barbel class, and is at the present day not much esteemed for food.²⁷² Anciently it was sacred to Athor, and in some places might not be eaten.²⁷³ The *lepidotus* has been identified with the *Salmo dentex*, the *Perca Nilotica*, and the binny,²⁷⁴ all of them fish with large scales, which is what the word "lepidotus" signifies. On the whole, the binny (*Cyprinus lepidotus*) is thought to have a claim superior to that of the other two, though the question cannot be considered to be as yet decided.²⁷⁵ The binny is a fish of a good flavor, one of the best and wholesomest that the Nile produces. The *latus*, which was a sacred fish at Latopolis (*Esneh*), may perhaps be the *Perca Nilotica*,²⁷⁶ another excellent fish, white-fleshed and delicate in flavor, much sought after by the present inhabitants.

Among other delicate fish produced by the Nile may be mentioned the *bulti*, or *Labrus Niloticus*, now the most highly esteemed of all;²⁷⁷ the *nefareh*, or Nile salmon (*Salmo Niloticus*), which ascends the stream to the latitude of Cairo, and has been known to weigh, when caught, above a hundred pounds, a fish pronounced to be "very delicate eating;"²⁷⁸ the *sagbosa* (*Clupea alosa*), a kind of herring;²⁷⁹ the *spar* (*Sparus Niloticus*);²⁸⁰ the mullet (*Mugil cephalus*);²⁸¹ and the *garmoot* (*Silurus carmuth*).²⁸² The eels of the Nile are reckoned unwholesome, more especially in the summer months;²⁸³ and the *tetraodon* is said to be actually poisonous.²⁸⁴ But, besides the fish named above as delicacies, there were many others, which, though not greatly esteemed, were good for food: e. g., the shall (*Silurus shall*), the shilbeh (*Silurus schilbe Niloticus*), the byad (*Silurus bajad*), the arabrab, the kelb-el-bahr, or Nile dog-fish (*Salmo dentex*), and a species of carp (*Cyprinus rubescens Niloticus*).²⁸⁵ In a country where, owing to the high temperature, the flesh of land animals was unsuited for general use, it was of the greatest advantage that there should be, as there was, an almost unlimited supply of a healthy pleasant food, sufficiently nourishing, without being stimulating, and readily available at all seasons.

Egypt was less happily circumstanced in respect of reptiles and insects, which were as abundant as fish without (for the most part) serving any useful purpose. Of reptiles, we have already described the crocodile and the two monitors,²⁸⁶ creatures which, from their size and their habits, are naturally classed with the larger animals. We have now to notice the

chief remaining reptiles, which were the turtle (*Trionyx Niloticus*), two species of iguana (*Stellio vulgaris* and *Stellio spinipes*), two geckos, the chameleon, several snakes, more especially the horned snake (*Coluber cerastes*) and the asp (*Coluber haje*), and several lizards. The turtle of the Nile is of the soft kind, the upper and lower shells being united by a mere coriaceous membrane. It is a trionyx of a large size, sometimes even exceeding three feet in length. The upper shell is very handsomely marked.²⁸⁷ The common iguana (*Stellio vulgaris*) is a creature shaped like a lizard, of a dark olive-green color shaded with black. It seldom exceeds a foot in length.²⁸⁸ The Mohammedans dislike it and persecute it, since they regard its favorite attitude as a derisive imitation of their own posture in prayer.²⁸⁹ The other species (*Stellio spinipes*) is a much larger animal, varying in length from two to three feet. It is found chiefly in Upper Egypt, and is of a bright grass-green color.²⁹⁰

The two geckos, which are small lizards, are known respectively as *Lacerta gecko* and *Lacerta caudiverbera*. The former, called also *Gecko ptyodactylus*, or "the fan-footed gecko," is remarkable for the shape and physical qualities of its feet. These divide into five toes, which are spread out and do not touch one another. Each is armed on its under surface with a peculiar structure of folds, by means of which the animal is able to run up perpendicular walls of the smoothest possible material, and even to walk on ceilings, like house-flies, or adhere to the underside of leaves.²⁹¹ This gecko is a frequent inmate of houses in Egypt; it conceals itself during the day and is very active at night, when it preys upon the flies and other insects which are at that time taking their repose. The natives might be expected to value it on this account, but they have a prejudice that it is poisonous, and communicates a species of leprosy to persons over whom it walks.²⁹² whence they term it *abu bers*, "the father of leprosy."²⁹³ Some go so far as to maintain that it renders food unwholesome by walking upon it; but this belief seems to be quite without foundation, and the irritating effects of its feet on the human skin have probably been exaggerated.²⁹⁴ The house gecko is of a reddish-brown color, spotted with white. It is about five inches in length.

The other Egyptian gecko (*Lacerta caudiverbera*) is larger. Its usual length is about eight inches,²⁹⁵ and its habits are quite unlike those of the house gecko. Both kinds are oviparous, and produce a round egg with a hard calcareous shell. The geckos have the power of uttering a note like the double

“click” used to urge a horse on in riding; and it is said to be from this circumstance that they derive their name.²⁹⁶

The horned snake (*Coluber cerastes*) is so called on account of two curious excrecences above the eyes, to which the name of “horns” has been given; they are small protuberances, erect, pointed, and leaning a little towards the back of the head; it is remarkable that no naturalist has been able to assign them any use. The color of the cerastes is pale brown, with large irregular black spots.²⁹⁷ Herodotus remarks that it is of small size; ²⁹⁸ and modern specimens vary between one foot five inches and about two feet and a half in length.²⁹⁹ The cerastes is exceedingly poisonous,³⁰⁰ and, having the habit of partially burying itself in the sand,³⁰¹ which is nearly of the same color, it is the more dangerous as being difficult of avoidance. The African snake-charmers succeed, however, in handling it and escaping all hurt, since it is one of the few vipers over which their “charming” has influence.³⁰²

The asp (Fig. 16), or *Coluber haje*, “the Egyptian cobra,” as it has been termed, is even more deadly than the cerastes. It is a large snake, varying from three to six feet in length,³⁰³ and has an extraordinary power of dilating its breast when angry. Torpid during the winter,³⁰⁴ it appears on the approach of spring in the Egyptian gardens, and is of great use, feeding on mice, frogs, and various small reptiles. It is easily tamed, and is the favorite snake of the serpent-charmers, who wind it about their necks, put it in their bosoms, and make it perform various antics to the sound of the flute, without exhibiting any fear, and with absolute and entire impunity.³⁰⁵

The chameleon is the quaintest of reptiles. The strange shape of its head, the position and character of the eyes, which are almost completely covered with the skin and move independently of each other, the curious structure of the tongue, which is cylindrical and capable of great and sudden extension, the prehensile power of the tail, the dry dull skin, and the division of the claws into two sets, one opposed to the other, are all of them remarkable features,³⁰⁶ and their combination produces a most grotesque creature. The change of color under certain circumstances, which the ancients thought so extraordinary,³⁰⁷ is a subordinate and secondary feature, and has been greatly exaggerated. One of the small Egyptian lizards, the *agame variable* of St. Hilaire, which has never attracted much attention, varies its hue to a much greater extent.³⁰⁸ The chameleon is naturally of a pale olive-green, and its changes are limited to a warming up of this tint into a yellowish-brown, on which are seen some faint patches of red,

and a fading of it into a dull ashen-gray.³⁰⁹ The animal does not really alter its hue at will, but turns color, as men do, in consequence of its emotions, becoming pale through fear, and warming to a sort of redness through anger or desire. What is most noticeable in its habits is the slow, stealthy, almost imperceptible movement by which it gradually approaches its prey, combined with the sudden rapid dart of the tongue by which the victim is surprised and devoured.

The most remarkable of the Egyptian insects are the scorpion, the locust, and the *solpuga* spider. The scorpion (*Scorpio crassicauda*), though classed with the *Arachnidæ*,³¹⁰ has rather the character of an enormous beetle. It has two large horns, eight legs, and a long stiff tail of several joints, which it carries erect in a threatening manner.³¹¹ It is not aggressive, however, but always seeks to hide itself, frequenting ruins and dark places, where it lies concealed among stones and in cran- nies. Sometimes, unfortunately, it enters houses, and hides under cushions and coverlets, where, if it suffers molestation, it will sting, and inflict a painful, though not dangerous, injury. In Egypt cats often attack it. Turning it over on its back by a pat of their paw upon its side, and then placing one forefoot on its body, they tear off the tail with the other. The creature is then easily killed, and the cat not unfrequently eats it.³¹²

The locust is one of the permanent "plagues of Egypt." Swarms arrive with considerable frequency from Arabia, and, descending upon the gardens and cornfields, cover the whole ground, and in a short time destroy all but the very coarsest kinds of vegetation.³¹³ The hopes of the farmer disappear, and famine threatens, where, till the visitation came, there was every prospect of teeming abundance. The varieties of the insect are numerous, and Egypt appears to suffer from the attacks of some five or six species.³¹⁴ But the deadliest inroads are made by the *Acridium peregrinum* and the *Ædipoda migratoria*, the two most destructive specimens of the locust tribe,³¹⁵ the latter of which has been known to visit our own country.³¹⁶ Fortunately these inroads are only occasional, and seldom extend to a very large portion of the country. When they occur, the principal check upon them is that arising from the habits of the jackals, which issue from the mountains at night, and, spreading themselves over the plains, devour the locusts, apparently with great satisfaction, and seriously diminish their numbers.³¹⁷

The *solpuga* is a strong and active spider, possessing veno- mous qualities, and esteemed by the modern Egyptians on

account of its enmity to the scorpion. The scorpion's sting is fatal to it; but in general it succeeds in avoiding its adversary's tail, and, running round it, fastens upon the head and kills it without difficulty.³¹⁸

Egypt was not very well provided by nature with minerals. Stone indeed of many excellent kinds abounded. The magnesian limestone of the Gebel Mokuttam range,³¹⁹ opposite the site of Memphis, is a good material, since it is hard and close-grained without being difficult to work. The sandstone of the Gebel Silsilis and its neighborhood is perhaps even superior, its texture being remarkably compact and even,³²⁰ and its durability in the dry climate of Egypt almost unlimited. Further, porphyry and alabaster were readily obtainable, the former from various parts of the Eastern Desert,³²¹ the latter from quarries between Malawi and Manfaloot. Finally, there was an inexhaustible supply of the best possible granite in the vicinity of the First Cataract and of Syêné,³²² and therefore within the limits of Egypt, though close to her southern border. The same material was also abundant in the Eastern Desert, more especially in the mountains between Thebes and Kosseir. Syenite was likewise obtainable in the neighborhood of Syêné,³²³ as might be safely concluded from the name itself.

It added practically to the wealth of Egypt with respect to building material, that all the best kinds of stone were found in inexhaustible abundance within a short distance of the river, since it was thus possible to convey the several kinds by water-carriage from one end of Egypt to the other,³²⁴ and to use each over the whole country for the purposes for which it was best fitted. More especially it was easy to float *down* the stream, from the First Cataract, the granite and syenite of the far south, and to employ it at Thebes, or Memphis, or Saïs,³²⁵ or other cities of the Delta. Thus the best material of all was most readily distributed, and might be employed with almost equal ease in the extreme north and the extreme south of the empire.

In metals Egypt was deficient. Gold mines, indeed, seem to have existed, and to have been worked,³²⁶ in the most southern portion of the Eastern Desert, and these in ancient times may have been fairly productive, though they would not now repay the cost of extracting the gold from them. According to Diodorus,³²⁷ silver was also a product of Egypt under the Pharaohs, and was obtained in tolerable abundance; but no traces of silver mines have been remarked by any modern observer, and the unsupported authority of Diodorus is scarcely

sufficient to establish a fact which did not fall under his own observation. Copper, iron, and lead do however exist in portions of the Eastern Desert,³²⁸ and one iron mine shows signs of having been anciently worked.³²⁹ The metal is found in the form of specular and red iron ore. Still none of these metals seem to have been obtained by the Egyptians from their own land in any considerable quantity. The copper so necessary to them for their arms, tools, and implements, was procured chiefly from the mines of Wady Maghara in the Sinaitic peninsula,³³⁰ which was beyond the limits of Egypt; and it is most likely that lead, iron, and tin were supplied to them by the Phœnicians.³³¹

Among other mineral productions of Egypt the most important were natron, salt, sulphur, petroleum, chalcedonies, carnelians, jaspers, green breccia, and emeralds. Natrum, or the subcarbonate of soda, is yielded largely by the Natron Lakes beyond the western limits of the Delta,³³² and is also found in Upper Egypt near Eilethyias, and again near the village of El Helleh.³³³ It was greatly prized by the ancient Egyptians, since it was the chief antiseptic material made use of in the process of embalming.³³⁴ Salt is also furnished by the Natron Lakes in considerable quantity.³³⁵ The Gebel-el-Zayt, at the southwestern extremity of the Suez inlet (lat. $27^{\circ} 50'$ to $28^{\circ} 3'$), abounds in petroleum; ³³⁶ and at El Gimsheh, near the southwestern extremity of the Zayt inlet, are sulphur mines.³³⁷ Chalcedonies have been found in the range of Gebel Mokuttam near Cairo,³³⁸ jaspers and carnelians in the granite rocks near Syêné,³³⁹ and jaspers again in the dry valley called by the Arabs *Bahr-bela-ma*, or "the river without water."³⁴⁰ Breccia verde was obtained by the ancient Egyptians from quarries in the Eastern Desert,³⁴¹ and the emerald mines of *Gebel Zabara* were diligently worked by them.³⁴² Agate and rock-crystal are likewise occasionally met with, and also serpentine, compact felspar, steatite, hornblende, basanite, actinolite, and the sulphate of barytes.³⁴³

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

The Egyptians of Asiatic Origin—Immigrants from the East—Not a Colony from Ethiopia—Proof of this—So far peculiar as to constitute a distinct Race—Their Complexion dark, but not black—Their Hair not woolly—Description of their Features—Of their Form—Their subdivisions, original and later—Their Intellectual Characteristics—Their Artistic Powers—Their Morality, theoretic and practical—Their Number—Nations bordering upon Egypt—The *Libu* (Libyans), or *Tahennu* on the West—the *Nahsi* (Negroes) and *Cush* (Ethiopians) on the South—The *Amu* (Shemites) and *Shasu* (Arabs) on the East—Nascent Empires in this quarter.

“*Die Aegypter ein von allen angrenzenden Menschenraeen wesentlich verschiedener Stamm waren.*”—NIEBUHR, “Vorträge über alte Geschichte, vol. i, p. 57.

It is generally allowed by modern ethnologists that the ancient Egyptians, although located in Africa, were not an African people.¹ Neither the formation of their skulls, nor their physiognomy, nor their complexion, nor the quality of their hair, nor the general proportions of their frames connect them in any way with the indigenous African races—the Berbers and the negroes. Nor, again, is their language in the least like those of the African tribes.² The skull and facial outline, both of the ancient Egyptian and of the modern Copt, his existing representative, are Caucasian;³ and the Egyptian language, while of a peculiar type, has analogies which connect it both with the Semitic and with the Indo-European forms of speech, more especially with the former.⁴ We must regard the Egyptians, therefore, as an Asiatic people, immigrants into their own territory, which they entered from the east, and nearly allied to several important races of Southwestern Asia, as the Canaanites, the Accadians or primitive Babylonians, and the Southern or Himyaritic Arabs.

It has been maintained by some⁵ that the immigration was from the south, the Egyptians having been a colony from Ethiopia which gradually descended the Nile, and established itself in the middle and lower portions of the valley; and this theory can plead in its favor, both a positive statement of Diodorus,⁶ and the fact, which is quite certain, of an ethnic connection between the Egyptians and some of the tribes who now occupy Abyssinia (the ancient Ethiopia). But modern research has shown quite unmistakably that the movement of the Egyptians was in the opposite direction. “The study of the monuments,” says the latest historian of Egypt,⁷ “furnishes

incontrovertible evidence that the historical series of Egyptian temples, tombs, and cities, constructed on either bank of the Nile, follow one upon the other in chronological order in such sort that the monuments of the greatest antiquity, the Pyramids for instance, are situated furthest to the North; while the nearer one approaches the Ethiopian cataracts, the more do the monuments lose the stamp of antiquity, and the more plainly do they show the decline of art, of beauty, and of good taste. Moreover, in Ethiopia itself the existing remains present us with a style of art that is absolutely devoid of originality. At the first glance one can easily see that it represents Egyptian art in its degeneracy, and that art ill understood and ill executed. The utmost height to which Ethiopian civilization ever reached was a mere rude imitation, alike in science and in art, of Egyptian models."

We must look then rather to Syria or Arabia than to Ethiopia as the cradle of the Egyptian nation. At the same time we must admit that they were not mere Syrians or Arabs;⁸ but had from the remotest time whereto we can go back, distinct characteristics, whereby they have a good claim to be considered a separate race. What was the origin of these special characteristics cannot indeed be determined until the nature of differences of race is better understood than it is at present. Perhaps in ancient times the physical traits of an ancestor were, as a general rule, more completely reproduced in his descendants than they now are; perhaps climate and mode of life had originally greater effect. Some of the Egyptian characteristics may be ascribed to these influences; some may, on the other hand, be confidently attributed to intermixture with African races, from which they were far from holding altogether aloof. Their complexion was probably rendered darker in this way; their lips were coarsened; and the character of their eye was perhaps modified.⁹

The Egyptians appear to have been among the darkest races with which the Greeks of the early times came into direct contact. Herodotus calls them "blacks;"¹⁰ but this is an extreme exaggeration, akin to that by which all the native inhabitants of Hindustan have been termed "niggers." The monuments show that the real complexion of the ordinary Egyptian man was brown, with a tinge of red—a hue not very different from that of the Copt at the present day. The women were lighter, no doubt because they were less exposed to the sun: the monuments depict them as yellow; but there can scarcely have been as much difference between the men's color and the women's as existing paintings represent.

The hair was usually black and straight. In no case was it "woolly,"¹¹ though sometimes it grew in short crisp curls. Men commonly shaved both the hair and the beard, and went about with their heads perfectly bare, or else wore wigs or a close-fitting cap.¹² Women sometimes wore their own hair, and plaited it in long tresses sometimes reaching to the waist.¹³ The hair of the wigs, as also that which is found sometimes growing on the heads of the mummies, is coarse to the eye of a European, but has no resemblance to that of the negro.

The Egyptians (Fig. 11) had features not altogether unlike those of their neighbors, the Syrians, but with distinguishing peculiarities. The forehead was straight, but somewhat low; the nose generally long and straight, but sometimes slightly aquiline. The lips were over-full; but the upper lip was short, and the mouth was seldom too wide. The chin was good, being well-rounded, and neither retreating nor projecting too far. The most marked and peculiar feature was the eye, which was a long narrow slit, like that of the Chinese, but placed horizontally and not obliquely. An eyebrow, also long and thin, but very distinctly pencilled, shaded it. The coloring was always dark, the hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, and beard (if any) being black, or nearly so, and the eyes black or dark brown.

In form the Egyptian resembled the modern Arab. He was tall; his limbs were long and supple; his head was well placed upon his shoulders; his movements were graceful; his carriage dignified. In general, however, his frame was too spare; and his hands and feet were unduly large. The women were as thin as the men, and had forms nearly similar. Children (Fig. 15), however, appear to have been sufficiently plump; but they are not often represented.

The most ancient document which has come down to us bearing on the history of Egypt represents the Egyptian people as divided into a number of distinct races. We read of Ludim, Anamim, Lebahim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim and Caphtorim¹⁴ as distinct "sons of Mizraim," *i. e.*, as separate tribes of the powerful people which inhabited the "two Egypts."¹⁵ It is suggested¹⁶ that the Ludim were the "dominant race, or Egyptians proper, who were called in Egyptian *but* or *rut*, *i. e.*, men *par excellence*;" that the Anamim were the *Anu* of the monuments, who were dispersed widely over the Nile valley, and gave name to On (Heliopolis) and other cities; that the Naphtuhim (*Na-Phtah*) were "the domain of Phtah," or people of Memphis; Pathrusim (*P-to-res*) "the people of the South," or inhabitants of the Thebaid,

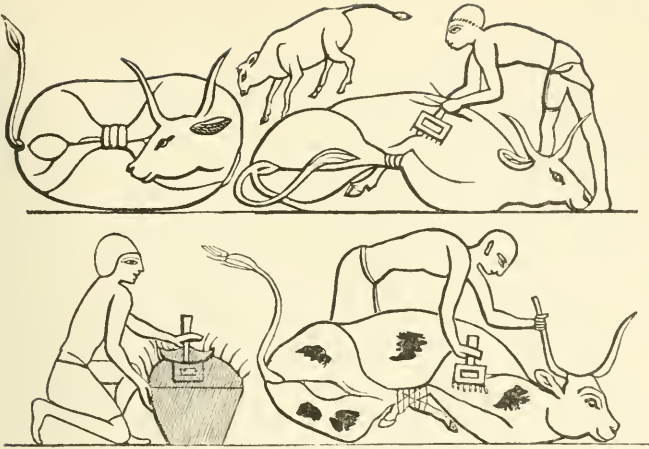


Fig. 32.—MARKING OF CATTLE.—See Page 88.



Fig. 33.—EGYPTIAN SHEEP.—See Page 88.



Fig. 34.—EGYPTIAN PIGS, HOG, AND SOW.—See Page 88.



Fig. 35.—EGYPTIAN GOATS.— See Page 88.

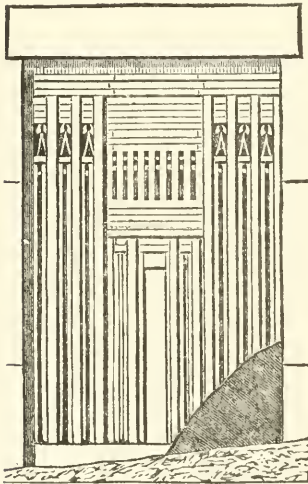


Fig. 36.—DOORWAY OF TOMB, NEAR THE PYRAMIDS.— See Page 92.—Note 8.

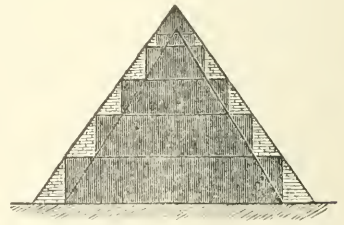


Fig. 37.—SECTION OF PYRAMID, SHOWING MODES OF COMPLETION.— See Page 94.

etc. But these identifications are, all of them, more or less uncertain ; and it would seem that, whatever tribal differences may have existed at the first, they had disappeared, or all but disappeared, by the time that the history of Egypt becomes known to us. The only real distinction that remained was one between the people of the south country and those of the north, who had their respective peculiarities, and even spoke dialects that were somewhat different.¹⁷ Otherwise the various Egyptian tribes had been fused together and moulded into one compact and homogeneous people before the time when history first takes cognizance of them.

Intellectually, the Egyptians must take rank among the foremost nations of remote antiquity, but cannot compare with the great European races, whose rise was later, the Greeks and Romans. Their minds possessed much subtlety and acuteness ; they were fond of composition, and made considerable advances in many of the sciences ; they were intelligent, ingenious, speculative. It is astonishing what an extensive literature they possessed at a very early date¹⁸—books on religion, on morals, law, rhetoric, arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, medicine, books of travels, and, above all, novels ! But the merit of the works is slight. The novels are rapid, the medical treatises interlarded with charms and exorcisms, the travels devoid of interest, the general style of all the books forced and stilted. Egypt may in some particulars have stimulated Greek thought,¹⁹ directing it into new lines, and giving it a basis to work upon ; but otherwise it cannot be said that the world owes much of its intellectual progress to this people, about whose literary productions there is always something that is weak and childish.

In art the power which the Egyptians exhibited was doubtless greater. Their architecture "was on the grandest scale, and dwarfs the Greek in comparison."²⁰ But even here it is to be noted that the higher qualities of art were wanting. The architecture produces its effect by mere mass. There is no beauty of proportion. On the contrary, the gigantic columns are clumsy from their undue massiveness, and are far too thickly crowded together. They are rather rounded piers than pillars, and their capitals are coarse and heavy. The colored ornamentation used was over-glaring. The forms of the ornamentation was almost always stiff, and sometimes absolutely hideous.²¹ In mimetic art the Egyptians might perhaps have done better, had they been at liberty to allow their natural powers free scope. But they worked in shackles ; a dull dead conventionalism bore sway over the land ; and

though some exceptions occur,²² Egyptian mimetic art is in the main a reproduction of the same unvarying forms, without freedom of design or vigor of treatment.

In morals, the Egyptians combined an extraordinary degree of theoretic perfection with an exceedingly lax and imperfect practice. It has been said²³ that "the forty-two laws of the Egyptian religion contained in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead fall short in nothing of the teachings of Christianity," and conjectured that Moses, in compiling his code of laws, did but "translate into Hebrew the religious precepts which he found in the sacred books" of the people among whom he had been brought up. Such expressions are no doubt exaggerated; but they convey what must be allowed to be a fact, viz., that there is a very close agreement between the moral law of the Egyptians and the precepts of the Decalogue. But with this profound knowledge of what was right, so much beyond that of most heathen nations, the practice of the people was rather below than above the common level. The Egyptian women were notoriously of loose character, and, whether as we meet with them in history, or as they are depicted in Egyptian romance, appear as immodest and licentious.²⁴ The men practised impurity openly, and boasted of it in their writings; ²⁵ they were industrious, cheerful, nay, even gay, under hardships,²⁶ and not wanting in family affection; but they were cruel, vindictive, treacherous, avaricious, prone to superstition, and profoundly servile.

The use of the stick was universal. Not only was the bastinado the ordinary legal punishment for minor offences,²⁷ but superiors of all kinds freely beat their inferiors; the poor peasantry were compelled by blows to satisfy the rapacity of the tax-gatherers; ²⁸ and slaves everywhere performed their work under fear of the rod, which was applied to the backs of laggards by the taskmaster.²⁹ The passions of the Egyptians were excessive, and often led on to insurrection, riot, and even murder; they were fanatical in the extreme, ever ready to suspect strangers of insulting their religion, and bent on washing out such insults by bloodshed. When conquered, no people were more difficult to govern; and even under their native kings they needed a strong hand to keep them in subjection. But though thus impetuous and difficult to restrain when their passions were roused, they were at other times timid, cringing, submissive, prone to fawn and flatter. The lower classes prostrated themselves before their superiors; blows were quietly accepted and tamely submitted to. The great nobles exhibited equal servility towards the monarch, whom

they addressed as if he were a god,³⁰ and to whose kind favor they attributed it that they were allowed to continue to live.³¹ Altogether the Egyptians were wanting in manliness and spirit. They at no time made good soldiers; and though they had some considerable successes in their early wars, when they attacked undisciplined hordes with large bodies of well-disciplined troops, yet whenever they encountered an enemy acquainted with the art of war, they suffered defeat. As allies, they were not to be depended on. Always ready to contract engagements, they had no hesitation in breaking them where their fulfilment would have been dangerous or inconvenient; and hence their neighbors spoke of Egypt as a "bruised reed, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it."³²

Another defect in the Egyptian character was softness and inclination to luxurious living. Drunkenness was a common vice among the young;³³ and among the upper class generally sensual pleasure and amusement were made, ordinarily, the ends of existence. False hair was worn; dyes and cosmetics used to produce an artificial beauty;³⁴ great banquets were frequent; games and sports of a thousand different kinds were in vogue;³⁵ dress was magnificent; equipages were splendid; life was passed in feasting, sport, and a constant succession of enjoyments. It is true that some seem not to have been spoiled by their self-indulgence, or at any rate to have retained in old age a theoretic knowledge of what was right;³⁶ but the general effect of such a life cannot but have been hurtful to the character; and the result is seen in the gradual decline of the Egyptian power, and the successive subjections of the country by hardier and stronger races, Ethiopians, Assyrians, Persians, and Macedonian Greeks.

There is considerable difficulty in determining the amount of the population of ancient Egypt. Josephus gave the number at 7,800,000 in his day,³⁷ when the population was probably less numerous than under the native kings. Diodorus prefers the round number of 7,000,000, and says that in his time the population was not less than it had been under the Pharaohs.³⁸ An English scholar of repute³⁹ regards 6,000,000 as the maximum of the census of ancient Egypt, while another⁴⁰ is convinced that the real amount was not above 5,000,000. If the class of professional soldiers really numbered above 400,000 men, as Herodotus declares,⁴¹ that class being only one out of seven, distinct altogether from the priests, the herdsmen, the shopkeepers, the boatmen, the swineherds, and the interpreters,⁴² it is difficult to resist the conviction that the *native*

Egyptians alone must have amounted *at the least* to five millions. To this a considerable addition, an addition of probably not less than one-third, must be made for slaves⁴³ and casual visitors, which would raise the sum total of the population nearly to the estimate of Diodorus. As such an estimate, even if confined to the Nile valley, the Delta, and the Fayoum alone, would not imply a density of more than about 600 to the square mile,—a rate less than that of East Flanders and of many English counties which are not particularly thickly peopled,⁴⁴—it may well be accepted as probably not in excess of the truth.

We have now to pass from the consideration of the Egyptians themselves to that of the peoples, or nations, who inhabited the neighboring countries.

The nations which bounded Egypt on the east, the west, and the south, belonged to three distinct races, and bore in the Egyptian language three distinct appellations. To the west were the *Ribu* or *Libu*, who may safely be identified with the Libyans of the Greek historians and geographers, the inhabitants of the entire north coast from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean,⁴⁵ after whom the Greeks called the whole continent “Libya.” The monuments represent this people as a white race, with blue eyes and fair hair; it has been conjectured that they came originally from Northern Europe,⁴⁶ and crossed into Africa by way of Spain and Italy. Probably they found in the countries which they overran a darker people, with whom they intermingled, and into which they were ultimately absorbed; but in the earlier Egyptian period this change had not taken place, and the Egyptians represented them as described above, emphasizing (it may be) and exaggerating the tints which were to them strange and unaccustomed. The *Ribu*, or Libyans, called sometimes *Tahennu*,⁴⁷ were numerous and warlike; but under ordinary circumstances they were greatly divided, and the occasions were “few and far between” on which union was so far established that they became formidable to any of their neighbors. Once only in Egyptian history was the kingdom of the Pharaohs seriously threatened from this quarter, when in the reign of Menephtah, the son of Rameses II. (about B.C. 1250), a great invasion of Western Egypt took place under the conduct of the “chief of the *Ribu*,”⁴⁸ and a doubtful contest was waged for some time between this prince and the Egyptian monarch.

Towards the south, Egypt had for her immediate neighbors the *Nahsi* or *Nahasu*,⁴⁹ who were blacks and (it is thought) true negroes, with out-turned lips and woolly hair, and who were

found in the Nile valley beyond the First Cataract, and in the country on either side of it, or in all the more northern portion of the tract which is now known as Nubia. The tribes of the Nahsi were numerous; their temper was "turbulent and impatient of subjection;"⁵⁰ they rejected civilization, wore scarcely any clothes,⁵¹ and made frequent inroads on the more southern of the Egyptian provinces with a view to plunder and rapine. The Egyptian kings were forced to lead expeditions against them continually, in order to keep them in check and punish their depredations; but no serious danger could ever menace the monarchy from enemies who, though numerous, were ill-armed, scattered, and quite incapable of coalescing.

Beyond the Nahsi, however, further to the south, and inclining to the east of south, was a formidable power—a nation known to the Egyptians as the Kish or Kush, and to the Greeks and Romans as the Ethiopians, who occupied the broad tract lying between the Nile and Bahr-el-Azrek on the one hand, and the Atbara on the other,⁵² extending perhaps also across the Atbara, and at times holding the Nile valley along its entire course from Khartoum to the borders of Egypt.⁵³ This people was not of negro blood, but is to be regarded as Caucasian.⁵⁴ It was ethnically connected with the Canaanites, the southern Arabians, the primitive Babylonians or Accadians, and with the Egyptians themselves. Its best modern representatives are probably the Gallas, Agau, Wolaita, etc., of modern Abyssinia. This people formed, at any rate in the later Egyptian times, a single settled monarchy, with a capital at Napata (*Gebel Berkel*) or at Meroë (*Dankalah*).⁵⁵ They were to a considerable extent civilized, though their civilization does not appear to have been self-originated, but was due to Egyptian influence. They were numerous, warlike, of great strength,⁵⁶ and more than common height;⁵⁷ they possessed a fair amount of discipline, and were by far the most important of the enemies against whom the Egyptians had to contend in Africa.

On their eastern border, where it was not washed by the Red Sea, the Egyptians came into contact with tribes which they called by the generic name of *Amu*, "people," or perhaps "herdsmen,"⁵⁸ whom they seem to have regarded with a special contempt and dislike.⁵⁹ They had from a remote period been subject to aggression in this quarter; and a portion of the Amu had actually effected a lodgement within the territory naturally belonging to Egypt,⁶⁰ and held all the northeastern portion of the Delta about the Lake Menzaleh and the cities known as Zoan (Zan, Tanis) and Rameses.⁶¹ These Amu were,

of course, Egyptian subjects; but there were likewise Amu beyond the Egyptian borders, in Syria and Palestine, who were almost perpetually at war with Egypt in the earlier times. Of these Amu the most important tribes were those of the Khita or Kheta ("Children of Heth," "Hittites"), the Kharu (Cherethites?), and the Rutennu, who seem to represent the Syrians. Another enemy of the Egyptians in this quarter was the people called *Shasu*, perhaps identical with the Hyk-sos,⁶² and seemingly Arabs. Ordinarily the Shasu were not regarded as a formidable foe; ⁶³ but once in the course of Egyptian history, owing to circumstances that are unexplained, they made a great invasion, conquered all the lower country, and for many years held it in subjection. Otherwise one would have said that Egypt had little to fear from her immediate neighbors upon the east, who were at once numerically weak, and powerless through their multitudinous divisions.⁶⁴

There was, however, a danger in this quarter, at which it is necessary to glance. Beyond the line of Egypt's immediate neighbors, beyond the Amu and the Shasu, Syria and Arabia, further to the east and the northeast, in the great Mesopotamian plain, and the highland by which it is overlooked, were to be seen, hazily and dimly through the intervening space, the forms of giant empires, already springing into being when monarchy in Egypt was still young, from whose rivalry the foresight of the wise may have discerned that peril would ultimately ensue, though the day of contact, and so of trial, might be far distant. A civilized State rose in the alluvial plain upon the Lower Tigris and Euphrates not very long after the birth of civilization in Egypt.⁶⁵ As time went on, a second great monarchy and a third were formed in the countries above the alluvium. These empires were, like Egypt, aggressive, aiming at a wide, if not a universal, dominion. Collision between them and Egypt was inevitable; and the only question was when it would occur. Its occurrence was the great danger with which Egypt was threatened from the first. When the collision came, it would be seen whether Asia or Africa was the stronger, whether Egyptian discipline and skill and long experience were a match for the spirit, the dash, the impetuous valor of the Asiatics. Until such time, the great African kingdom was, comparatively speaking, secure, and might calmly address itself to the maintenance and development of its arts, its industries, and its material prosperity generally.

CHAPTER IV.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

Proposed Mode of Treatment. General Character of the Language. Connection of the Ancient Egyptian with the Coptic. Three Forms of Egyptian Writing. The Hieroglyphic Signs Pictorial. The Signs of four sorts, Representative, Figurative, Determinative, and Phonetic. Table of the most common Phonetics; other Phonetics. Number of the Signs. Arrangement of the Writing. Signs for Numerals—for Gods—for Months. Egyptian Grammar.

Αἰγύπτιοι . . . διφασίοισι γράμμασι χρέωνται.—HEROD. ii, 36.

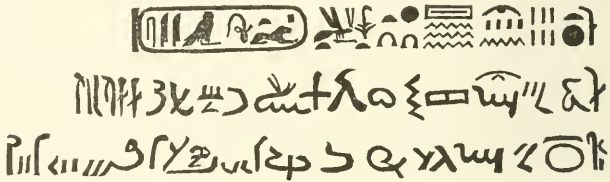
IT is not proposed in the present chapter to attempt anything more than a popular, and so a superficial, account of the subjects put forward in the heading. To discuss thoroughly the Egyptian language and writing would require a work of the full dimensions of that which is here offered to the public, and would besides demand an amount of linguistic knowledge to which the present writer makes no pretension. It may be added that such a discussion would scarcely be suited to the general reader, who cannot be expected to interest himself deeply in a matter which is confessedly of a recondite character, not to be mastered without prolonged study, and, when mastered, only of value to persons who intend to devote themselves to the sciences of Egyptology or comparative philology. Such persons may be referred, though the reference is scarcely necessary, to the excellent works of Champollion, Lepsius, Brugsch, Birch, and De Rougé, on the writing, the grammar, and the vocabulary of the ancient Egyptians¹—works which treat the difficult subject in a most masterly way, and which leave no branch of it untouched or even incompletely examined.

Speaking generally, the Egyptian language may be described as “an agglutinate monosyllabic form of speech,”² presenting analogies, on the one hand, with Turanian, on the other with Semitic tongues. The grammar is predominantly Semitic: the pronouns, prepositions, and other particles, are traceable for the most part to Semitic roots; the Semitic system of pronominal suffixes is used, at any rate partially. On the other hand, the vocabulary is Semitic in comparatively few instances, its main analogies being with the Accadian, Mongolian, and other Turanian tongues. As is generally the

case with Turanian languages,³ the bulk of the roots are peculiar, standing separate and unconnected with any other form of speech.

The modern representative of the ancient Egyptian is the Coptic, which, though corrupted by an Arabic infusion, is its legitimate descendant, and which continued to be spoken in the lower part of the Nile valley until the seventeenth century. At present a dead language, it is known to us chiefly from the translations into it of the Old and New Testament,⁴ which are still in use in Egypt, being read in the Coptic churches, though not "understood of the people." It is mainly through the Coptic that the ancient Egyptian language has received its interpretation.

Egyptian writing is of three distinct kinds, which are known respectively by the names of Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, and Demotic or Enochial.⁵ The hieroglyphic is that of almost all monuments, and is also found occasionally in manuscripts. The hieratic and demotic occur with extreme rarity upon monuments, but are employed far more commonly than the



hieroglyphic in the papyrus rolls or "books" of the Egyptians. Both of them are cursive forms of the hieroglyphic writing, invented to save time, and suited for rapid writing with the pen, but in no way suited for carving upon stone and manifestly not intended for it. They have been called "abbreviated forms;"⁶ but this is scarcely correct, for they occupy more space than the corresponding hieroglyphics; but they could be written in (probably) one-tenth of the time. There is not much difference between the hieratic and the demotic. The former was the earlier of the two, having been employed as far back as the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, or perhaps even earlier;⁷ it preserved the hieroglyphic forms to a certain extent. These are nearly lost in the demotic, which appears to have been introduced about the seventh century B.C.,⁸ and which rapidly superseded the hieratic, being simpler and consequently easier to write. Both the hieratic and the demotic were written from right to left.

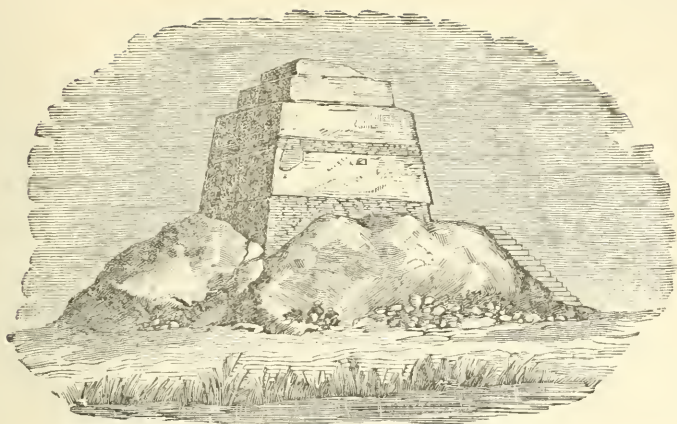


Fig. 38.—PYRAMID OF MEJDOUN.—See Page 93.

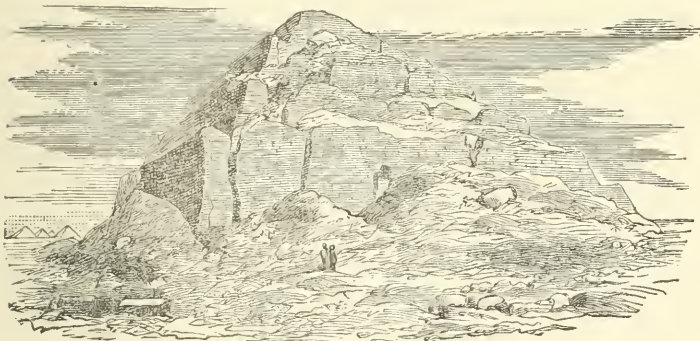


Fig. 39.—GREAT PYRAMID OF SACCARAH.—See Page 192.

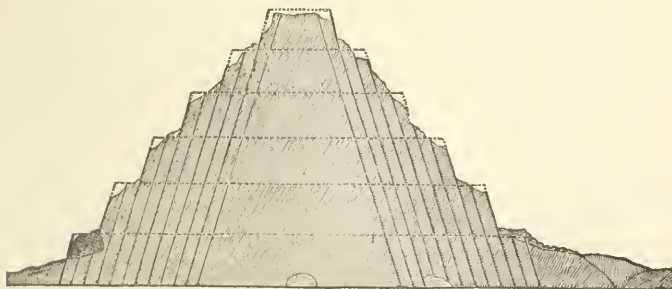


Fig. 40.—SECTION OF SAME, SHOWING ORIGINAL CONSTRUCTION.— See Page 93.



Fig. 41.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOMB-CHAMBER OF THE THIRD PYRAMID.—Page 94.

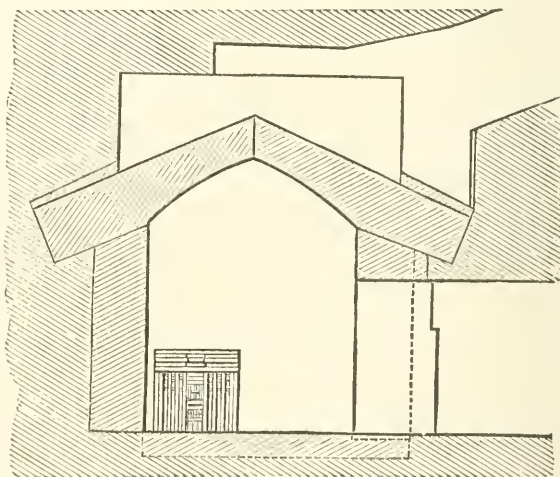


Fig. 40.—ARRANGEMENT OF THE BLOCKS FORMING THE ROOF.—See Page 95.

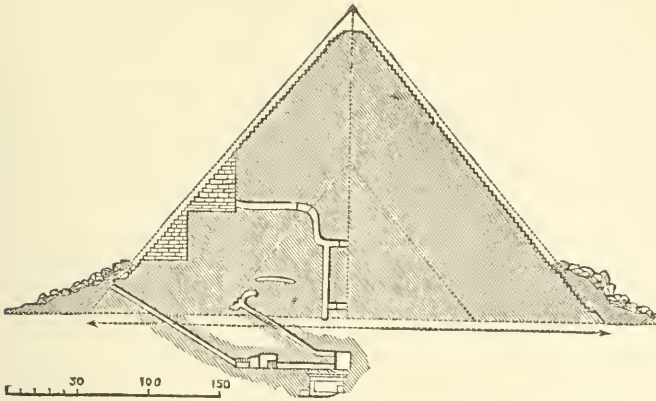


Fig. 43.—SECTION OF THE THIRD PYRAMID, SHOWING PASSAGES.—See Page 96.

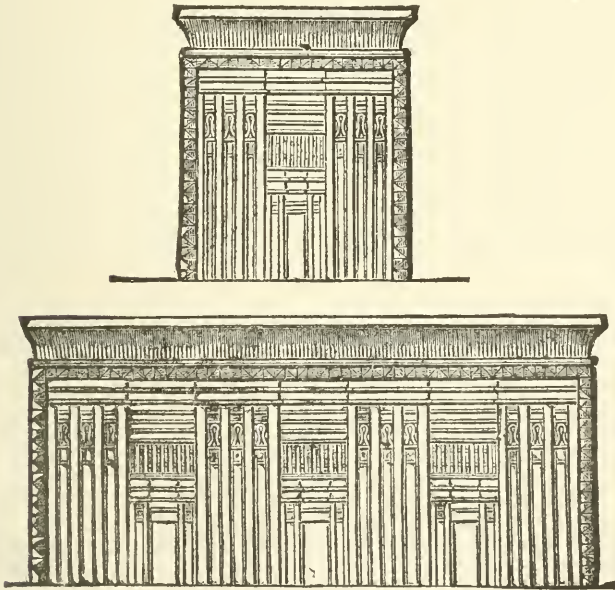


Fig. 44.—SARCOPHAGUS OF MYCERINUS.—See Page 95.

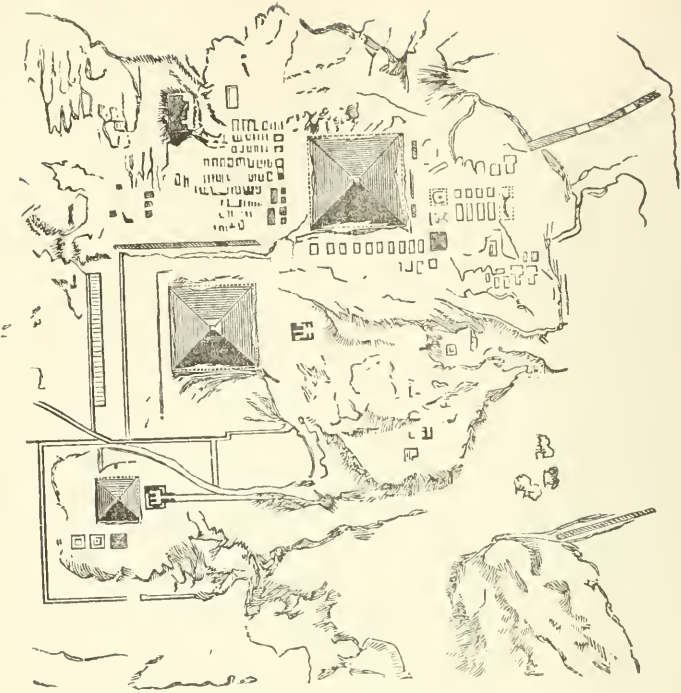


Fig. 45.—GENERAL PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.—See Page 96.

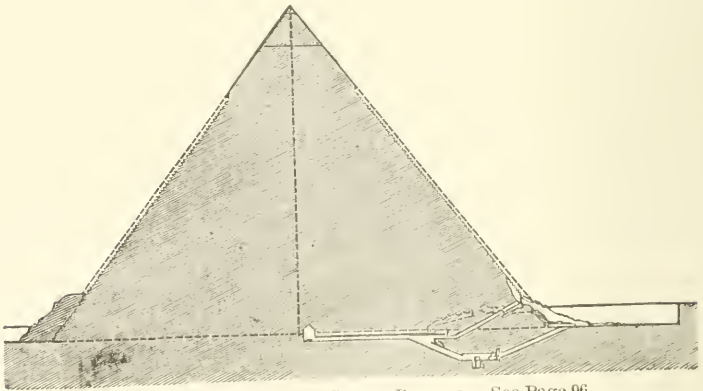
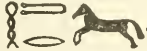
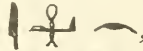



Fig. 46.—SECTION OF THE SECOND PYRAMID.—See Page 96.





















It is the essential characteristic of the hieroglyphic writing, that all the forms used, if we except those expressive of number, are pictures of objects. At the first glance, we see in a hieroglyphic inscription a multitude of forms, those of men, women, children, beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, human hands, legs, eyes, and the like, with which we are familiar; but these shapes are mixed up with others, not so readily recognized, which seem to us at first sight not imitative, but conventional, as circles, squares, half-circles, ovals, triangles, curved lines, wavy lines, small segments of circles, circles crossed diagonally, and the like. Investigation, however, shows that this apparent difference is not a real one. ALL the forms used are pictures, more or less successful, of objects which they were intended to represent. The circle ● represents the sun; the curved line, placed either way, (or ∩, the moon; the oval ○, an egg; the square, with an opening, Π a house; the pointed oval, ◊ a mouth, etc. Originally, it would seem, Egyptian writing was entirely picture writing, nothing being capable of being represented by it but objects and actions that the eye could see.



Ultimately, however, the system became much more complicated; and the hieroglyphics, as employed in the historical times, must be divided into at least four classes. First, there were some which continued to be used in the old way, to designate the object represented, which have been called "ikonographic, representational, or imitative hieroglyphics."⁹ These were such as the circle for the sun, the curved line or crescent for the moon; a figure of a man, a woman or a child for an actual man, woman, or child; a picture of a soldier armed with bow and quiver for a soldier; etc. These direct representations were used in two ways: either they stood alone to represent the object intended, or they followed the name of the object written phonetically. "Thus the word *Ra*, 'sun,' might be written in letters only, or be also followed by the ikonograph of the solar disk (which, if alone, would still have the same meaning); and as we might write the word 'horse,' and place after it a figure of that animal, so did they after their







word *htr* or *htor*, 'horse' . So too the word *Aah* or *Joh*, 'moon,' was followed by the crescent , and *rôt*, 'mankind,' by a figure of a man and woman .

In these cases it is evident that the ikonograph was mere sur-




plusage ; but perhaps it facilitated the rapid reading of the word preceding it.

Secondly, the characters were used figuratively, or symbolically. Thus a circle  represented not only "the sun," but also "a day," and a curved line or crescent  not only "the moon," but also "a month." Similarly, the representation of a pen and inkstand  stood for "writing," "to write," "a scribe ;" a man pouring out a libation from a vase , or a vase with liquid pouring from it , or even a simple vase inverted , signified "a priest ;" an egg  meant "a child," "a son ;" a seated figure with a curved beard, "a god"  ; and, with a remote connection, but still with a connection that can be easily traced, a bee  stood for "king,"¹¹ a vulture  for "mother,"¹² a serpent for "god" , a palm-branch  for "year," a "goose"  for "son," two water-plants of different kinds for "the Upper and the Lower Egypt." Again, the fore-part of a lion  meant "the beginning" of anything, and the hind-quarters  "the end ;" a leg within a trap  meant "deceit ;" the head and neck of a lion erect  meant "vigilance ;" and, with a symbolism that was obscurer and more recondite, a beetle (scarabæus)  meant the "world," an ostrich feather  "justice," and a man killing himself  "wickedness" or "atrocitv."¹³

A third use of the hieroglyphics was as "determinatives." These were most commonly added after proper names, and showed the class to which they belonged. Thus a word followed by the sitting figure with a curved beard  is known to be the proper name of a god ;¹⁴ one followed by the figure of a man  is the designation of a man ; one accompanied by a

circle with a cross inside it \oplus is the name of a place in Egypt ; one followed by a sign intended to represent mountains  is the name of a foreign country ; and so on. Names moreover which are not, strictly speaking, proper names, but designate classes, have determinatives attached to them marking their genus. The name of any particular kind of animal, as *ana*, "ibex," *mau*, "cat," etc., has a determinative after it resembling a short mallet , which is supposed to represent the skin and tail of an animal,¹⁵ and shows that the word whereto it is attached designates some species of beast. So the names of classes of birds are followed by the figure of a bird , of reptiles by a snake , of plants by a water-plant , of flowers by three blossoms , of buildings by the sign for house \square .¹⁶

Finally, the great bulk of the hieroglyphics in all inscriptions are phonetic, standing either for letters or for syllables,¹⁷ most commonly the former.¹⁸ The Egyptians, like the Phœnicians, resolved speech into its elements, and expressed these elements by signs, which had the exact force of our letters. In choosing their sign, they looked out for some common object, with a name of which the initial element was identical with the sound they wanted to express. Thus, *akhôm* being the name of an eagle in Egyptian, the eagle was made the sign of its initial sound, A ; the name of an owl in Egyptian being *moulag*, the figure of an owl was made to express M.¹⁹ But, unfortunately, the Egyptians did not stop here. Not content with fixing on one such sign in each case to express each elementary sound, they for the most part adopted several. An eagle, the leaf of a water-plant, and a hand and arm to the elbow were alike employed to represent the sound A. The sound B was expressed by a human leg and foot, and also by a bird like a crane, and by an object resembling a flower-pot.²⁰ For M there were four principal signs, an owl, two parallel straight lines joined at one end by a diagonal, a form something like a sickle, and a sort of double-headed baton. There were four forms for T, three for N, for K, for S, for J,²¹ for KH, and for H, while there were two for L or R (which the Egyptians regarded as the same), two for SH, two for I, for U, and for P. The letters F and D were about the only ones that were represented uniformly by a single hieroglyphic, the former by the cerastes or horned snake, the latter by a hand with the palm upwards.²²





Besides the ordinary phonetics (see Table), the Egyptians had a multitude of signs which could be used phonetically in certain groups, more especially at the beginning of words, but which were of comparatively rare occurrence. Lepsius gave, in 1837, a list of 54 such signs ;²³ but the subsequent course of research has added largely to them. There are probably not less than 100 signs of this kind, some of which represent letters, some syllables, their special characteristic being that they can only be used in certain groups. Many of them occur only in single words, as the *crux ansata*  ϕ , in *ankh*, "life," "living," "flower,"²⁴ — the outstretched arms with palms downwards, , in *nen*, the negative particle.²⁵ — the crocodile's tail, , in *Kem*, *Kemi*, "Egypt" or "black ;"²⁶ and the like.







The subjoined table (Fig. 18), will give the general phonetic alphabet of the Egyptians according to the best recent authorities.

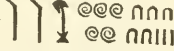
Altogether the number of signs used is not less than from nine hundred to a thousand ;²⁷ and hence the difficulty of reading the inscriptions, even now that—thanks to the Rosetta stone—the veil has been lifted. The student has to bear in mind the force of (say) a thousand characters, and not only so, but the various forces that many of them have, as representative, as symbolic, as determinative, and as phonetic. He has to settle to his own satisfaction, first, the class to which they belong in each instance, and secondly, the value which they have. He has also to determine whether any are purely superfluous, the Egyptians having had a fancy both for repeating characters unnecessarily, and also for expressing the same sound twice over by variant signs.

The hieroglyphics are sometimes written in column, one over another ; but this is, comparatively speaking, a rare arrangement. In general, as in most other forms of writing, the characters are in line, with only an occasional superinscription of one sign over that which in pronunciation follows it. They are read, when written in line, from left to right, or from right to left, according to the direction in which the characters face.²⁸ This direction is most clearly seen in the human and animal forms ; but it is not confined to these, most characters fronting one way or the other. The direction is from left to right, if the characters face to the left, and *vice versa*.

In hieroglyphical writing the numerals from one to nine are expressed by vertical strokes, which, between three and ten, are collected in two groups, thus :—

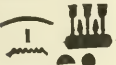
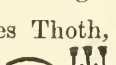
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
								

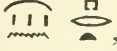
Ten is expressed by a sort of arch or doorway ; twenty by two such arches ; thirty by three ; and so on. For the hundreds the sign is the same as one of those employed to express *u*, ; for the thousands, it is the same as one of those employed to express *kh*, ; and for ten of thousands, it is a form used also to express *h*, .

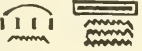
The number 21,553 would be expressed in a hieroglyphical inscription thus:— 

It may be added that most of the Egyptian gods have special signs significative of them, which are either human or animal figures, or the two intermixed. Their names, however, are also expressed phonetically, as Amun (Ammon) by


, Phthah or Ptah by , and the like. Signs which cannot be regarded as phonetic designate the several months, as



, which designates Thoth, the first month, corresponding to our September; , which designates Paopi,

the second month; , which designates Phamenoph, the

seventh month; , which is the sign for Mesore,







the twelfth month.²⁹




In conclusion, a few remarks will be added on the subject of Egyptian grammar. The Egyptian language admitted all the nine parts of speech, but was very deficient in conjunctions and interjections. It had a single article only, which was the definite one, corresponding to the English "the." The article was declined, being *pá*  in the masculine singular,³⁰ *tá*
























 in the feminine singular,³¹ and *ná*  in the plural of

both genders.³²

Substantives form the plural by adding *u*, as *neter*, "a god," *neteru*, "gods," *ta*, "a land," *tau*, "lands," *uar*, "a prince," *uaru*, "princes," etc. Adjectives, participles, and possessive pronouns do the same. The feminine is made by adding *t*









() , as *sa* or *se*, "a son," *set*, "a daughter;" *pá neter aa*, "the great god;" *tá asbutu aat*, "the great throne;" *sa neb*, "every man;" *kat nebt*, "every building;" and the like. There is said to be no dual;³³ but we find the form *ta* () , "land;" doubled for two lands, , and tripled for more than two, thus, . Tripling a sign is a common mode of expressing the plural, which is otherwise signified by the addition of three vertical lines (either  or ).








Pronouns were either used independently or suffixed. The independent form for "I" was *anak* or *anuk*, which is plainly identical with the Hebrew , the Assyrian *anaku*, and the Moabite *anak*. The form for "thou" was *ntek* (fem. *net*); for "he," *ntef*, or *su*; for "she," *ntes*; for "we," *nenanen*; for "ye," *ntuten*; for "they," *ntesen* (*natsen*), or *sen*. The forms *su* and *sen* may compare with the Hebrew  and ; but otherwise the resemblance to the Semitic is not close.

The suffixed pronoun of the first person singular was *-a*, which might be expressed either phonetically by , or by the figure of the speaker; that of the second person singular was, in the masculine *-k* (expressed by  or ) , in the feminine *-t* (expressed by either  or ); the ordinary suffix of the third person masculine was *-f* (expressed by ) , of the third person feminine *-s* (expressed by either  or ); but there was also a masculine form *-su* ( or ) to express "him," and a feminine form *-st* ( or  or ) to express "she," "her," etc. In the plural the suffix of the first person was *-n* () or *-nu* ( or ); of the second *-ten* () or *-tenu* ( or  or ); of the third *-u* (); *-su* (), or (most commonly) *-senu* (expressed variously).³⁴ The form *-stu* () is likewise found.

There were also in Egyptian a set of independent possessive pronouns, produced by combining the article in its three forms (*pa*, *ta*, and *na*) with the above suffixes, the form of the article being determined by the object possessed, that of the suffix by the possessor. Thus "my father" is expressed by *pa-i-a atef*, "thy father" by *pa-i-k atef*, "his father" by *pa-i-f atef*, "our father" by *pa-i-nu atef*, "your father" by *pa-i-tenu atef*, and "their father" by *pa-i-u* or *pa-i-senu atef*. If "mother" be substituted for "father," the pronouns become *ta-i-a*, *ta-i-k*, *ta-i-f*, *ta-i-nu*, *ta-i-tenu*, and *ta-i-u* or *ta-i-senu*. If the noun which follows the pronoun be in the plural number, the initial syllable becomes *na*. Thus for "my enemies" we must say, *na-i-a kheftu*, for "thy enemies" *na-i-k kheftu*, "his enemies" *naif kheftu*, "her enemies" *nais kheftu*, "our enemies" *nainu kheftu*, "your enemies" *naitenu kheftu*, and "their enemies" *naisenu kheftu*.

The conjugation of the tenses of verbs was by means of the suffixed pronouns. To mark the first person, the verb was followed by a figure of the speaker, which is supposed to have been pronounced *a*; to mark the second person, *k* was suffixed, or *t* if the agent was a female; to mark the third, *f*, or *s* in case of a female; in the plural, the ordinary terminations³⁵ were *nenu*, *tenu*, and *senu*, for "we," "you," "they;" as will be best seen by an example.

	Singular.		Plural.
	<i>jet-a</i> , "I say."		<i>jet-nenu</i> , "we say."
	<i>jet-k</i> , <i>jet-t</i> , "thou sayest."		<i>jet-tenu</i> , "ye say."
	<i>jet-f</i> , <i>jet-s</i> , "he says," "she says."		<i>jet-senu</i> , "they say."

The perfect tense was marked by interposing *n* between the verb and the pronoun, thus: , *arf*, "he makes," , *arnf*, "he made" or "has made." The future was formed by prefixing the auxiliary verb , *au*, "to be," together with the pronoun, and then placing *r* before the verb,³⁶ as , *ara*, "I make,"   , *auarar*, "I am for making" or "I will make."

To form the passive, *tu* was added to the root of the verb, the pronominal suffix following. Thus from $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *mes*,

“born,” we have $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *mestu-f*, “he was born,” etc.

A remarkable peculiarity of Egyptian grammar is the *declension of prepositions*. It has been generally recognized by modern comparative grammarians that prepositions are in reality abraded forms of nouns or pronouns. Declension may, therefore, be said to belong to them naturally; though in very few languages does any vestige of their inflection remain. In Egyptian, however, “all prepositions admit of a plural;”³⁷ and feminine forms are also not uncommon. For instance, the preposition 𓂏 , *en*, “of,” becomes frequently 𓂏 , *ent*,

after feminine nouns; and 𓂏 or 𓂏 , *na* or *nu*, after plural

ones. *Am*, “in,” “into,” has the plural form $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$,

amu; *er* or *ari*, “to,” “on,” has a plural *aru* ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$); and so

on. Egyptian prepositions are very numerous; but their sense is somewhat indeterminate: *her* (𓂏), for example, has the nine meanings of “above,” “up,” “upon,” “for,” “by,” “from,” “out of,” “in,” and “about” or “in the act of.” *Er* commonly means “to,” or “for;” but it is found also in the senses “with,” “by,” “than,” “as,” “as far as,” “in,” and “at.” *Em* also is said³⁸ to have the senses of “as,” “in,” “for,” “throughout,” “towards,” “by means of,” “to,” “from,” and “with.”

The rarity of conjunctions in Egyptian has been already mentioned.³⁹ The original language possessed no word corresponding to the ordinary copulative “and;” nor was it until the Ptolemaic age that a real “and” (𓂏 , *ha*) was invented.⁴⁰

Previously the usual practice was to let the connective be supplied by inference, as—

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$	𓂏	$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$	$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$	$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$	$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$
<i>Amen</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>pct</i> ,	<i>ta</i> ,	<i>mau</i> ,	<i>tuu</i> .

“Ammon has made heaven, earth, waters, (and) hills.”

But sometimes the preposition *h'na* ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$), “with,” was employed as a conjunction. Thus we find *Har h'na Set* =

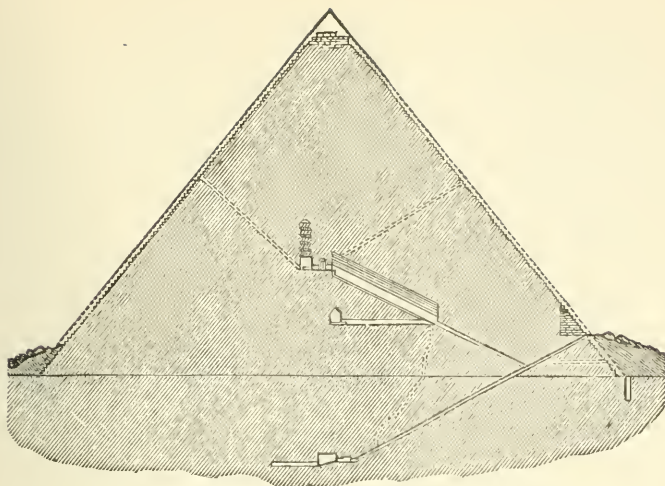


Fig. 47.—SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.—See Page 97.

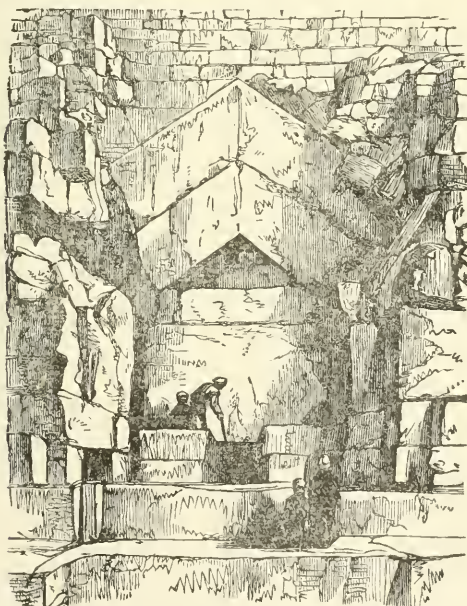


Fig. 48.—RELIEVING STONES AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT PYRAMID.—See Page 93,

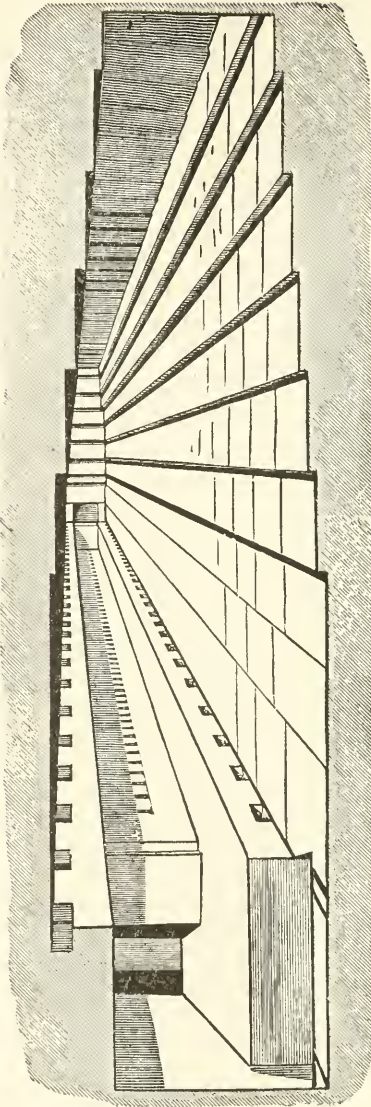


Fig. 49.—SECTION OF GALLERY IN GREAT PYRAMID.—See Page 98.

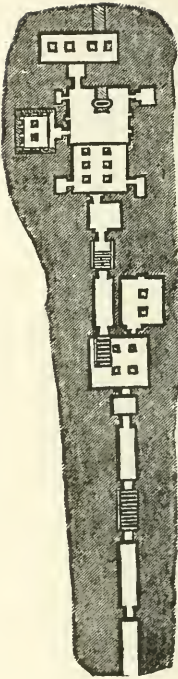













Fig. 50.—ROCK TOMB NEAR THEBES.—See Page 102

“Horus with Set” for “Horus and Set;” *pet h'na amus*, “heaven with its inhabitants,” for “heaven and its inhabitants.” There were conjunctions, however, expressive of “or,” “nor,” “for” or “because,” “when,” “after” or “while,” “how,” and a few others.⁴¹ The place of conjunctions in the construction of sentences was taken generally by prepositions, which were used, though not very freely, to bind the different clauses of a sentence together.

The only interjections which have been recognized in the inscriptions are: *A!* () equivalent to our “Ah!” or

“Oh!” *hai!*)    ) a stronger form of the same, and

ask! or *ast!* (  or  ), which has the force of “Lo!” or “Behold!”

The following are the chief points remarkable in Egyptian syntax or construction:—1. The sentences are short, rarely exceeding in length ten words. The construction is simple, and the order uniform.⁴² 2. The adjective always follows the noun, and the nominative case almost always follows the verb. 3. The adverb generally follows the adjective or verb which it qualifies. 4. Neither nouns nor adjectives, nor even pronouns, have cases. The want is supplied by a free use of prepositions. 5. Prepositions are always prefixed to the words which they govern. 6. A conjunction used to join two words together is sometimes placed after the second word.⁴³ 7. When two nouns come together, and are not in apposition, the latter is in regimen, as *neb ta*, “lord of earth;” *sa Ra*, “son of Ra;” and the like. 8. There are several forms of the substantive verb, two of which (*au*, ) and *an*, ) are used as auxiliaries. 9. The negative is commonly placed at the beginning of a sentence.

CHAPTER V.

LITERATURE.

General Character of the Egyptian Literature, mediocre—perhaps at present not fairly appreciated. Variety and Extent of the Literature. Works on Religious Subjects—"Ritual of the Dead." Shorter Works on Religion—Specimen. Historical Poems—Specimens. Lyrical Poems—Specimen from the "Song of the Harper." Travels. Romances. Autobiographies—Sketch of the "Story of Sancha"—Specimen. Correspondence. Scientific Treatises. Works on Magic.

[*"La littérature égyptienne était nombreuse et célèbre."*—LENORMANT, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," vol. i, p. 306.

THE literature of the Egyptians, although it is remarkable for the extent and variety of the subjects comprised within its range, is, beyond a doubt, far inferior to the literatures of Greece, of Rome, and of the more eminent among modern countries. Its general character must be pronounced mediocre. History, whether as recorded on monuments, or as enshrined in books, was either written in a forced and stilted, or in a dry and wholly uninteresting style.¹ Poetry was in a more advanced condition. Like the Hebrew poetry, it delighted in parallelisms and antitheses; while it transcended Hebrew poetry in its rhythmic arrangement, in the balance of the lines, the close correspondence of clause to clause, and the strict observance of rhythmic law in most cases.² Other branches of literature, as romance, travels, letters, are chiefly remarkable for an extreme and almost childish simplicity; while the characteristic of some classes of composition is obscurity and confusion.³ A general feature of Egyptian writing, in its more ambitious flights, is, a frequent and abrupt change from the first or second to the third person, with as sudden a return from the third to the first or second, and an equally abrupt change of tense.⁴ It is supposed that these startling transitions, for which there is no discernible reason and no discoverable, or at any rate no discovered, law, were viewed as elegances of style, under the Egyptian standard of taste, and were thus especially affected by those who aspired to be considered "fine writers."⁵ No doubt it may be urged, with a good deal of reason, that different ages and different nations have each their own peculiar styles, and that we modern Europeans are scarcely fair critics of a literature so remote in

date as the Egyptian, and one so different in character from our own; but as, on the other hand, their remoteness and peculiarity do not prevent us from appreciating the masterpieces of Greece and Rome, the Vedic hymns, the Norse sagas, or even the Davidical psalms, so it is probable that whenever there is real merit in a literature, however peculiar it may be, the merit will reveal itself to the candid critic, and will extort his admiration. A better argument for our, at present, suspending our judgment, and passing no sentence of unqualified condemnation on any branch of Egyptian writing, is furnished by the consideration that the Egyptian language is still imperfectly understood, and that the true force of numerous expressions, which it is easy enough to translate literally, is probably missed even by the advanced scholar. Much patient study, not only of linguistic forms, but of Egyptian ideas and modes of thought, is still requisite before a final judgment can be confidently given as to the position which Egyptian literature is entitled to hold in the literature of the world.

Whatever the opinion entertained of its degree of excellence, concerning the extent and variety of Egyptian literature there can be no dispute. A recent writer, of great authority in his day, did indeed venture to lay it down in so many words, that "the Egyptians had no literature or history;"⁵ but he would be a bold man who at the present date should venture to maintain this paradox. Besides the testimony of the classical writers,⁶ which, even if it stood alone, legitimate criticism could not safely set aside,⁷ we have now, in the discovered and deciphered inscriptions and papyri, a mass of literary matter, which those best entitled to pronounce an opinion declare to rival in extent the existing remains of any other known ancient literature.⁸ Four volumes of Egyptian texts have been already published in English;⁹ while in France and Germany the number of the translations made is far greater.¹⁰ All that has hitherto been done is, we are told, but as a drop in the bucket, compared with that which remains to be done. We are promised a long succession of volumes similar to those that have already appeared in English; and even this extensive series will only contain "the most important portions of this ancient literature."¹¹

If the extent of the literature is thus great and surprising, still more remarkable is the variety of subjects which it embraces. Besides history, which is largely represented on the monuments, and is occasionally illustrated by the papyri, Egyptologists enumerate works on religion and theology; poems, historical and lyrical; travels; epistolary correspondence; reports,

military and statistical ; romances, or rather short tales ; orations ; treatises on morals and rhetoric ; mathematical and medical works ; books on geography, astronomy, astrology, and magic ; collections of proverbs ; calendars ; books of receipts ; accounts ; catalogues of libraries, and various others.¹² The first place in the literature is occupied undoubtedly by the religious books,¹³ which are longer, more elaborate, and more carefully composed than the rest, and which held a position in the thoughts of the people analogous to that of the Vedas in India, and of the Bible and ecclesiastical literature in Europe during the middle ages.

Of all the religious works the most important was the one which is commonly called "The Funereal Ritual,"¹⁴ or "The Ritual of the Dead,"¹⁵ but of which the Egyptian title was "The Manifestation to Light," or, in other words, the Book revealing light to the soul. This book claimed to be a revelation from Thoth, or Hermes, who through it declared the will of the gods, and the mysterious nature of divine things, to man.¹⁶ Portions of it are expressly stated to have been written by the very finger of Thoth himself, and others to have been the composition of a "great god."¹⁷ It was in such high esteem, that from the time of the eleventh dynasty some extracts from it were regularly placed in the coffins of the dead, either on the inner sides of the rectangular chests which held the mummies, or on the linen bandages in which the corpse was wrapped, or on the inner walls of the tomb, or sometimes on all three. Besides this, copies on papyrus, more or less complete, were frequently buried with the deceased,¹⁸ more especially in the later Pharaonic times, when the book had taken its definitive form through an authoritative revision made under the twenty-sixth dynasty.

The "Ritual" has been divided into three,¹⁹ and again into twenty-three²⁰ portions. According to the former division, the first part consists of the first sixteen chapters, and contains forms of invocation and of prayer to be used over the dead from the moment of his decease to the commencement of the process of embalming.²¹ The second part opens with a long chapter which has been considered to contain "the Egyptian faith."²² It is mystical in the highest degree, and quite unintelligible to a modern, after all the explanations which it has received.²³ This creed is followed by a series of prayers, contained in three chapters, which refer to the justification of the deceased, and seem intended for use during the enrolment of the mummy in its bandages.²⁴ Then come prayers or spells in six chapters, for the reconstruction of the deceased in Hades ;

others, in thirty-seven chapters, for his preservation from all the dangers of Hades, from Typhonian animals, from the Eater of the Ass, and from the awful block of the executioner ; finally, others, in sixty chapters, which are best described as "forms for various occasions." ²⁵

The third part of the "Ritual" opens with the famous chapter (ch. cxxv.) known as the "Hall of the Two Truths." ²⁶ Here the deceased is represented as brought before the judgment seat of Osiris, in order that after a searching investigation it may be decided whether he shall be admitted into heaven or excluded from it. Osiris sits on a lofty throne surrounded by forty-two assessors. An interrogatory commences. The dead person must give proof that he is worthy of the life to come, that his spiritual knowledge is sufficient, and that his life on earth has been pure. Each of the forty-two assessors in turn questions him, bids him tell his mystic name and its meaning. In reply, he addresses each in turn by name, and to each declares his innocence of some class of sin or other. "I have not blasphemed," he says ; "I have not deceived ; I have not stolen ; I have not slain any one treacherously ; I have not been cruel to any one ; I have not caused disturbance ; I have not been idle ; I have not been drunken ; I have not issued unjust orders ; I have not been indiscreetly curious ; I have not multiplied words in speaking ; I have struck no one ; I have caused fear to no one ; I have slandered no one ; I have not eaten my heart through envy ; I have not reviled the face of the king, nor the face of my father ; I have not made false accusations ; I have not kept milk from the mouth of sucklings ; I have not caused abortion ; I have not ill-used my slaves ; I have not killed sacred beasts ; I have not defiled the river ; I have not polluted myself ; I have not taken the clothes of the dead." Nor is he content with this negative vindication ; he goes on, and, addressing the great conclave of the gods, exclaims : "Let me go ; ye know that I am without fault, without evil, without sin, without crime. Do not torture me ; do not aught against me. I have lived on truth ; I have been fed on truth ; I have made it my delight to do what men command and the gods approve. I have offered to the deities all the sacrifices that were their due ; I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst ; I have clothed the naked with garments . . . My mouth and my hands are pure." ²⁸ The justification of the deceased is allowed, and he passes from the Hall of Truth into Elysium. The remainder of the "Ritual" consists of about forty chapters, ²⁹ and is still more mystical and obscure than

the earlier portions. The deceased appears to be identified with the sun, and to go forth with the sun through the various regions of the heavens, seated in the solar boat. Finally he rises to such a pitch of perfection as to become identical with the utmost that the Egyptians could imagine of divine, and to be represented by a symbolical figure which unites the attributes of all the divinities contained within the Egyptian Pantheon.³⁰

Among other religious books are "The 'Tears of Isis,'" of which a translation will be found in the "Records of the Past;"³¹ the "Book of the Respirations" (*Sai-an-Sinsin*) or "of the Breaths of Life," which appears in an English dress in the same work;³² the legend of the "Destruction of Mankind by Ra;"³³ numerous Solar Litanies, collections of hymns, and the like. A general harmony pervades the various treatises upon religion; and if differences are to be traced, they will be found chiefly within the "Ritual" itself, which contains signs of having been composed at several distinct epochs. The compositions are always rhythmical, though not (so far as appears) tied down by very strict laws. We subjoin an extract from the "Book of the Respirations," which will show the general character of the shorter religious works.³⁴

Hail to the Osiris, . . . !³⁵
 AMMON is with thee each day,
 To render thee life:
 APHERU openeth to thee the right way.
 Thou seest with thine eyes;
 Thou hearest with thine ears;
 Thou speakest with thy mouth;
 Thou walkest with thy legs;
 Thy soul is made divine in heaven,
 And can effect the transformations it desireth.
 Thou formest the joy of the sacred persea-tree³⁶ in On.³⁷
 Thou awakest each day;
 Thou seest the rays of the sun;
 AMMON cometh to thee with the breath of life;
 He granteth thee to breathe in thy coffin.
 Thou comest on earth each day;
 Thine eyes behold the rays of the disk;
 Truth is spoken to thee before OSIRIS;
 The formulæ of justification are on thy body.
 HORUS, the defender of his father, protecteth thee;
 He maketh thy soul like the souls of the gods.
 The soul of RA giveth life to thy soul;
 The soul of SHU filleth thy lungs with soft breath.

The Egyptian poems hitherto discovered are of no great length. The historical pieces, which have been dignified with the name of "Epic Poems"³⁸ do not fill, at the utmost, more than ten or a dozen pages, or extend to much above a hundred

and twenty lines. Their style will be sufficiently indicated by a couple of extracts. The first shall be from the composition of Penta-our on an exploit of Rameses II. in one of his campaigns against the Hittites.³⁹

“Glorious is thy deed of valor! Firm in heart, thou hast saved thine
 army;
 Saved thy bowmen and thy horsemen; son of Tum, sure none is like
 thee,
 Spoiler of the land of Khita, with thy [keen] victorious falchion.
 King that fightest for thy soldiers [stoutly] in the day of battle,
 Great of heart, in fray the foremost, all the world cannot resist thee,
 Mighty conqueror, victorious in the sight of all thy soldiers.
 No gainsayer [doubts thy glories]. Thou art Egypt's [strength and]
 guardian;
 All thy foes thou crushest, bowest down the Hittites' backs for ever.”
 Then the King addressed his footmen, and his horsemen, and his chief-
 tains—
 All who in the fight were backward—“Well it was not done of any,
 That ye left me [unsupported] singly with the foe to combat.
 Not a chieftain, not a captain, not a sergeant came to aid me—
 All alone I had to battle with a host that none could number.
 Nechtu-em-djom, Nehr-abruta, they, my horses. [and they only]
 Gave me succor in my danger, when I singly fought the foemen.
 Therefore do I grant them henceforth, when I rest within my palace,
 Peacefully to champ their barley in the sight of Ra for ever.
 As for Menna, who was with me, [doughty] squire and armor-bearer,
 Him I give the suit of armor clad in which I fought and conquered,
 When with sword of might I battled, and ten thousand fell before me.”

Our remaining example is from a tablet of Thothmes II., one of the greatest monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty. It has been described as a “kind of hymn or song, recounting the victories of Thothmes,” with allusions to his principal conquests and exploits in an antithetical strain.⁴⁰ In length it only extends to twenty-five hieroglyphical lines; but each line forms a sort of stanza, and the whole could scarcely be expressed in less than a hundred lines of our heroic measure. The entire poem is put into the mouth of Ammon-Ra,⁴¹ the special God of Thebes, where the inscription was found, and whom Thothmes regarded as his father.

Come, Ra-men-Kheper, come to me, my son,
 My best supporter, come and glad thyself
 In my perfections. Everlastingly
 I shine but as thou wishest. My full heart
 Dilates whene'er thou comest to my temple.
 Thy limbs I fondle and inspire with life
 Delicious, till thou hast more power than I.
 Set up in my great hall I give thee wealth,
 I give thee strength and victory o'er all lands.
 The terror and the dread of thee I have spread
 Through every country to the furthest poles
 Of heaven—I make all hearts to quake at thee—

Yea, e'en the mighty nation of Nine Bows
 I have made to fear the echoes of thy voice,
 The chiefs of lands are clutched within thy fist,
 Extending mine own hands, I tie for thee
 In bundles the fierce Amu—thousands, ay,
 And tens of thousands—with the Northern hordes,
 In myriads upon myriads—that they yield
 To be thy captives; underneath thy shoes
 I have thrown down thy foemen; prostrate crowds
 Of the perverse lie in the dust before thee.
 For thee the Earth, throughout its length and breadth,
 I have ordered; for thy seat, both East and West;
 There is no land whereto thou hast not reached;
 There is no nation that resists thy will.

The poems called "lyrical" are such as the "Song of the Harper," a composition of the period of the eighteenth dynasty, which has been translated by M. Dümichen and others.⁴³ This song belongs to the class of poems which "delight in parallelisms and antitheses, and in the ornament of a burden."⁴³ It is divided into short verses of about equal length, and may be sufficiently represented by the following version of its opening :—

The Great One has gone to his rest,
 Ended his task and his race :
 Thus men are aye passing away,
 And youths are aye taking their place.
 As Ra rises up every morn,
 And Tum⁴⁴ every evening doth set,
 So women conceive and bring forth,
 And men without ceasing beget.
 Each soul in its turn draweth breath—
 Each man born of woman sees Death.

Take thy pleasure to-day,
 Father! Holy One! See,
 Spices and fragrant oils,
 Father, we bring to thee.
 On thy sister's bosom and arms
 Wreaths of lotus we place ;
 On thy sister, dear to thy heart,
 Aye sitting before thy face,
 Sound the song ; let music be played ;
 And let cares behind thee be laid.

Take thy pleasure to-day :
 Mind thee of joy and delight !
 Soon life's pilgrimage ends,
 And we pass to Silence and Night.
 Patriarch, perfect and pure,
 Neferhotep, blessed one ! Thou
 Didst finish thy course upon earth,
 And art with the blessed ones now.
 Men pass to the silent shore,
 And their place doth know them no more.

They are as they never had been,
 Since the Sun went forth upon high ;
 They sit on the banks of the stream
 That floweth in stillness by.
 Thy soul is among them ; thou
 Dost drink of the sacred tide,
 Having the wish of thy heart—
 At peace ever since thou hast died.
 Give bread to the man who is poor,
 And thy name shall be blest evermore.

One work only has been discovered, which can be regarded as a book of "Travels." It seems intended to give an account of a "Tour in Palestine," accomplished by a Mohar, or engineer officer,⁴⁵ in about the fourteenth century B.C.; but its exact purpose is somewhat uncertain, from the rhetorical style in which it is written. The subjoined extract will give a sufficient idea of it :—

"Thou yokest thy horses, swift as jackals, to the chariot ; their eyes flash ; they are like a gust of wind, when it bursts forth. Thou takest the reins ; thou seizest thy bow ; we behold the deeds of thy hand. (Here I send thee back the Mohar's portrait, and make thee to know his actions.) Didst thou not go then to the land of the Khita (Hittites)? Didst thou not behold the land of Aup? Khatuma,⁴⁶ dost thou not know it? Ikatai, likewise, how great it is? The Tsor⁴⁷ of Rameses, the city of Khaleb (Aleppo) in its neighborhood—how goes it with its ford? Hast thou not journeyed to Qodesh⁴⁸ and Tubakhi? Hast thou not gone with bowmen to the Shasu?⁴⁹ Hast thou not trodden the road to the Mountain of Heaven,⁵⁰ where flourish the cypresses, the oaks, and the cedars which pierce the sky? There are the numerous lions, the wolves, and the hyenas, which the Shasu track on every side. Didst thou not ascend the mountain of Shaoua? Oh! come to . . . barta. Thou hastenest to get there ; thou crossest its ford ; thou hast experience of a Mohar's trials ; thy car is a weight on thy hand ; thy strength fails. It is night when thou arrivest ; all thy limbs are wearied ; thy bones ache ; thou fall-est asleep from excess of somnolence—thou wakest up suddenly. It is the hour when sad night begins, and thou art all alone. Comes there not a thief to steal what lies about? See! he enters the stable—the horses are disquieted—he goes back in the dark, carrying off thy clothes. Thy groom wakes, and sees the thief retreating. What does he do? he carries off the rest. Joining himself to the evil-doers, he seeks refuge among the Shasu ; he transforms himself into an Asiatic."

The Egyptian novels, or romances, have attracted more attention than any other portion of their literature. The "Tale

of the "Two Brothers," the "Possessed Princess," and "The Doomed Prince" are well-known in many quarters,⁵¹ and need not be reproduced here. Their character is that of short tales, like the "Novelle" of Boccaccio, or the stories in the collection of the "Thousand and One Nights." They are full of most improbable adventure, and deal largely in the supernatural. The doctrine of metempsychosis is a common feature in them; and the death of the hero, or heroine, or both, causes no interruption of the narrative. Animals address men in speech, and are readily understood by them. Even trees have the same power. The dead constantly come to life again; and not only so, but mummies converse together in their catacombs, and occasionally leave their coffins, return to the society of the living, and then, after a brief sojourn, once more re-enter the tomb. The state of morals which the novels describe is one of great laxity—not to say, dissoluteness. The profligacy of the men is equalled or exceeded by that of the women, who not unfrequently make the advances, and wield all the arts of the seducer. The moral intention of the writers seems, however, to be in general good, since dissolute courses lead in almost every case to some misfortune or disaster.

With the romantic character of the Egyptian tales contrasts very remarkably the prosaic tone of one or two autobiographies. Saneha, an officer belonging to the court of Osirtasen I. and his co-regent, Amenemba, having fallen into disgrace with his employers, quits Egypt and takes refuge with Anmu-anshi, King of the Tenu, by whom he is kindly treated, given his daughter in marriage, and employed in the military service. The favor shown him provokes the jealousy of a native officer, formerly the chief confidant of the king; and this jealousy leads to a challenge, a duel, the defeat of the envious rival, and the establishment of Saneha in his office. After this Saneha accumulates wealth, has many children, and lives to a good old age in his adopted country. But at length, as he approaches his end, the "home-sickness" comes upon him; he is possessed with an intense desire of revisiting Egypt, and of being "buried in the land where he was born;"⁵² he therefore addresses a humble petition to Osirtasen, beseeching his permission to return.⁵³ The King of Egypt grants his request, accords him an amnesty, and promises him a restoration to favor when he reaches his court. The arrival of the good news makes Saneha, according to his own account, almost beside himself with joy;⁵⁴ but he arranges his affairs in the land of Tenu with a great deal of good sense, divides his possessions among his children, establishes his eldest son as a sort

of general supervisor, and makes provision for having from time to time a statement of accounts sent to him in Egypt. He then bids his family adieu, sets off on his journey, and, having accomplished it, is well received by the monarch, notwithstanding the opposition of the royal children. The promises made to him are performed, and he remains in favor with Osirtasen "until the day of his death."⁵⁵ Such are the meagre materials, out of which a work is composed which extends to above five hundred lines—an unusual length for an Egyptian composition. The opening of this story will show the mode in which so poor a theme was expanded and made to serve as the subject of a volume.

"When I was on the point of setting out [from Egypt],⁵⁶ my heart was troubled; my hands shook; numbness fell on all my limbs. I staggered; yea, I was greatly perplexed to find myself a place of repose. In order to account for my travels, I pretended to be a herbalist; twice I started forth on my journey, and twice I returned back. I desired to approach the palace no more. I longed to become free; I said there is no life like that. Then [at last] I quitted the House of the Sycamore; I lay down at the station of Snefru; I passed the night in a corner of the garden; I rose up when it was day and found one preparing for a journey. When he perceived me he was afraid. But when the hour of supper was come, I arrived at the town of . . . ; I embarked in a barge without a rudder; I came to Abu . . . ; I made the journey on foot, until I reached the fortress which the king [of Egypt] had made in order to keep off the Sakti.⁵⁷ An aged man, a herbalist, received me. I was in alarm when I saw the watchers upon the wall, watching day after day in rotation. But when the hours of darkness had passed, and the dawn had broken, I proceeded on from place to place, and reached the station of Kamur.⁵⁸ Thirst overtook me on my journey; my throat was parched: I said, 'This is a foretaste of death.' Then I lifted up my heart; I braced my limbs. I heard the pleasant sound of cattle—I beheld a Sakti. He demanded to know whither I journeyed, and addressed me thus: 'O thou art from Egypt!' Then he gave me water, he poured out milk for me; I went with him to his people, and was conducted by them from place to place. I reached . . . ; I arrived at Atima."

It is impossible within the limits of the present work, to trace in detail the Egyptian literature any further. The epistolary correspondence and despatches present much that is interesting,⁵⁹ since they have every appearance of being what

they profess to be—real letters and real despatches—though they have reached our time in “Collections,” where they were placed to serve as patterns, the collections in question corresponding to modern “Complete Letter-Writers.” Some of the letters were perhaps written with a view to publication, and are therefore to a certain extent forced and artificial; but the majority seem to be the spontaneous production of writers only intent upon amusing or instructing their correspondents. The scientific treatises, on the other hand, are disappointing. The medical works which have been examined give a poor idea of the point reached by the physicians of Pharaonic times. They imply indeed a certain knowledge of anatomy, and contain some fairly good observations upon the symptoms of different maladies; but the physiology which they embody is fantastic, and they consist in the main of a number of prescriptions for different complaints, which are commonly of the most absurd character.⁶⁰ The geometry is said to be respectable,⁶¹ but has perhaps not been as yet sufficiently studied. The astronomy is tainted by the predominance of astrological ideas. But the lowest intellectual depth seems to be reached in the “Magical Texts,” where the happiness and misery of mankind appear to be regarded as dependent upon spells and amulets, and receipts are given to protect men against all the accidents of life, against loss of fortune, against fire, against death by violence, and even (it would seem) against suffering in the world to come.⁶² It is to be feared that the belief in magic was widely spread among the ancient Egyptians, and that the elevating tendency of their religious ideas was practically neutralized by this debasing and most immoral superstition.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE.

Extraordinary Productiveness of Egypt in Ancient Times. Tenure of Land under the Pharaohs—Absence of Governmental Interference with the Cultivation. Farming Operations—Preparation of the Soil. Character of the Plough used. Mode of Ploughing. Use of the Hoe. Sowing. Kinds of Corn Grown. Cultivation of Wheat—of Barley—of the *Doora* or *Holcus Sorghum*. Great Variety of other Crops. System of Irrigation employed. Use of the *Shadoof*. Hydraulic Works of the Fayoum. Cultivation of the Olive. Cultivation of the Vine. Care of Cattle.

*Απονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς.—HEROD. ii, 14.

THE extraordinary fertility of Egypt, consequent upon the abundance of water, the good qualities of the alluvial soil, and the rich dressing of mud which it receives every year by means of the annual inundation, has been noted in a former chapter ;¹ where some notion has been also given of the great abundance and variety of its vegetable productions—natural and artificial—during the period with which we are here especially concerned²—that of the independent monarchy. Egypt was reckoned in ancient times the principal granary of the civilized world. In any famine or scarcity elsewhere it was to this quarter that the nations looked for the supplies which were necessary to enable them to tide over the existing distress, and save them from actual starvation.³ Under the Persians, the country, besides feeding itself, supplied corn regularly for its garrison of 120,000 Persian troops, and also paid to the treasury at Susa an annual tribute of money, amounting to nearly 170,000*l.* sterling.⁴ In Roman times its cereal exports were of such importance to Italy that the trade enjoyed the peculiar protection of the State,⁵ and the general imperial system of provincial government received special modifications in its adaptation to Egypt in consequence of the almost absolute dependence of the Roman people on the produce of the Egyptian cornfields.⁶ This vast superabundance of the food produced in the country beyond the needs of the inhabitants arose, no doubt, in great part from the natural advantages of the position ; but it was due also, to a considerable extent, to the industrious habits of the people and to their employment of good methods of husbandry. Their natural intelligence, which was remarkable, having been applied for many centu-

ries to making the most of the capabilities of their exceptionally favored region, led them by degrees to the general adoption of a system and of methods which were in the highest degree successful,⁷ and which are rightly regarded as among the main causes of that extraordinary wealth, prosperity, and eminence whereto Egypt attained under the Pharaohs.

It cannot be said with truth that there was anything in the tenure of land in ancient Egypt which much favored production, or which accounts for its agricultural pre-eminence. Peasant proprietors seem not to have existed. The owners of the soil were⁸ the kings, the priestly communities attached to the different temples, and the "territorial aristocracy"⁹ or wealthy upper class, which was numerous and had considerable political influence. These last cultivated their estates chiefly by means of slave-labor,¹⁰ which is naturally a wasteful and extravagant mode, though doubtless strict and severe superintendence may, where the work required is of a simple kind, obtain from those employed a large amount of toil, and so of produce. The kings and the communities of priests were in the habit of letting their lands in small allotments to *fellahin*, or peasants;¹¹ and the nobles may likewise have done this in some cases, or may have employed free instead of slave labor on the farms which they kept in their own hands.¹² It is unfortunate that we do not know what proportion the ordinary rent bore to the annual produce or profit.¹³ Diodorus seems to have thought that the rate established in his time was low; but, if it be true that price is determined by the proportion of demand to supply, and if the demand for land must always have been great in Egypt owing to the numerous population, and the supply limited owing to the small amount of cultivable territory, it is reasonable to conclude that rents were at least as high there as in other countries. The only advantage—and it was certainly no inconsiderable advantage—which the ancient Egyptian peasantry enjoyed over their modern representatives in the same country, or in the East generally, would seem to have been, that they were not vexatiously interfered with by the government, which (unless in extraordinary cases) neither required of them forced labor, nor limited their freedom of choice with respect to crops, nor in any way cramped them in any of their farming operations.¹⁴ It is governmental interference which is the curse of the laboring class in the East—the liability to be impressed for military service or for employment upon the public works—roads, canals, bridges, palaces, temples—the liability to be forbidden to grow one kind of produce and commanded to grow another—and the crowning vex-

ation¹⁵ of having to adjust one's harvest operations to the convenience or caprice of the tax-gatherer, who prevents the crops from being gathered in until he has taken his share. If the Egyptian peasant under the Pharaohs was really free from this entire class of restrictions and interferences, it must be allowed that, so far, his condition contrasted favorably with that of Oriental field-laborers generally. But this difference does not appear sufficient to account for the enormous produce which the land was made to yield. We return, therefore, to our previous statement—that the patient and untiring industry of the laborer, and the excellence of the methods which he employed, were main causes in bringing about the wonderful result.

Though there was no season of the year in which agricultural labors were suspended in Egypt, yet the special time for the activity of the husbandman, which may consequently be regarded as the commencement of the agricultural year, was upon the subsidence of the waters. As the most elevated lands, which were those nearest the river,¹⁶ began to reappear, which was generally early in October, preparations were at once made for the sowing of the grain upon the alluvium just deposited. According to Herodotus,¹⁷ there were parts of Egypt where it was unnecessary to use either plough or hoe; the seed was scattered upon the rich Nile deposit, and was trodden in by beasts—sheep, goats, or pigs,¹⁸—after which the husbandman had nothing to do but simply to await the harvest. This state of things must, however, in every age have been exceptional. For the most part, upon ordinary lands it was necessary, or at any rate desirable, to make some preparation of the ground; and the plough, or the hoe, or both, were put into active employment over the greater part of the territory.

The plough (Fig. 17) used was of a simple character. It consisted of the indispensable ploughshare, a double handle, and a pole or beam, whereto the animals that drew the implement were attached. The beam and stilt were fastened together by thongs or by a twisted rope, which kept the share and the beam at a proper distance, and helped to prevent the former from penetrating too deeply into the earth. It is uncertain whether the share was ever shod with metal.¹⁹ Apparently it was simply of wood, which may have been sufficient with a soil so light and friable as the Egyptian.²⁰ There were, of course, no wheels and no colter. In general character the implement did not much differ from that of the modern Turks and Arabs.²¹ Its chief peculiarity was the rounded sweep of the stilt and handles, which (to judge by the monuments) was nearly, though not quite, universal.²²

The plough was commonly drawn by two oxen or two cows²³ (Fig. 19), which were either yoked to it by the shoulders, or else attached by the horns. In the former case a somewhat elaborate arrangement of shoulder-pieces and pads was employed;²⁴ in the latter, the cross-bar in which the pole terminated was simply lashed with four thongs to the base of the horns. Sometimes a single ploughman guided the plough by one of the handles with his left hand, while in his right he carried a whip or a goad. More often the implement gave employment to two laborers, one of whom held the two handles in his two hands, while the other drove the animals with whip or goad, and no doubt turned them when the end of the furrow was reached.

In soils whose quality was very light and loose, the hoe (Fig. 20) took the place of the plough. Three or four peasants provided with hoes (Fig. 21) went over the ground about to be sown,²⁵ and sufficiently prepared the surface by a slight "scarification."²⁶ The hoe, like the plough, was of wood.²⁷ It consisted of three parts—a handle, a pick or blade, and a twisted thong connecting them. It was sometimes rounded, sometimes sharpened to a point, but never (so far as appears) sheathed with metal at the end. The shape was curious, and has been compared to our letter A.²⁸ It required the laborer to stoop considerably to his work, and cannot be regarded as a very convenient implement.

As soon as the ground was prepared sufficiently, the sowing took place. Drill-sowing, though practised by the Assyrians from a very early date,²⁹ seems to have been unknown in Egypt; and the sower, carrying with him the seed in a large basket, which he held in his left hand, or else suspended on his left arm (sometimes supporting it also with a strap passed round his neck), spread the seed broadcast over the furrows.³⁰ No harrow or rake was employed to cover it in. It lay as it fell, and, rapidly germinating, soon covered the bare soil with verdure.

The grain most largely cultivated by the Egyptians was probably the modern *doora*, which Herodotus called *zea* or *olyra*,³¹ and which is a kind of spelt. This grain takes from three to four months to ripen, and, if sown in October, might be reaped in February. It is now, however, not often sown till April, and we may perhaps conclude that the primary attention of the husbandman was directed, in ancient as in modern times, to the more valuable cereals, wheat and barley, which were required by the rich; and that the *doora*, which was needed only by the poor, was raised chiefly as an after-

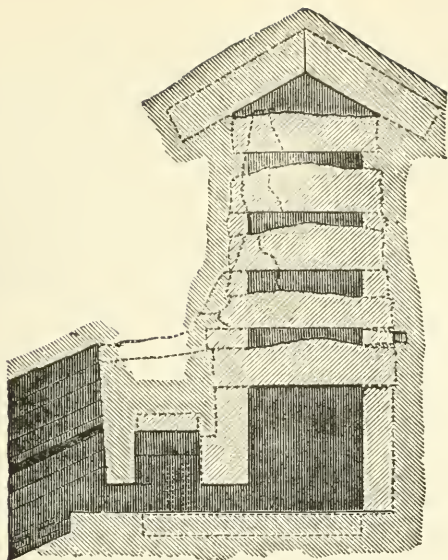


Fig. 51.—KING'S CHAMBER AND CHAMBERS OF CONSTRUCTION, GREAT PYRAMID.—Page 98.

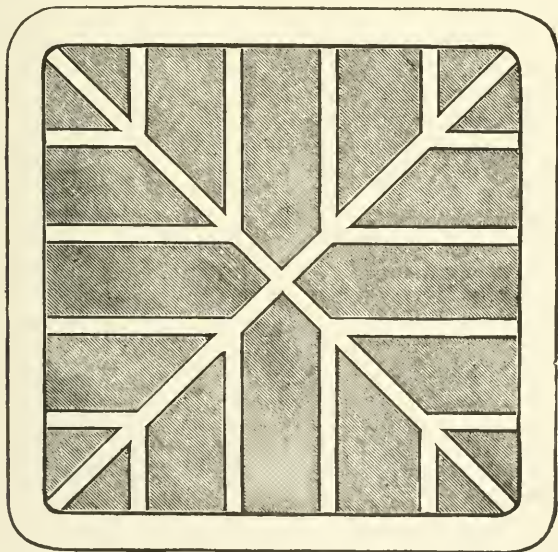


Fig. 52.—SECTION OF BRICK PYRAMID AT ILLAHOUN.—See Page 102.—Note 97.

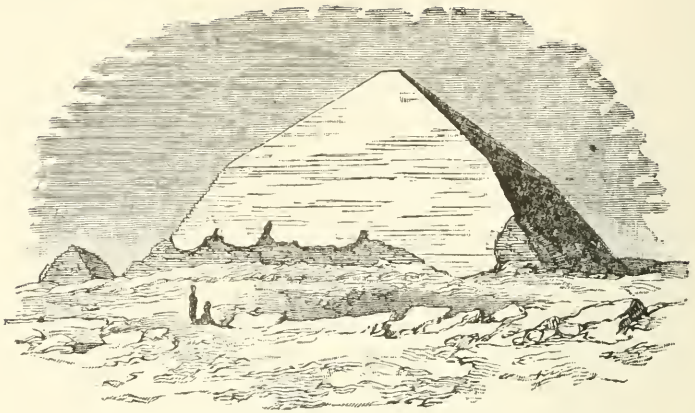


Fig. 53.—SOUTHERN STONE PYRAMID OF DASHOOR.—See Page 102.



Fig. 54.—OUTER CASING STONES OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.—See Page 101.

crop. Wheat and barley would be put into the ground in November, and would then be left to the genial influences of sun and air,³² which, under ordinary circumstances, would ripen the barley in four and the wheat in five months. No hoeing of weeds, no frightening of birds,³³ no calling upon heaven for rain,³⁴ seems to have been required. The husbandman might safely trust to nature for an ample return. Bounteous Mother Earth gave from her teeming breast "the staff of life" in prodigal abundance, and corn was gathered "as the sand of the sea—very much"—till men "left numbering."³⁵

The wheat grown was always bearded,³⁶ and comprised numerous varieties, one of which bore several ears upon a single stalk.³⁷ It was cut with a toothed sickle, a little below the ear, and was either put into baskets, like hops in England, or sometimes bound up in sheaves (Fig. 23), arranged so that the ears appeared at both ends of the sheaf. When the baskets were full they were conveyed, either by men or donkeys, to the threshing-floor, and their contents emptied into a heap. An ass carried two baskets, which were placed across his back like panniers; but a single basket was regarded as a load for two men, and was slung upon a pole which they bore upon their right shoulders. Sometimes, instead of being carried straight to the threshing-floor, the corn was borne from the harvest-field to a storehouse or granary, and retained there as much as a month.³⁸ Threshing was effected by the tread of cattle³⁹ (Fig. 24), which were driven round and round the threshing-floor, while a laborer with a pitchfork threw the unthreshed ears into their path. The threshed corn was immediately winnowed (Fig. 25) by being tossed into the air with shovels in a draughty place,⁴⁰ so that, while the corn fell, the chaff was blown off. When this operation was over, the cleansed grain was collected into sacks, and carried to the granary, where it was stored until required for use.

The cultivation of barley was similar to that of wheat, and commenced at the same time; but the harvest took place a month earlier. A large quantity must have been grown; for barley bread was in much request, and the grain was also malted, and beer brewed from it.⁴¹ Horses were no doubt fed largely on it, as they are universally throughout the East; and it may have been employed also to fatten cattle.⁴²

The *doora* harvest (Fig. 26) is represented on the monuments as taking place at the same time as the wheat harvest;⁴³ but this is perhaps not intended as the assertion of a fact. In modern Egypt the chief crop is sown in April and reaped in July;⁴⁴ and the ancient practice may have been similar. The

doora was not cut with the sickle, but pulled up by the roots, which were then freed from earth by means of the hand.⁴⁵ It was bound in sheaves and carried to a storehouse, where it probably remained till it was dry. It was then unbound, and drawn by the hand through an instrument armed at one end with a set of metal spikes, which detached the heads from the straw.⁴⁶ These were then, it is probable, threshed and winnowed in the usual way.

When the wheat and barley had been put into the ground, the laborer proceeded to make preparations for other crops. Several kinds of pulse were largely cultivated, as beans,⁴⁷ peas, and lentils of two distinct varieties.⁴⁸ Artificial grasses, as clover, lupins, and vetches, were grown to furnish provender for the cattle during the time of the inundation.⁴⁹ Flax was raised in large quantities for the linen garments which were so indispensable; cotton was cultivated to some extent, as were safflower, indigo, the castor-oil plant, sesame, and various medicinal herbs. Again, there was a most extensive cultivation of esculent vegetables, as garlic, leeks, onions, endive, radishes, melons, cucumbers, lettuces, etc., which formed a most important element in the food of the people. The raising of these various crops, of which each farmer cultivated such as took his fancy or suited his soil, gave constant employment to the agricultural class throughout the entire year, and rendered every season an almost equally busy time.

This constant cultivation resulted, in part, from the mild climate, which favored vegetation and rapid growth at all seasons, in part from the system of irrigation, which had been established at a very ancient date, and which was maintained with the greatest care by the government. The Egyptians were not content with the mere natural advantages of the Nile inundation. By an elaborate system of canals, with embankments, sluices, and flood-gates, they retained the overflow in what were in fact vast reservoirs, from which, after the Nile had retired, the greater part of the cultivable territory could obtain a sufficient supply of the life-giving fluid during the remainder of the year. By embankments they also kept out the Nile water from gardens and other lands where its admission would have been injurious, watering these in some other way, as from wells or tanks.⁵⁰ The government had a general control over the main cuttings, opening and closing them according to certain fixed rules, which had for their object the fair and equitable distribution of the water supply over the whole territory. Each farm received in turn sufficient to fill its own main reservoir, and from this by a network of water-

courses continually diminishing in size the fluid was conveyed wherever needed, and at last brought to the very roots of the plants. The removal or replacing of a little mud, with the hand or with the foot,⁵¹ turned the water hither or thither, at the pleasure of the husbandman, who distributed it as his crops required.

On the banks of the Nile, which (as already observed⁵²) were more elevated than the rest of the land, and in gardens, and other places occasionally, the *shadoof*, or hand-swipe, was used,⁵³ and water raised from the river or from wells to the height of the soil, over which it was then spread in the usual way. Ground thus cultivated was commonly portioned out into square beds, "like salt-pans,"⁵⁴ each enclosed by its own raised border of earth, so that the water could be kept in or kept out of each bed without difficulty.

In one part of Egypt a large district, naturally barren, was rendered richly productive by hydraulic works of an extraordinarily grand and elaborate character.⁵⁵ This was the tract called now the Fayoum, which is a natural depression in the Libyan desert, lying at the distance of eight or ten miles from the Nile valley, and occupied in part by the natural lake known as Birket-el-Keroun, the "Lake of the Horn." A canal derived from the Nile, 30 feet deep and 160 feet wide, was carried westward through a gorge in the Libyan hills a distance of at least eight miles to the entrance of this basin, the southeastern portion of which was separated from the rest by a vast dam or dyke,⁵⁶ within which the water introduced by the canal accumulated, and which formed the artificial "Lake Mœris" of Herodotus.⁵⁷ From this vast reservoir canals were carried in all directions over the rest of the basin, which sloped gently towards the Keroun; and the Nile water, with its fertilizing deposit and prolific qualities, was thus spread over the entire region,⁵⁸ which was as large as many an English county.

The land of this tract, which was irrigated but not overflowed by the Nile water, admitted the growth of at least one valuable product for which the rest of Egypt was unsuitable. The olive was cultivated, according to Strabo,⁵⁹ only in the Arsinoite nome (the Fayoum), and in some of the gardens of Alexandria. It produced a fruit which was remarkably fleshy,⁶⁰ but which did not yield much oil,⁶¹ nor that of a very good quality.⁶² Still the cultivation was pursued, and the oil extracted was doubtless superior to the kinds, which were more largely produced, from the sesame and from the castor-oil plant.⁶³

A more important and far more widely-spread cultivation was that of the vine.⁶⁴ The edge of the Nile valley towards the desert, the *Háger*, as it is now called, being a light soil, consisting of clay mixed with sand or gravel,⁶⁵ was suitable for the growth of the vine, which is found to have been largely cultivated along the whole tract from Thebes to Memphis, particularly in the vicinity of the great towns. It was also grown in the Fayoum,⁶⁶ and towards the western skirt of the Delta, at Anthylla,⁶⁷ in the Mareotis,⁶⁸ and at Plinthiné,⁶⁹ still further to the westward. The alluvial soil, which constituted nine-tenths of cultivable Egypt, was ill suited for it; but still there were places within the alluvium where vines were grown, as about Sebennytus, the produce of which tract is celebrated by Pliny.⁷⁰

Vines were sometimes kept low (as now in France and Germany), and grew in short bushes, which, apparently, did not need even the support of a vine-stake; ⁷¹ but more commonly they were allowed to spread themselves, and were trained either in bowers (Fig. 27) or on a framework of posts (Fig. 28) and poles—as now in Italy—which formed shady alleys raised about seven feet from the ground. Sometimes, especially where the vineyard was attached to a garden, the posts were replaced by rows of ornamental columns, painted in bright colors, and supporting rafters, and perhaps a trellis-work, from which the grapes hung down. This mode of growth shaded the roots of the plants, and facilitated the retention of moisture, which would have evaporated if the culture had been more open, owing to the intense heat of the sun. There was generally a tank of water near the vines, from which they could be supplied if needful; ⁷² but great caution was required when recourse was had to this method, since too much moisture was very hurtful to the vine.

As the fruit approached maturity, it was apt to invite the attack of birds; and boys were constantly employed in the vineyards at this period to alarm the depredators with shouts, and sometimes to thin their numbers with slings.⁷³ Finally, the bunches were carefully gathered by the hand, and, if intended to be eaten, were arranged in flat open baskets, or, if destined for the winepress, were closely packed in deep baskets or hampers, which men carried on their heads, or by means of a yoke upon their shoulders, to the storehouse or shed, where the pressing was accomplished either by treading or by squeezing in a bag. The juice seems sometimes to have been drunk unfermented; ⁷⁴ but more commonly fermentation was awaited, after which the wine was stored away in vases or amphoræ

(Fig. 29) of an elegant shape, which were closed with a stopper, and then hermetically sealed with moist clay, pitch, gypsum, or other suitable substance.⁷⁵ The wines in best repute were those made at Anthylla,⁷⁶ and in the Mareotis,⁷⁷ or tract about Lake Marea, now *Mariout*; the Sebennyitic wine was also highly esteemed,⁷⁸ while that made in the Thebaid, and especially about Coptos, was regarded as peculiarly light and wholesome.⁷⁹

Though Egypt was in the main an agricultural rather than a pastoral country, yet the breeding and rearing of cattle and other animals was everywhere a part of the farmer's business, and in some districts occupied him almost exclusively. Large tracts in the Delta were too wet for the growth of corn, and on these cattle were grazed in vast quantities by "the marshmen," as they were called,⁸⁰ a hardy but rude and lawless race⁸¹ who inhabited the more northern parts of Egypt, in the vicinity of the great lakes. Elsewhere, too, cattle were reared, partly for agricultural work, as ploughing, treading in, and again treading out the grain;⁸² partly for draught; and partly also for the table, beef and veal being common articles of food.⁸³ Three distinct varieties of cattle were affected, the long-horned, the short-horned, and the hornless.⁸⁴ During the greater part of the year they were pastured in open fields on the natural growth of the rich soil, or on artificial grasses, which were cultivated for the purpose; but at the time of the inundation it was necessary to bring them in from the fields to the farmyards, or the villages, where they were kept in sheds or pens on ground artificially raised, so as to be beyond the reach of the river.⁸⁵ At times, when there was a sudden rise of the water, much difficulty was experienced in the removal of the cattle from their summer to their autumn quarters; and the monuments give frequent representations of the scenes which occurred on such occasions—scenes of a most exciting character.⁸⁶ As the waters overflow the fields and pastures, the peasants appear, hurrying to the spot on foot or in boats, intent on rescuing the animals (Fig. 30). "Some, tying their clothes upon their heads, drag the sheep and goats from the water, and put them into boats; others swim the oxen to the nearest high ground;"⁸⁷ here men drive the cattle towards the vessels which have come to save them; their nooses are thrown over their horns or heads, by which they are drawn towards their rescuers. For some months from this time, the whole of the cattle in Egypt were fed in stalls,⁸⁸ partly on wheaten straw, partly upon artificial grasses, cut previously and dried for the purpose. They passed the night in sheds,

and were tethered during the day in straw-yards, where their wants were carefully attended to.⁸⁹ Sick cattle received medical treatment (Fig. 31), drugs being administered to them in balls, which were forced down their throats in the exact style of modern veterinary art.⁹⁰

In some parts of Egypt herds were fed upon common pastures, or, at any rate, were liable to become intermixed, and owners had to secure themselves against losses by putting a mark upon their beasts. This was effected by tying their legs together, throwing them down, and then branding them with a red-hot iron upon their shoulders (Fig. 32). The paintings in the tombs at Thebes exhibit to us this process in detail, showing the heating of the iron at a fire, its application to the prostrate cows, and the distress of the calves at the struggles and moans of their mothers.

Besides cattle, the Egyptian farmers bred considerable numbers of sheep (Fig. 33), goats (Fig. 35), and pigs (Fig. 34). A single individual in one instance records upon his tomb that he was the owner of 834 oxen, 220 cows, 2,234 goats, 760 donkeys, and 974 sheep.⁹¹ Mutton was not held in much esteem,⁹² and sheep were consequently but seldom killed for food. The Egyptians kept them mainly for the sake of their wool, which was required for the manufacture of the cloak or ordinary outer garment of the people,⁹³ for carpets and rugs,⁹⁴ and perhaps for the coverings of couches and chairs. Egyptian sheep are said to have yielded two fleeces each year, and also to have produced lambs twice,⁹⁵ which would cause the increase of the flock to be rapid. It is uncertain for what purpose goats were kept. They were occasionally sacrificed,⁹⁶ and therefore, no doubt, employed as food; but this practice does not seem to have been frequent, and will not account for the large numbers which were bred and reared. Possibly their milk was an article of Egyptian diet,⁹⁷ or their hair may have been used, as it was by the Israelites when they quitted Egypt,⁹⁸ in the manufacture of certain fabrics, as tent-coverings and the like. The Egyptian goats are not, however, represented as long-haired.

It is certain that swine were largely kept in Egypt, since the swineherds were sufficiently numerous to form one of the recognized classes into which the population was divided.⁹⁹ According to Herodotus,¹⁰⁰ there were occasions upon which the Egyptians were bound to sacrifice them, and once a year each Egyptian partook of the flesh; but otherwise this was regarded as utterly unclean; the swineherds were despised and disliked; and pork was a forbidden food. Still swine

“frequently formed part of the stock of the farmyard,¹⁰¹ either on account of their usefulness in treading in the grain after it was sown,¹⁰² or perhaps because they cleared land rapidly of roots and weeds, whose growth was greatly favored by the inundation.¹⁰³ Pork may also, though forbidden by the ordinances of the religion, have been eaten by many of the lower orders, who had not much to lose in social rank, were free from religious prejudice, and found the meat palatable and savory.

The pig of Egypt, if we may trust the monuments,¹⁰⁴ was a hideous-looking animal, long-legged and long-necked, covered with rough hair, and with a crest of bristles along the whole neck and back. The hog was especially ugly; in the sow the worst features were somewhat modified, while in the sucking-pig there was nothing particular or fitted to attract remark.

Egyptian cultivators, while depending for their profits mainly upon the growth of grain and vegetables and the increase of their flocks and herds, did not neglect those smaller matters of the dovecote and the poultry-yard, which often eke out a modern farmer's income and are sometimes not unimportant to him. The domestic fowl was perhaps not known under the Pharaohs;¹⁰⁵ but the absence of this main support of the poultry-yard was compensated for by the great abundance of the ducks and geese, more especially the latter, which constituted one of the main articles of food in the country,¹⁰⁶ were offered to the gods,¹⁰⁷ and were reckoned among the most valuable of farming products. The very eggs of the geese were counted in the inventories wherewith land-stewards furnished their masters.¹⁰⁸ The geese, themselves, in flocks of fifty or more, were brought under the steward's eye to be inspected and reckoned. Goslings for the service of the table were delivered to him in baskets.¹⁰⁹ Ducks, though less common than geese, were likewise among the produce of the farmyard;¹¹⁰ and pigeons, which were a favorite article of food,¹¹¹ must also have engaged the attention of the producing class.

It is among the most remarkable features of Egyptian farming, that not domestic animals only, but wild ones also, were bred and reared on the great estates. Wild goats, gazelles, and oryxes appear among the possessions of the larger landowners,¹¹² no less than oxen, sheep, and goats; and similarly, in the poultry-yard, the stork, the vulpanser, and other wild fowl share the farmer's attention with ordinary ducks and geese.¹¹³ Probably no sharp line of distinction had been as yet drawn between domestic and wild animals; it was not known

how far domestication might be successfully carried ; experiments, in fact, were in progress which ultimately proved failures, the birds and beasts either not being capable of being thoroughly tamed, or not flourishing under human control sufficiently to make it worth the breeder's while to keep on with them.

Another curious feature of Egyptian husbandry was the entire absence of wagons¹¹⁴ and the very rare use of carts.¹¹⁵ Agricultural produce was transported from the field to the barn or farm-yard mainly by human labor,¹¹⁶ the peasants carrying it in bags or baskets on their shoulders, or slung between two men on a pole, or sometimes by means of a yoke. Where this simple method was insufficient, asses were commonly employed to remove the produce, which they carried in panniers or else piled upon their backs.¹¹⁷ In conveying grain, or provender, or cattle even, to a distant market, it is probable that boats were largely used,¹¹⁸ water communication between all parts of Egypt being easy by means of the Nile and the extensive canal systems, while roads did not exist, and the country, being everywhere intersected by water channels, was ill adapted for wheeled vehicles.¹¹⁹

The beasts of burden used in Egypt were asses, cows, and oxen. Horses, which were carefully bred from the time of their introduction, probably under the eighteenth dynasty,¹²⁰ were regarded as too noble, and perhaps too valuable, for such a purpose. They were commonly either ridden¹²¹ or employed to draw curricles and chariots,¹²² chiefly by men of the upper classes. Farmers are said to have made use of them occasionally to draw the plough;¹²³ but this cannot have been a common practice. Great numbers were required for the war-chariots, which formed so important an element in the Egyptian military force ; the cavalry employed almost as many ;¹²⁴ a brisk trade in them was also carried on with Syria and Palestine, where they were in great request, and fetched high prices.¹²⁵ They seem not to have been allowed to graze in the fields, but to have been kept constantly in stables and fed on straw and barley.¹²⁶ On the whole, it is clear that their connection with agriculture was but slight ; and this brief notice of them will therefore suffice for the purposes of the present chapter.

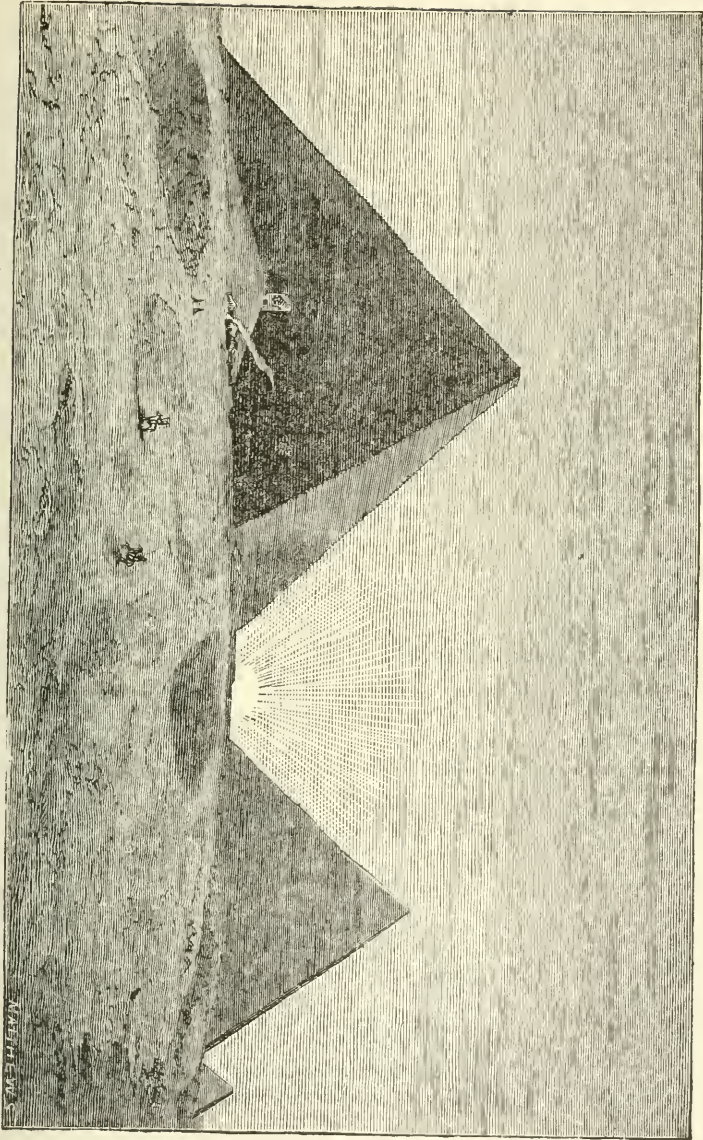


FIG. 55.—VIEW OF THE GREAT AND SECOND PYRAMIDS.—See Page 101.

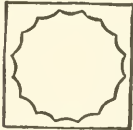
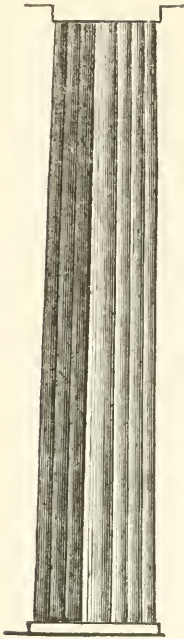


Fig. 56.—DORIC PILLAR AND SECTION OF BASE.—See Page 103.

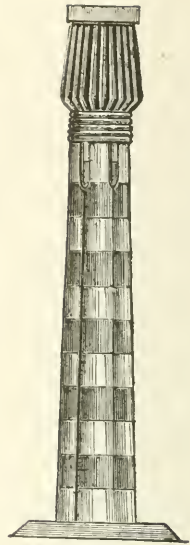


Fig. 57.—EGYPTIAN PILLAR AND SECTION OF BASE.—See Page 103.

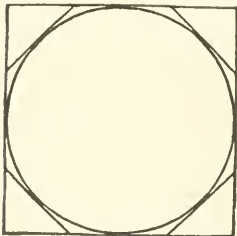


Fig. 58.—See Page 103.

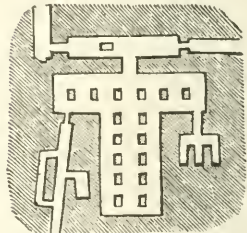


Fig. 59.—PLAN OF TEMPLE.—Page 104.

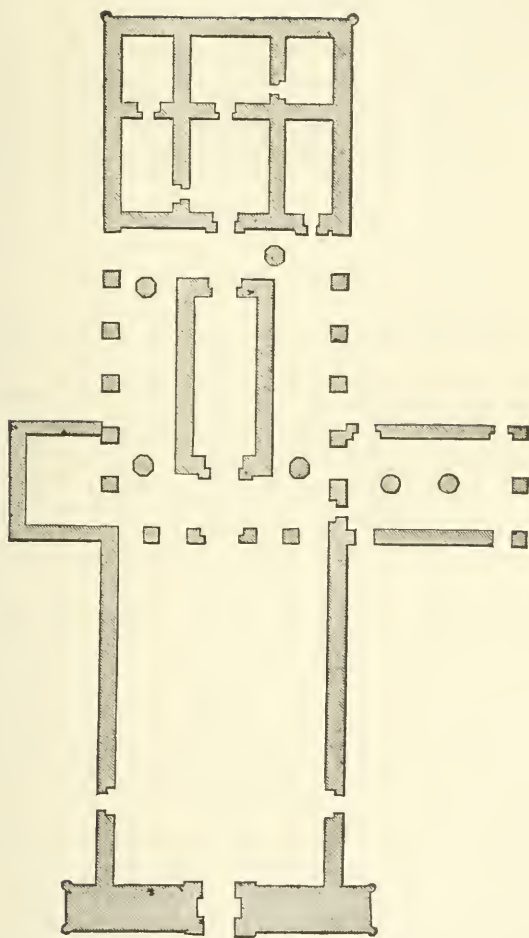


Fig. 60.—GROUND-PLAN OF TEMPLE AT MEDINET-ABOU.—See Page 106.

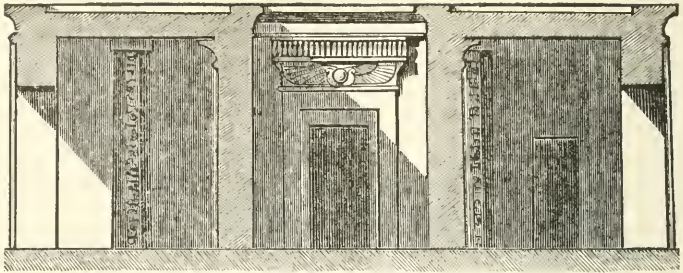


Fig. 61.—SECTION OF TEMPLE AT MEDINET-ABOU.—See Page 105.

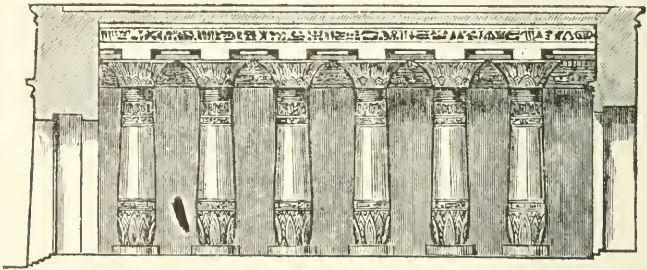


Fig. 62.—SECTION OF HALL, RAMESEUM, THEBES.—See Page 106.



Fig. 63 —STELE IN FRONT OF GRANITE CELL, GREAT TEMPLE, KARNAK.—See Page 109.

CHAPTER VII.

ARCHITECTURE.

Earliest Egyptian Architecture, sepulchral. Most ancient Tombs. Primitive stepped Pyramids—Pyramid of Meydoun—of Saccarah. Great Pyramids of Ghizeh. Intention of the Pyramids. Their technic excellence. Their æsthetic merit. Pyramids of two elevations. Rock Tombs. Primitive Temples. Later ones—Temple at Medinet Abou—Rameseum—Great Temple of Karnak. Obelisks. Southern Karnak Temple. Mammeisi. Beauties of the Architecture—Massiveness—Elegance of Columns and Capitals—Caryatide Piers—Employment of Color. Egyptian domestic Architecture. Pavilion of Rameses III. Houses of Private Persons. Chief Peculiarities of Egyptian Construction. Non-employment of the Arch—Symmetrophobia—Contrivances for increasing apparent Size of Buildings.

Φασίν [Αιγύπτιοι] δεῖν θαυμάζειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν ἐρῶν ἢ τοὺς βασιλεῖς.
—DIOD. SIC. i, 64.

THE origin of Architecture in the proper sense of the term,¹ is different in different countries. In most it springs from the need which man has of shelter, and the desire which he entertains of making his dwelling-place not merely comfortable, but handsome. In some this desire seems not to have been early developed; but in lieu of it, the religious sentiment brought architecture into life,² the desire which worked being that of giving to the buildings wherein God was worshipped a grandeur, a dignity, and a permanency worthy of Him. According to Herodotus,³ the first Egyptian edifice of any pretension was a temple; and, could we depend on this statement, it would follow that Egypt was one of the countries in which architecture sprang from religion. The investigations, however, conducted on Egyptian soil by modern inquirers, have led most of them to a different conclusion, and have seemed to them to justify Diodorus in the important place which he assigns, in speaking of Egyptian architecture, to the ΤΟΜΒ. “The inhabitants of this region,” says the learned Siceliot, “consider the term of man’s present life to be utterly insignificant, and devote by far the largest part of their attention to the life after death. They call the habitations of the living ‘places of sojourn,’ since we occupy them but for a short time; but to the sepulchres of the dead they give the name of ‘eternal abodes,’ since men will live in the other world for an infinite period. For these reasons they pay little heed to the construction of their houses, while in what concerns burial they place no limit to the extravagance of their efforts.”⁴

The early Egyptian remains are in entire harmony with this statement. They consist almost exclusively of sepulchral edifices. While scarcely a vestige is to be found of the ancient capital, Memphis, its necropolis on the adjacent range of hills contains many hundreds of remarkable tombs, and among them the "Three Pyramids" which, ever since the time of Herodotus, have attracted the attention of the traveller beyond all the other marvels of the country. The art of pyramid building, which culminated in these mighty efforts, must have been practised for a considerable period before it reached the degree of perfection which they exhibit; and it is an interesting question, whether we cannot to a certain extent trace the progress of the art in the numerous edifices which cluster around the three giants, and stretch from them in two directions, northward to Abu-Roash, and southward as far as the Fayoum.⁵ The latest historian of architecture has indeed conjectured that one, at any rate, of the most interesting of these subordinate buildings is of later date than the Three;⁶ but the best Egyptologists are of a different opinion, and regard it as among the most ancient of existing edifices.⁷ It is not improbable that some of the smaller unpretentious tombs are earlier, as they are simpler, than any of the pyramidal ones, and it is therefore with these that we shall commence the present account of Egyptian sepulchral architecture.

Around the pyramids of Ghizeh, and in other localities also, wherever pyramids exist, are found numerous comparatively insignificant tombs which have as yet been only very partially explored and still more imperfectly described. "Their general form is that of a truncated pyramid, low, and looking externally like a house with sloping walls, with only one door leading to the interior, though they may contain several apartments; and no attempt is made to conceal the entrance. The body seems to have been preserved from profanation by being hid in a well of considerable depth, the opening into which was concealed in the thickness of the walls."⁸ The ground-plan of these tombs is usually an oblong square, the walls are of great thickness, and the roofs of the chambers are in some instances supported by massive square stone piers. There is little external ornamentation;⁹ but the interior is in almost every instance elaborately decorated with colored bas-reliefs, representing either scenes of daily life or religious and mystic ceremonies.

It was no great advance on these truncated pyramids to conceive the idea of adding to their height and solidity by the superimposition of some further stories, constructed on a sim-

ilar principle, but without internal chambers. An example of this stage of construction seems to remain in the curious monument at Meydown, called by some a "pyramid," by others a "tower,"¹⁰ of which Fig. 38 is a representation.

This monument, which is emplaced upon a rocky knoll, has a square base, about 200 feet each way, and rises at an angle of $74^{\circ} 10'$, in three distinct stages, to an elevation of nearly 125 feet. The first stage is by far the loftiest of the three, being little short of seventy feet; the second somewhat exceeds thirty-two feet, while the third (which, however, may originally have been higher) is at present no more than twenty-two feet six inches.¹¹ The material is a compact limestone, and must have been brought from a considerable distance. The blocks, which vary in length, have a thickness of about two feet, and "have been worked and put together with great skill."¹² No interior passages or chambers have as yet been discovered in this edifice, which has, however, up to the present date, been examined very insufficiently.

After the idea of obtaining elevation, and so grandeur, by means of stages had been once conceived, it was easy to carry out the notion to a much greater extent than that which had approved itself to the architect of the Pyramid of Meydown (Fig. 38). Accordingly we find at Saccarah an edifice similar in general character to the Meydown pile, but built in six instead of three stages.¹³ The proportions are also enlarged considerably, the circumference measuring 1,490 feet instead of 800, and the height extending to 200 feet instead of 125. The stages still diminish in height as they rise; but the diminution is only slight, the topmost stage of all falling short of the basement one by no more than eight feet and a half.¹⁴

The sides of the several stages have a uniform slope (Fig. 40), which is nearly at the same angle with that of the Meydown building—viz. $73^{\circ} 30'$ instead of $74^{\circ} 10'$. The core of the Saccarah pyramid (Fig. 39) is of rubble;¹⁵ but this poor nucleus is covered and protected on all sides with a thick casing of limestone, somewhat roughly hewn and apparently quarried on the spot. In the rock beneath the pyramid, and almost under its apex,¹⁶ is a sepulchral chamber paved with granite blocks, which, when discovered, contained a sarcophagus,¹⁷ and was connected with the external world by passages carefully concealed. A doorway leading into another smaller chamber, a low and narrow opening, was ornamented at the sides by green cubes of baked clay, enamelled on the surface, alternating with small limestone blocks; and the limestone

lintel, which covered in the doorway at the top, was adorned with hieroglyphics.¹⁸

Among other peculiarities of this pyramid are its departure from correct orientation, and its *oblong*-square shape. It is said to be "the only pyramid in Egypt the sides of which do not exactly face the cardinal points."¹⁹ The departure is as much as $4^{\circ} 35'$, and can therefore scarcely have been unintentional. To intention must also be ascribed the other peculiarity (which is not unexampled),²⁰ since the length by which the eastern and western sides exceeded the northern and southern was certainly as much as 43 feet. According to a conjecture of the principal explorer, the *original* difference was even greater, amounting to 63 feet, or more than one-fifth of the length of the shorter sides.²¹

When multiplication of the stages had once been conceived of as possible, it became a mere question of taste for the designer or the orderer of a monument how numerous the stages should be. It was as easy to make them sixty as six, or two hundred as two. Evidence is wanting as to intermediate experiments; but it seems soon to have suggested itself to the Egyptian builders that the natural limit was that furnished by the thickness of the stones with which they built, each layer of stones conveniently forming a distinct and separate stage (Fig. 37). Finally, when a *quasi*-pyramid was in this way produced, it would naturally occur to an artistic mind to give a perfect finish to the whole by smoothing the exterior, which could be done in two ways—either by planing down the projecting angles of the several stages to a uniform level,²² or by filling up the triangular spaces between the top of each step and the side of the succeeding one.

There are from sixty to seventy pyramids remaining in Egypt²³ which appear to have been constructed on these principles. Agreeing in form and in general method of construction, they differ greatly in size, and so in dignity and grandeur. As it would be wearisome to the reader if we were to describe more than a few of these works, and as it has been usual from the most ancient times to distinguish three above all the rest,²⁴ we shall be content to follow the example of most previous historians of Egypt, and to conclude our account of this branch of Egyptian architecture with a brief description of the Three Great Pyramids of Ghizeh.

The smallest of these constructions (Fig. 41), which is usually regarded as being the latest, was nearly of the same general dimensions as the stepped pyramid of Saccarah recently described. It a little exceeded the Saccarah building in height,

while it a little fell short of it in circumference. The base was a square, exact or nearly so, each side measuring 354 feet and a few inches.²⁵ The perpendicular height was 218 feet, and the angle of the slope fifty-one degrees. The pyramid covered an area of two acres three roods and twenty-one poles, and contained above nine millions of cubic feet of solid masonry, calculated to have weighed 702,460 tons.²⁶ Originally it was built in steps or stages,²⁷ like the Saccarah monument; the stages, however, were perpendicular, and not sloping; they seem to have been five in number, and were not intended to be seen, the angles formed by the steps being at once filled in with masonry. Externally the lower half of the pyramid was covered with several layers of a beautiful red granite,²⁸ bevelled at the joints,²⁹ while the casing of the upper half as well as the main bulk of the interior was of limestone. Nearly below the apex, sunk deep in the native rock on which the pyramid stands, is a sepulchral chamber, or rather series of chambers, in one of which was found the sarcophagus of the monarch whom tradition had long pointed out as the builder of the monument.³⁰ The chamber in question, which measures twenty-one feet eight inches in length, eight feet seven inches in breadth, and eleven feet three inches in its greatest height,³¹ runs in a direction which is exactly north and south, and is composed entirely of granite. The floor was originally formed of large masses well put together, but had been disturbed before any modern explorer entered the room; the sides and ends were lined with slabs two and a half feet thick; while the roof was composed of huge blocks set obliquely, and extending from the side walls, on which they rested, to the centre, where they met at an obtuse angle (Fig. 42). Internally these blocks had been caved out after being put in place, and the roof of the chamber was thus a pointed arch of a depressed character. The slabs covering the sides had been fastened to the rock and to each other by means of iron cramps, two of which were found *in situ*.³²

The sarcophagus (Fig. 44) which the chamber contained was extremely remarkable. Formed, with the exception of the lid, of a single mass of blue-black basalt, and exhibiting in places marks of the saw which had been used in quarrying it, it had been carved and polished with great care, and was a beautiful object.³³ The ends almost exactly reproduced those doorways of ancient tombs which have been already mentioned as imitations of woodwork,³⁴ while the sides showed a continuation of the same carving, and are thought to represent the façade of a palace.³⁵ Externally the sarcophagus was eight

feet long, three feet high, and three broad; internally the dimensions were six feet by two.³⁶ The weight was nearly three tons.³⁷

In the close neighborhood of the sepulchral chamber, and connected with it by a short passage (Fig. 43), was another larger one, which is thought to have also once held a sarcophagus;³⁸ but this cannot be regarded as certain. Two passages lead out of the larger apartment, a lower and a higher one. The lower one is 175 feet long, and conducts from the great chamber to the external air, at first along a level, but afterwards by an incline, which rises gently at an angle of $26^{\circ} 2'$. The other passage is much shorter. It leads out of the upper part of the great chamber, at first horizontally, but afterwards at a slope of $27^{\circ} 34'$, terminating where it reaches the surface of the rock and comes in contact with the masonry of the pyramid.³⁹ It is conjectured that this was the original entrance, and that the monument, as first designed, was to have had a base of only 180 feet and an elevation of 145; but that afterwards, either the original designer or a later sovereign conceived the idea of enlarging the work, and, having built over the upper passage, constructed a new one.⁴⁰

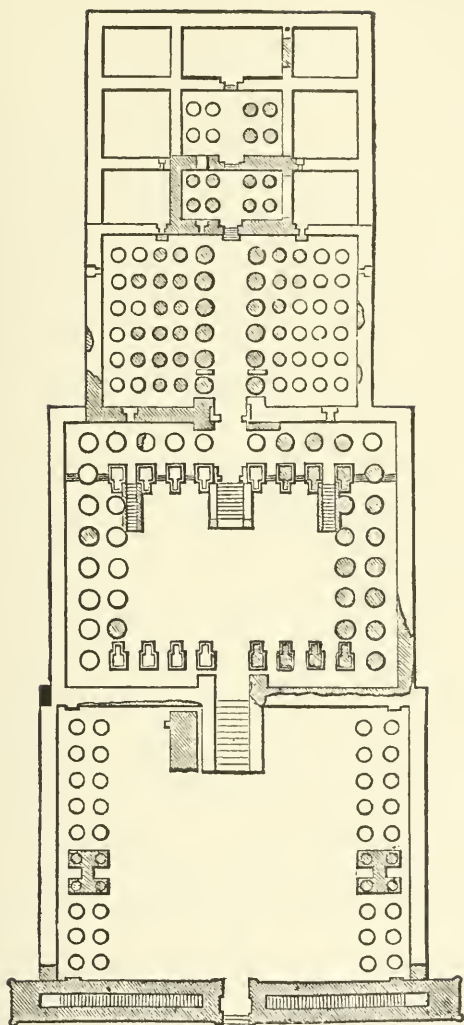
The Second Pyramid of Ghizeh (Fig. 45), situated N.N.E. of the Third, at the distance of about two hundred and seventy yards, had an area which was about four times as large, and attained an elevation exceeding that of the Third by a little more than a hundred feet. The base was a square, each side of which measured 707 feet; the sides rose at an angle of $52^{\circ} 20'$; and the perpendicular height was, consequently, 454 feet.⁴¹ The area covered amounted to almost eleven acres and a half;⁴² the cubic contents are estimated at 71,670,000 feet; and the weight of the entire mass is calculated at 5,309,000 tons.⁴³ Like most other pyramids, it contained a sepulchral chamber almost under the apex; this was carved out of the solid rock, but covered in by the basement stones of the edifice (Fig. 46), which were here sloped at an angle.⁴⁴ The length of the chamber from east to west was forty-six feet, its breadth from north to south a little more than sixteen feet, its greatest height twenty-two feet.⁴⁵ It contained a plain granite sarcophagus, without inscription of any kind, which was sunk into the floor,⁴⁶ and measured in length eight feet seven inches, in breadth three feet six inches, and in depth three feet.⁴⁷ The chamber was connected with the world without by two passages, one of which, commencing in the north side of the pyramid, at the height of fifty feet above the base, descended to the level of the base at an angle of $25^{\circ} 55'$, after which it

became horizontal; while the other, beginning outside the pyramid in the pavement at its foot, descended at an angle of $21^{\circ} 40'$ for a hundred feet, was horizontal for sixty feet, and then, ascending for ninety-six feet, joined the upper passage halfway between the outer air and the central chamber.⁴³ Connected with the horizontal part of the lower passage were two other smaller chambers, which did not appear to have been sepulchral. These measured respectively eleven feet by six and thirty-four feet by ten.⁴⁹ They were entirely hewn out of the solid rock, and had no lining of any kind. The passages were in part lined with granite;⁵⁰ and granite seems to have been used for the outer casing of the two lower tiers of the pyramid,⁵¹ thus extending to a height of between seven and eight feet; but otherwise the material employed was either the limestone of the vicinity, or the better quality of the same substance which is furnished by the Mokattam range. The construction is inferior to that of either the First or the Third Pyramid; it is loose and irregular, in places "a sort of gigantic rubble-work," composed of large blocks of stone intermixed with mortar,⁵² and seems scarcely worthy of builders who were acquainted with such far superior methods.

The First Pyramid of Ghizeh—the "Great Pyramid" (Fig. 47), as it is commonly called—the largest and loftiest building which the world contains, is situated almost due northeast of the Second Pyramid,⁵³ at the distance of about 200 yards. It was placed on a lower level than that occupied by the Second Pyramid, and did not reach to as great an elevation above the plain.⁵⁴ In height from the base, however, it exceeded that pyramid by twenty-six feet six inches, in the length of the base line by fifty-six feet, and in the extent of the area by one acre three roods and twenty-four poles. Its original perpendicular height is variously estimated, at 480, 484, and 485 feet.⁵⁵ The length of its side was 764 feet,⁵⁶ and its area thirteen acres one rood and twenty-two poles. It has been familiarly described as a building "more elevated than the Cathedral of St. Paul's, on an area about that of Lincoln's Inn Fields."⁵⁷ The solid masonry which it contained is estimated at more than 89,000,000 cubic feet, and the weight of the mass at 6,848,000 tons.⁵⁸ The basement stones are many of them thirty feet in length⁵⁹ and nearly five feet high. Altogether, the edifice is the largest and most massive building in the world,⁶⁰ and not only so, but *by far* the largest and most massive—the building which approaches it the nearest being the Second Pyramid, which contains 17,000,000 cubic feet less, and is very much inferior in the method of its construction.

The internal arrangement of chambers and passages in the Great Pyramid is peculiar and complicated. A single entrance in the middle of the northern front, opening from the thirteenth step or stage from the base, conducts by a gradual incline, at an angle of $26^{\circ} 41'$, to a subterranean chamber, deep in the rock, and nearly under the apex of the building, which measures forty-six feet by twenty-seven, and is eleven feet high.⁶¹ The passage itself is low and narrow, varying from four to three feet only in height, and in width from three feet six inches to two feet nine. It is necessary to creep along the whole of it in a stooping posture. The sides, which are perpendicular, are formed of blocks of Mokattam limestone, and the passage is roofed in by flat masses of the same. Above two such masses are seen, at the entrance (Fig. 48), two stones, and then two more placed at an angle, and meeting so that they support each other, and act as an arch, taking off the pressure of the superincumbent masonry. It is supposed that the same construction has been employed along the whole passage until it enters the rock.⁶² This it does at the distance of about forty yards from the outer air, after which it is carried through the rock in the same line for about seventy yards, nearly to the subterranean chamber, with which it is joined by a horizontal passage nine yards in length. No sarcophagus was found in this chamber, which must, however, it is thought, have originally contained one.⁶³

At the distance of twenty-one yards from the entrance to the pyramid an ascending passage goes off from the descending one, at an angle which is nearly similar,⁶⁴ and this passage is carried through the heart of the pyramid, with the same height and width as the other, for the distance of 124 feet. At this point it divides.⁶⁵ A low horizontal gallery, 110 feet long, conducts to a chamber, which has been called "the Queen's,"⁶⁶ a room about nineteen feet long by seventeen feet broad, roofed in with sloping blocks, and having a height of twenty feet in the centre.⁶⁷ Another longer and much loftier gallery or corridor continues on in the line of the ascending passage for 150 feet, and is then joined by a short passage to the central or main chamber—that in which was found the sarcophagus of Cheops, or *Khufu*.⁶⁸ The great gallery is of very curious construction (Fig. 49). It is five feet two inches wide at the base, and is formed of seven layers of stones, each layer projecting a little beyond the one below it, so that the gallery contracts as it ascends; and the ceiling, which measures only about four feet, is formed of flat stones laid across this space, and resting on the two uppermost layers or tiers. The



Pl. 61.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE RAMESEUM.—See Page 106.

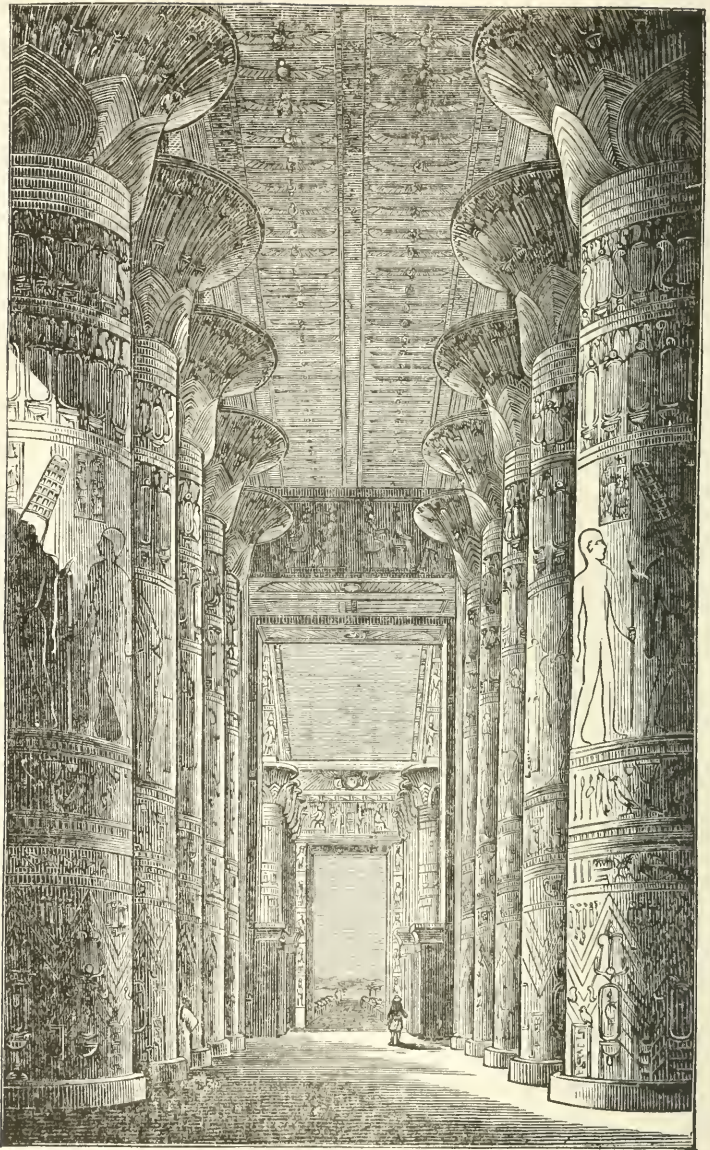


Fig. 65.—HALL OF COLUMNS IN THE GREAT TEMPLE OF KARNAK.—See Page 108.

central chamber (Fig. 51), into which this gallery leads, has a length (from east to west) of thirty-four feet, a width of seventeen feet, and a height of nineteen.⁶⁹ It is composed wholly of granite, beautifully polished,⁷⁰ and is roofed in a manner which shows great ingenuity and extreme care. In the first place, nine enormous granite blocks, each of them measuring nearly nineteen feet long,⁷¹ are laid across the room to form the ceiling; then above these there is a low chamber, roofed in similarly; this is followed by a second chamber, a third, and a fourth; finally, above the fourth, is a triangular opening, roofed in by blocks that slope at an angle and support each other, like those over the entrance. Further, from the great chamber are carried, northwards and southwards, two ventilators or air passages, which open on the outer surface of the pyramid, and are respectively 233 and 174 feet long.⁷² These passages are square, or nearly so, and have a diameter varying between six and nine inches. Finally, it must be noted that from the subterranean chamber a passage is continued towards the south, which is horizontal, and extends a distance of fifty-three feet, where it abruptly terminates without leading to anything.⁷³

Many speculations have been indulged in, and various most ingenious theories have been framed, as to the object or objects for which the pyramids were constructed, and as to their perfect adaptation to their ends. It has been supposed that the Great Pyramid embodies revelations as to the earth's diameter and circumference, the true length of an arc of the meridian, and the proper universal unit of measure.⁷⁴ It has been conjectured that it was an observatory, and that its sides and its various passages had their inclinations determined by the position of certain stars at certain seasons.⁷⁵ But the fact seems to be, as remarked by the first of living English Egyptologists,⁷⁶ that "these ideas do not appear to have entered into the minds of the constructors of the pyramids," who employed the measures known to them for their symmetrical construction,⁷⁷ but had no theories as to measure itself, and sloped their passages at such angles as were most convenient, without any thought of the part of the heavens whereto they would happen to point. The most sound and sober view seems to be, that the pyramids were intended simply to be tombs.⁷⁸ The Egyptians had a profound belief in the reality of the life beyond the grave, and a conviction that that life was, somehow or other, connected with the continuance of the body. They embalmed the bodies of the dead in a most scientific way; and having thus, so far as was possible, secured them against the results of natural

decay, they desired to secure them also against accidents and against the malice of enemies. With this view they placed them in chambers, rock-cut, or constructed of huge blocks of stone, and then piled over these chambers a mass that would, they thought, make it almost impossible that they should be violated. The leading idea which governed the forms of their constructions was that of durability;⁷⁹ and the pyramid appearing to them to be, as it is, the most durable of architectural forms, they accordingly adopted it. The passages with which the pyramids are penetrated were required by the circumstance that kings built their sepulchres for themselves, instead of trusting to the piety of a successor, and thus it was necessary to leave a way of access to the sepulchral chamber. No sooner was the body deposited than the passage or passages were blocked. Huge portcullises, great masses of granite or other hard stone, were placed across them,⁸⁰ and these so effectually obstructed the ways that moderns have in several instances had to leave them where they were put by the builders, and to quarry a path round them.⁸¹ The entrances to the passages were undoubtedly "intended to be concealed,"⁸² and were, we may be sure, concealed in every case, excepting the rare one of the accession, before the tomb was finished, of a new and hostile dynasty.⁸³ As for the angles of the passages, whereof so much has been said, they were determined by the engineering consideration, at what slope a heavy body like a sarcophagus could be lowered or raised to most advantage, resting without slipping when required to rest, and moving readily when required to move.⁸⁴ The ventilating passages of the Great Pyramid were simply intended to run in the line of shortest distance between the central chamber and the external air. This line they did not exactly attain, the northern passage reaching the surface of the pyramid about fifteen feet lower, and the southern one about the same distance higher than it ought, results arising probably from slight errors in the calculations of the builders.

In considering the architectural merit of the pyramids, two points require to be kept distinct—first their technic, and secondly their artistic or æsthetic value.

Technically speaking, a *simple* pyramid is not a work of much difficulty. To place masses of stone in layers one upon another, each layer receding from the last, and the whole rising in steps until a single stone crowns the summit; then to proceed downwards and smooth the faces, either by cutting away the projections or by filling up the angles of the steps, is a process requiring little constructive art and no very re-

markable engineering skill. If the stones are massive, then, of course, a certain amount of engineering proficiency will be implied in their quarrying, their transport, and their elevation into place; but this last will be much facilitated by the steps, since they afford a resting-place for the block which is being raised, at each interval of two or three feet.⁸⁵ Had the Egyptian pyramids been nothing more than this—had they been merely solid masses of stone—the technic art displayed in them would not have been great. We should have had to notice for approval only the proper arrangement of the steps in a gradually *diminishing* series,⁸⁶ the prudent employment of the largest blocks for the basement and of smaller and still smaller ones above, and the neat cutting and exact fitting of the stones (Fig. 54) that form the outer casing.⁸⁷ As it is, however, the pyramid-builders are deserving of very much higher praise. Their constructions were not solid, but had to contain passages and chambers—chambers which it was essential should remain intact, and passages which must not be allowed to cause any settlement or subsidence of the building. It is in the formation of these passages and chambers that the architects of the pyramids exhibited their technic powers. “No one can possibly examine the interior of the Great Pyramid” (Fig. 55), says Mr. Fergusson, “without being struck with astonishment at the wonderful mechanical skill displayed in its construction. The immense blocks of granite brought from Syêné—a distance of 500 miles—polished like glass, and so fitted that the joints can scarcely be detected. Nothing can be more wonderful than the extraordinary amount of knowledge displayed in the construction of the discharging chambers over the roof of the principal apartment, in the alignment of the sloping galleries, in the provision of ventilating shafts, and in all the wonderful contrivances of the structure. All these, too, are carried out with such precision that, notwithstanding the immense superincumbent weight, no settlement in any part can be detected to the extent of an appreciable fraction of an inch. *Nothing more perfect mechanically has ever been erected since that time.*”⁸⁸

Æsthetically, the pyramids have undoubtedly far less merit. “In itself,” as the writer above quoted well observes, “there can be nothing less artistic than a pyramid.”⁸⁹ It has no element of architectural excellence but greatness, and this it conceals as much as possible. “A pyramid never looks as large as it is; and it is not till you almost touch it that you can realize its vast dimensions. This is owing principally to all its parts sloping away from the eye instead of boldly challeng-

ing observation."⁹⁰ Still, the great pyramids of Egypt, having this disadvantage to struggle against, must be said to have overcome it. By the vastness of their mass, by the impression of solidity and durability which they produce, partly also perhaps by the symmetry and harmony of their lines and their perfect simplicity and freedom from ornament, they do convey to the beholder a sense of grandeur and majesty, they do produce within him a feeling of astonishment and awe, such as is scarcely caused by any other of the erections of man. In all ages travellers have felt and expressed the warmest and strongest admiration for them.⁹¹ They impressed Herodotus as no works that he had seen elsewhere, except perhaps the Babylonian.⁹² They astonished Germanicus, familiar as he was with the great constructions of Rome.⁹³ They stirred the spirit of Napoleon, and furnished him with one of his most telling phrases.⁹⁴ Greece and Rome reckoned them among the Seven Wonders of the world.⁹⁵ Moderns have doubted whether they could really be the work of human hands.⁹⁶ If they possess one only of the elements of architectural excellence, they possess that element to so great an extent that in respect of it they are unsurpassed, and probably unsurpassable.

Before quitting altogether the subject of the pyramids it should perhaps be noted—first, that the Egyptians not unfrequently built brick pyramids,⁹⁷ and prided themselves upon constructing durable monuments with so poor a material;⁹⁸ and secondly, that they occasionally built pyramids with two distinct inclinations. The southern stone pyramid of Dashoor (Fig. 53), which has a base of nearly 617 feet, is commenced at an angle of $54^{\circ} 15'$, and, if this slope had been continued, must have risen to an elevation of nearly 400 feet. When, however, the work had been carried up to the height of about 150 feet, the angle was suddenly changed to one of 42° only, and the monument being finished at this low slope, lost sixty feet of its proper elevation, falling short of 340 feet by a few inches.⁹⁹ The effect of a pyramid of this kind is pronounced to be unpleasant;¹⁰⁰ and there can be little doubt¹⁰¹ that the change of construction, when made, was an afterthought resulting from a desire to complete the work more rapidly than had been at first intended.

Besides the brick and stone tombs thus elaborately constructed, the Egyptians were also in the habit of forming rock-sepulchres by excavations in the mountains whereby the Nile Valley was bordered. These excavated tombs belong to a period somewhat later than that of the pyramids, and have but few architectural features, being for the most part a mere

succession of chambers and passages,¹⁰² with walls and ceilings ornamented by painting and sculpture, but devoid of any architectural decoration. Still, there are certain exceptions to the general rule. Occasionally the entrances, and again the larger chambers, are supported by columns; and these, though for the most part plain, have in some instances an ornamentation which is interesting, showing as it does the germ of features which ultimately came to be employed widely and recognized as possessing great merit. In the earliest of the rock-tombs the pillar is a mere pier,¹⁰³ at first square or, at any rate, rectangular; then the projecting angles are cut away, and the shape becomes octagonal; finally, the octagon is rounded off into a circle (Fig. 58). This form being too simple, an ornamentation of it is projected, and that sort of shallow fluting appears which characterizes the Doric order of the Greeks (Fig. 56). Several tombs at Beni Hassan, in Middle Egypt, exhibit pillars so like the Grecian that they have obtained the name of "Proto-Doric."¹⁰⁴ Sixteen shallow curved indentations, carried in straight lines from top to bottom of the columns, streak them with delicate varieties of shade and light, adding greatly to their richness and effect. The sides slope a little, so that the column tapers gently; but there is no perceptible *entasis* or hyperbolic curve of the sides. The base is large, and there is a square plinth between the column and the architrave, which latter is wholly unornamented. The entire effect is simple and pleasing.¹⁰⁵

Another still more elegant and thoroughly Egyptian column (Fig. 57), which is found occasionally in the early tombs, seems to deserve description. This appears to imitate four reeds or lotus stalks, clustered together and bound round with a ligature near the top, above which they swell out and form a capital. This pillar stands—like the other—on its own base, and is rather more tapering. It was sometimes delicately colored with streaks and bars of blue, pink, yellow, green, and white, which gave it a very agreeable appearance.¹⁰⁶

The spaces between the pillars are sometimes occupied by curvilinear roofs,¹⁰⁷ which, though not exhibiting any engineering skill, since they are merely cut in the rock, imply, at any rate, an appreciation of the beauty of coved ceilings, and suggest, if they do not prove, an acquaintance with the arch. Such a knowledge was certainly possessed by the later Egyptians, and may not improbably have been acquired even at the very remote date to which the tombs in question belong.

Although their early architecture is almost entirely of a sepulchral character, yet we have a certain amount of evidence

that, even from the first, the TEMPLE had a place in the regards of the Egyptians, though a place very much inferior to that occupied by the Tomb. Not only is the building of temples ascribed by the ancient writers to more than one of the early kings,¹⁰⁸ but remains have been actually found which the best authorities view as edifices of this class,¹⁰⁹ belonging certainly to a very ancient period. One such edifice has been discovered, and at least partially explored, in the immediate vicinity of the Second Pyramid—that of Chephren—and may be confidently regarded as of his erection. It consists mainly of a single apartment, built in the form of the letter T (Fig. 59), and measuring about 100 feet each way. The entrance was in the middle of the crossbar of the T, which was a sort of gallery 100 feet long by twenty-two wide, divided down the middle by a single range of oblong-square piers, built of the best Syenite granite. From this gallery opened out at right angles the other limb of the apartment, which had a length of nearly eighty feet with a breadth of thirty-three, and was divided by a double range of similiar piers into three portions, just as our churches commonly are into a nave and two aisles. The temple has no roof, but is believed to have been covered with granite blocks, laid across from the walls to the piers, or from one pier to another. The walls were lined with slabs of alabaster, arragonite, or other rare stones, skilfully cut and deftly fitted together; and the temple was further adorned with statues of the founder, having considerable artistic merit, and executed in green basalt,¹¹⁰ a close-grained and hard material. A certain number of narrow passages, leading to small chambers, were connected with it, but these must be regarded as mere adjuncts, not interfering with the main building.

There is no beauty of ornamentation and but little constructive skill in the temple which we have been considering. It has been described as “the simplest and least adorned in the world.”¹¹¹ Still, we are told that the effect is pleasing. “All the parts of the building are plain—straight and square, without a single moulding of any sort, but they are perfectly proportioned to the work they have to do. They are *pleasingly* and effectively arranged, and they have all that lithic grandeur which is inherent in large masses of precious materials.”¹¹²

The means do not exist for tracing with any completeness the gradual advance which the Egyptians made in their temple-building, from edifices of this extreme and archaic simplicity to the complicated and elaborate constructions in which their architecture ultimately culminated. The dates of many temples are uncertain; others, of which portions are ancient,

have been so altered and improved by later builders that their original features are overlaid, and cannot now be recovered. We can only say, that as early as the time of the twelfth dynasty the obelisk was invented and became an adjunct and ornament of the temple,¹¹³ its ordinary position being at either side of a doorway of moderate height, which it overtopped; and that soon after the accession of the eighteenth dynasty—if not even earlier—round pillars were introduced¹¹⁴ as a substitute for square piers, which they gradually superseded, retaining however to the last, in their massive form, a pier-like character. About the same time the idea arose (which afterwards prevailed universally) of forming a temple by means of a succession of courts, colonnaded or otherwise, opening one into another, and generally increasing in richness as they receded from the entrance, but terminating in a mass of small chambers, which were probably apartments for the priests.

The progress of the Egyptian builders in temples of this kind will perhaps be sufficiently shown if we take three specimens, one from Medinet-Abou, belonging to the early part of the eighteenth dynasty; another, that of the Rameseum, belonging to the very best Egyptian period—the reign of Rameses II., of the nineteenth dynasty; and the third, that magnificent temple at Karnak, the work of at least seven distinct monarchs, whose reigns cover a space of about five hundred years, which has been well compared to the greatest mediæval cathedrals,¹¹⁵ gradually built up by the piety of successive ages, each giving to God the best that its art could produce, and all uniting to create an edifice richer and more various than the work of any single age could ever be, yet still not inharmonious, but from first to last repeating with modifications the same forms and dominated by the same ideas.

The temple at Medinet-Abou (Fig. 61) faces to the south-east.¹¹⁶ It is entered by a doorway of no great height, on either side of which are towers or “pylons” of moderate elevation,¹¹⁷ built (as usual) with slightly sloping sides, and crowned by a projecting cornice. The gateway is ornamented with hieroglyphics and figures of gods;¹¹⁸ but the pylons, except on their internal faces, are plain. Having passed through this portal, the traveller finds himself in a rectangular court, rather more than sixty feet long by thirty broad, bounded on either side by a high wall, and leading to a colonnaded building. This, which is the temple proper (Fig. 60), consists of an oblong cell, intended, probably, to be lighted from the roof, and of a gallery or colonnade running entirely round the cell, and supported in front and at the sides by square

piers. The side colonnades have a length of about fifty feet, while the front colonnade or porch has a length of thirty-five or forty. The space between the cell and the piers is a distance of about nine feet, and this has been roofed in with blocks of stone extending horizontally across it; but the roof, thus formed, having, apparently, shown signs of weakness in places, and further support having been needed, four octagonal pillars have been introduced at the weak points.¹¹⁹ The position of three of these is fairly regular; but one stands quite abnormally, as will be seen by reference to the plan (Fig. 59). At either end of the front gallery or porch are apartments—one nearly square, about fifteen feet by twelve; the other oblong, about twenty-seven feet by fifteen. In this latter are two round pillars with bell or lotus capitals,¹²⁰ intended to support the roof. In the rear of the temple, and in the same line with the side piers, are a group of six apartments, opening one into another, and accessible only from the gallery immediately behind the cell. The whole interior of the temple is profusely ornamented with hieroglyphics and sculptures, chiefly of a religious character. Externally this building can have had but little grandeur or beauty; internally it can scarcely have been very satisfactory; but the sculptures, whose effect was heightened by painting, may have given it a certain character of richness and splendor.

A great advance upon this edifice had been made by the time when Rameses II. constructed the building, known formerly as the Memnonium,¹²¹ and now commonly called the Rameseum,¹²² at Thebes (Fig. 62). Still, the general plan of the two buildings is not very dissimilar (Fig. 64). The entrance-gateway stood, similarly, between two tall pylons, or "pyramidal masses of masonry, which, like the two western towers of a Gothic cathedral, are the appropriate and most imposing part of the structure externally."¹²³ It led, like the other, into a rectangular courtyard, bounded on either side by high walls, which, however, were in this instance screened by a double colonnade, supported on two rows of round pillars, ten in each row.¹²⁴ From this courtyard a short flight of steps, and then a broad passage, conducted into an inner *peristyle* court,¹²⁵ a little smaller,¹²⁶ but very much more splendid than the outer. On the side of entrance, and on that opposite, were eight square piers, with colossi in front, each thirty feet high; while on the right and left were double ranges of circular columns, eight in each range, the inner one being continued on behind the square piers which faced the spectator on his entrance. Passing on from this court in a straight

line, and mounting another short staircase, the traveller found himself in a pillared hall of great beauty, formed by forty-eight columns in eight rows of six each,¹²⁷ most of which are still standing. The pillars of the two central rows exceed the others both in height and diameter.¹²⁸ They are of a different order from the side pillars, having the bell-shaped or lotus capital which curves so gracefully at the top; while the side capitals are contracted as they ascend, and are decidedly less pleasing. The whole of the hall was roofed over with large blocks of stone, light being admitted into it mainly by means of a clerestory in the way shown by the section above. All the columns, together with the walls enclosing them, were beautifully ornamented with patterns, hieroglyphics, and bas-reliefs cut in the stone and then brilliantly colored.¹²⁹ Behind the hall were chambers, probably nine in number,¹³⁰ perhaps more, the two main ones supported by eight pillars each, and lighted, most likely, by a clerestory; the others either dark or perhaps receiving light through windows pierced in the outer walls.

A magnificent ornament of this temple, and probably its greatest glory, was a sitting colossus of enormous size, formed of a single mass of red Syenite granite, and polished with the greatest care, which now lies in fragments upon the soil of the great courtyard and provokes the astonishment of all beholders.¹³¹ Its original height is estimated at eighteen yards, and its cubic contents at nearly 12,000 feet,¹³² which would give it a weight of almost 900 tons! It was the largest of all the colossal statues of Egypt, exceeding in height the two seated colossi in its vicinity, one of which is known as "the vocal Memnon," by nearly seven feet.¹³³

The Great Temple of Karnak (Fig. 66) is termed by the latest historian of architecture "the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man."¹³⁴ It commences with a long avenue of crio-sphinxes¹³⁵ facing towards each other, and leading to a portal, placed (as usual) between two pylons, one of which is still nearly complete and rises to the height of 135 feet.¹³⁶ The portal gives access to a vast open court, with a covered corridor on either side resting upon round pillars, and a double line of columns down the centre. The court and corridors are 275 feet long, while the distance from the outer wall of the right to that of the left corridor is 329 feet.¹³⁷ The area of the court should thus be nearly 100,000 square feet. A portion of it, however, on the right is occupied by a building which seems to have been a shrine or sanctuary distinct from the main temple. This edi-

fice, placed at right angles to the walls of the court, interrupts the colonnade upon the right after it has reached about half its natural length, and, projecting in front of it, contracts the court in this quarter, while at the same time it penetrates beyond the line of the walls to a distance of about 120 feet. It is constructed in the usual manner, with two pylons in front, an entrance court colonnaded on three sides, an inner pillared chamber lighted from the roof, and some apartments behind, one of which is thought to have been the sanctuary.¹³⁸ Small in proportion to the remainder of the vast pile whereof it forms a part, this temple has yet a length of 160 feet and a breadth of nearly eighty,¹³⁹ thus covering an area of 12,500 square feet (Fig. 67). It is ornamented throughout with sculptures and inscriptions, which have been finished with great care.

On the side of the court facing the great entrance two vast pylons once more raised themselves aloft, to a greater height, probably, than the entrance ones,¹⁴⁰ though now they are mere heaps of ruins. In front of them projected two masses like the *antæ* of a portico, between which a flight of seven steps¹⁴¹ led up to a vestibule or antechamber, fifty feet by twenty, from which a broad and lofty passage conducted into the wonderful pillared hall (Fig. 65) which is the great glory of the Karnak edifice. In length nearly 330 feet,¹⁴² in width 170,¹⁴³ this magnificent apartment was supported by 164 massive stone columns, divided into three groups—twelve central ones, each sixty-six feet high and thirty-three in circumference, forming the main avenue down its midst; while on either side sixty-one, of slightly inferior dimensions,¹⁴⁴ supported the huge wings of the chamber, arranged in seven rows of seven each, and two rows of six (Fig. 68). The internal area of the chamber was above 56,000 square feet, and that of the entire building, with its walls and pylons, more than 88,000 square feet, a larger area than that covered by the Dom of Cologne, the greatest of all the cathedrals of the North.¹⁴⁵ The slight irregularity in the arrangement of the pillars above noticed was caused by the projection into the apartment at its further end of a sort of vestibule (enclosed by thick walls and flanked at the angles by square piers) which stood out from the pylons, wherewith the hall terminated towards the southeast. These seem to have been of somewhat smaller dimensions than those which gave entrance to the hall from the courtyard;¹⁴⁶ but their height can scarcely have been less than a hundred or a hundred and twenty feet.

Passing through these inner propylæa, the visitor found himself in a long corridor open to the sky, and saw before

him on either hand a tall tapering obelisk of rose-colored granite covered with hieroglyphics,¹⁴⁷ and beyond them fresh propylæa—of inferior size to any of the others, and absolutely without ornament—which guarded the entrance into a cloistered court,¹⁴⁸ 240 feet long by sixty-two broad, running at right angles to the general axis of the edifice. The roof of the cloister was supported by square piers with colossi in front, the number of such piers being thirty-six. In the open court, on either hand of the doorway which gave entrance into it, stood an obelisk of the largest dimensions known to the Egyptians,¹⁴⁹ a huge monolith, 100 feet high and above eight feet square at the base, which is calculated to have contained 138 cubic mètres of granite, and to have weighed nearly 360 tons.¹⁵⁰

Leaving these behind him, and ascending a second short flight of steps, the visitor passed through a portal opposite to that by which he had entered the cloistered court, and found himself in a small vestibule, about forty feet by twenty, pierced by a doorway in the middle of each of its four sides, and conducting to a building which seems properly regarded as the adytum or inmost sanctuary of the entire temple.¹⁵¹ This was an edifice about 120 feet square, composed of a central cell of polished granite (Fig. 63), fifty-two feet long by fourteen broad, surrounded by a covered corridor, and flanked on either side by a set of small apartments, accessible by twenty small doorways from the court in which the building stood. The style here was one of primitive simplicity. No obelisks, no colossi, no pillars even, if we except three introduced to sustain a failing roof,¹⁵² broke the flat uniformity of the straight walls. Nothing was to be seen in the way of ornament excepting the painted sculptures and hieroglyphical legends wherewith the walls were everywhere adorned, and two short stelæ or prisms of pink granite, which stood on either side of the entrance to the granite cell. This cell itself was broken into three parts. Passing between the stelæ, one entered a porch or ante-room, sixteen feet broad and about six feet deep, from which a doorway about eight feet wide led into a first chamber, or "Holy Place," twenty feet long by fourteen. Hence, another doorway, of the same width as the first, conducted into the "Holy of Holies," an oblong square, twenty-seven feet by fourteen, richly decorated both on walls and ceiling with paintings. The general resemblance in plan of this sacred cell, with its inner and outer apartments, its porch, and its two stelæ before the porch, to the Temple of the Jews—similarly divided into three parts, and with "Jachin and Boaz" in front¹⁵³—must strike every student of architecture,

The entire square building here described, whereof the granite cell was the nucleus or central part, stood at one end of a vast open court¹⁵⁴ which surrounded it on three sides. The court itself was enclosed by high walls, behind which were long corridors, thought to have been divided formerly into numerous rooms for priests or guards,¹⁵⁵ and running the whole length of the court, from the southeastern pylons of the cloister to an edifice at the further extremity of the court, which must now engage our attention. This was a pillared hall, 140 feet long by fifty-five feet wide,¹⁵⁶ containing two rows of massive square columns or piers, and two rows of round pillars with bell-shaped capitals *reversed*. The round pillars supported a lofty roof, with a clerestory admitting the light of day, while the square piers, rising to a less height, formed, comparatively speaking, low aisles on either side of the grand avenue. The axis of the hall was at right angles to the general axis of the temple. It was entered by three doors, two placed symmetrically in the centre of the northwestern and southeastern walls, the other, strangely and abnormally, at its southern corner. Around this hall were grouped a number of smaller chambers, some supported by pillars, some by square piers, while others were so narrow that they could be roofed over by blocks of stone resting only on the side walls. The number of these small apartments seems to have been not less than forty.¹⁵⁷

It is time now to turn from the details of this vast edifice, or rather mass of edifices, to its broad features and general dimensions. It is in shape a rectangular oblong, nearly four times as long as it is wide, extending from N.W. to S.E. a distance of 1,200 feet, and in the opposite direction a distance of about 340 feet.¹⁵⁸ One projection only breaks the uniformity of the oblong, that of the dependent sanctuary, which interrupts the right hand corridor of the entrance court. The entire area, including that of this dependent sanctuary, is about 396,000 square feet, or more than half as much again as that covered by St. Peter's at Rome.¹⁵⁹ The structure comprised two extensive courts—one colonnaded, the other plain; an oblong cloister, supported on piers ornamented with colossi; four splendid obelisks; two sanctuaries, one central, one subordinate; and two vast pillared halls, one of them exceeding in dimensions any other in Egypt, and covering with its walls and pylons more space than that occupied by the cathedral of Cologne. The French engineers observe that the cathedral of Notre Dame would have stood entirely within it;¹⁶⁰ and this is perfectly true so far as area is concerned, though not, of

course, in respect of elevation. The greatest height of the Karnark pylons was not more than about 140 feet, and the height from the floor to the roof of the Great Hall did not exceed seventy-six feet. Still, the dimensions of the hall, the mass of material which it contained, and the massive character of its construction, are truly wonderful and admirable; and it is well said, that "when we consider that this is only a part of a great whole, we may fairly assert that the entire structure is among the largest, as it undoubtedly is one of the most beautiful, buildings in the world."¹⁶¹ Moreover, it is to be remembered, that besides the buildings here described "there are other temples to the north, to the east, and, more especially, to the south; and pylons connecting these, and avenues of sphinxes extending for miles, and enclosing walls and tanks and embankments," so that the conclusion seems to be just, that the whole constitutes "such a group as no other city ever possessed either before or since," and that "Saint Peter's with its colonnades and the Vatican, make up a mass insignificant in extent . . . compared with this glory of Thebes with its surrounding temples."¹⁶²

With respect to the æsthetic merit of the building different estimates may be formed. There are some to whom Egyptian architecture is altogether distasteful, and it must be granted to have faults which place it considerably below the best and greatest styles; but few can visit the remains themselves and gaze upon the "long vista of courts and gateways and halls and colonnades," with "here and there an obelisk shooting up out of the ruins and interrupting the opening view of the forest of columns,"¹⁶³ without being moved to wonder and admiration at the sight. The multiplicity and variety of the parts, the grandeur of all, the beauty of some, the air of strangeness and of remote antiquity which hangs over the scene, the thousand associations—historical and other—which it calls up, evoke an interest and a delight which overpower criticism, and dispose the spectator to exclaim that never has he beheld anything so glorious. More especially is admiration excited by the ruins of the Great Hall. "No language," says a writer not given to strong displays of feeling, "no language can convey an idea of its beauty, and no artist has yet been able to reproduce its form so as to convey to those who have not seen it an idea of its grandeur. The mass of its central piers, illumined by a flood of light from the clerestory, and the smaller pillars of the wings gradually fading into obscurity, are so arranged and lighted as to convey an idea of infinite space; at the same time the beauty and massiveness of the forms, and the

brilliancy of their colored decorations, all combine to stamp this as the *greatest of man's architectural works*, but such a one as it would be impossible to reproduce, except in such a climate, and in that individual style, in which and for which it was erected."¹⁶⁴

Among the ornaments of the Great Temple of Karnak the obelisk has been mentioned. It is a creation purely Egyptian, which has scarcely ever elsewhere been even imitated with success.¹⁶⁵ Such specimens as exist—in Rome, Paris, Constantinople, London—are the spoil which Egypt has yielded to her conquerors or the tribute which she has paid to her protectors, not the production of the countries which they adorn. It is very remarkable that the Romans, fond as they were of the gigantic in architecture, and special admirers as they showed themselves to be of the obelisk, never themselves produced one. Though in possession for about six centuries of the granite quarries of Syêné, whence the Egyptians obtained the greater number of their huge monoliths, they preferred lowering and carrying off the creations of Egyptian art to exerting their own skill and genius in the production of rival monuments. Rome boasted in the time of her full splendor twelve obelisks, but every one of them had been transported from Egypt to Italy.¹⁶⁶

Architects commonly divide the obelisk into three parts,¹⁶⁷ the base, the shaft or obelisk proper, and the pyramidian which crowns the summit; but, materially, the parts are two only, since the pyramidian is ordinarily in one piece with the shaft which it terminates. The base is always separate, and may consist of a single block or of two placed stepwise, which is the arrangement in the case of the obelisk before the church of St. John Lateran at Rome. This is the grandest monument of the kind that exists anywhere, or is known to have existed. Exclusively of the base, it has a height of 105 feet,¹⁶⁸ with a width diminishing from nine feet six inches to eight feet seven inches.¹⁶⁹ It is estimated to have contained 4,945 cubic feet (French), and to have weighed above 450 tons.¹⁷⁰ An ordinary height¹⁷¹ for an obelisk was from fifty to seventy feet, and an ordinary weight from 200 to 300 tons.¹⁷²

Obelisks as erected by the Egyptians commonly stood in pairs. Their position was in front of a temple, on either side of its gateway. Some have conjectured that they represented solar rays,¹⁷³ and were specially dedicated to the sun;¹⁷⁴ but both these views have been combated, and must be regarded as uncertain. Architecturally they served the purpose of the Roman column, the Gothic spire, and the Oriental minaret;

they broke the too frequent horizontal lines with their quasi-vertical ones, and carried the eye upwards from the flat earth to the dome of heaven. They were especially valuable in Egyptian architecture from the comparative lightness and slimness of their forms, where all otherwise was over-massive and heavy.¹⁷⁵ The proportions of the obelisk differed within certain limits; but the most satisfactory had an elevation about eleven times their diameter at the base.¹⁷⁶

Before quitting the subject of temples, it seems desirable to note that the Egyptian buildings to which this term is commonly applied are of two classes. Some, and especially the more magnificent, such as that at Karnak (above described), and again that at Luxor, seem to deserve the name which has been given them,¹⁷⁷ of "Palace Temples," being places which were at once the residences of the kings and structures in which the people assembled for worship. Others are entirely free from this double character. The southern temple at Karnak is (Fig. 69) "strictly a temple, without anything about it that could justify the supposition of its being a palace."¹⁷⁸ It is a perfectly regular building, consisting of two pylons, approached through an avenue of sphinxes, of a hypæthral court, surrounded on three sides by a double colonnade, of a pillared hall lighted from the roof in the usual way, a cell surrounded by a corridor or passage, and a small hall beyond supported by four columns.¹⁷⁹ This temple is pronounced to have considerable "intrinsic beauty,"¹⁸⁰ and is interesting as having furnished a model which continued to be followed in Greek and Roman times.

Another description of Egyptian temple, intended for religious purposes only, is that which is known under the title of *mammeisi*, an edifice dedicated to the Mother of the Gods (Fig. 70). Temples of this kind are cells, containing either one or two chambers, and surrounded by a colonnade in front, flank, and rear. They are of oblong form, and are sometimes approached by a flight of steps in front, which conducts to the doorway.¹⁸¹ The size is always small; and they would be unimportant were it not for the fact that they appear to have been selected by the Greeks as the models after which they should construct their own religious edifices, which were in most instances peristylar, and which changed but little from the Egyptian type beyond rounding the square piers and surmounting the flat architrave with a pediment.

It will have been seen that Egyptian architecture depended for its effect, first, upon its size and massiveness; secondly, on the beauty of certain forms, which were constantly repeated,

as the pillar, the caryatide pier, and the obelisk; thirdly and lastly, on the richness and brilliancy of its sculptured and colored ornamentation. The massiveness appears most remarkably in the pyramids, and in the pylons or great flanking towers at the entrances of palaces and temples;¹⁸² but it is not shown only in these structures—it pervades the entire style, and meets us everywhere, in pillars, in lintels, in colossi, in monolithic chambers, in roofs, in walls, in obelisks. However great the diameter of a column, it has usually in each of its layers no more than four stones,¹⁸³ while all the layers are of enormous thickness. Lintels of doorways sometimes exceed forty feet in length;¹⁸⁴ colossi weigh above 800 tons;¹⁸⁵ monolithic chambers not much less;¹⁸⁶ roofing stones have a length of thirty feet, and a weight of above sixty tons;¹⁸⁷ obelisks, as we have seen,¹⁸⁸ range from 170 to 450 tons. In mere ordinary walls the stones are usually of vast size, and the thickness of such walls is surprising. It is not as in Assyria and Babylonia, where the material used was crude brick, and the wall which had to sustain a serious weight was necessarily of great breadth; the Egyptians used the best possible materials—sandstone, close-grained limestone, or granite—yet still made their walls almost as broad as the Mesopotamians themselves. This could only be from a pure love of massiveness.

The column is undoubtedly among the most effective of architectural forms. In Egypt its special characteristic is its solidity, or the very large proportion borne by the diameter to the height. Whereas in the perfected architecture of the Greeks, the column where it is thickest must have a height at least equalling six diameters,¹⁸⁹ in Egypt the height rarely much exceeds four diameters, and is¹⁹⁰ sometimes not above three. In many cases it about equals the extreme circumference of the pillar. This extreme circumference is not always at the base. Columns are found which swell gradually as they ascend, and do not attain their full width till they have reached a fourth or fifth of their height. They then contract gently, and are narrowest just below the capital, where they commonly present the appearance of being bound round by cords (Fig. 71). Other columns are, like the Greek, largest at the base, and taper gradually from bottom to top; but in no case have they the Greek swell or *entasis*.

The shafts of Egyptian columns are sometimes plain, but more commonly have an ornamentation. This is effected by sculpture or painting, or both. Some, as already noticed,¹⁹¹ are merely fluted like the Greek; others have a perfectly smooth surface, but are adorned with painting.¹⁹² In general,

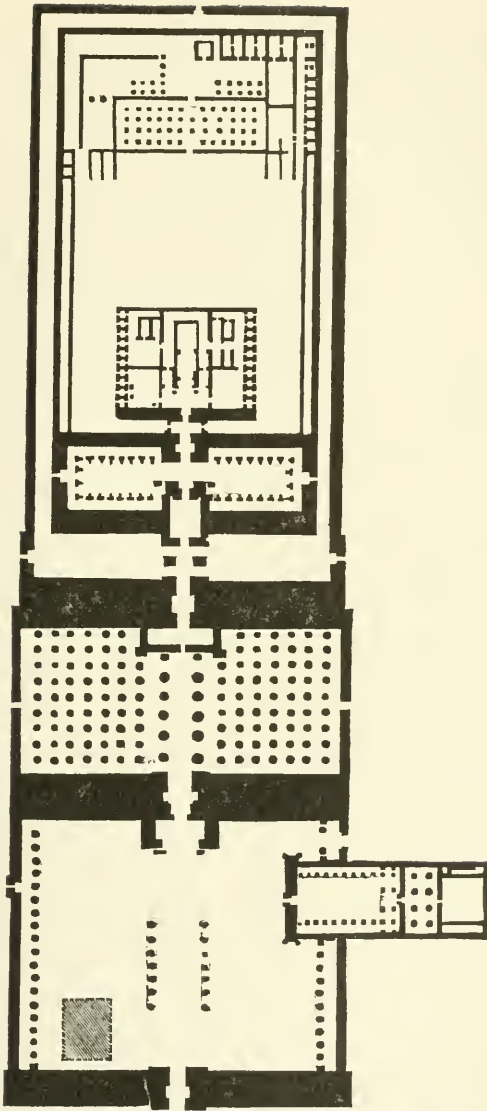


Fig. 66—GROUND PLAN OF GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK.—See Page 107.

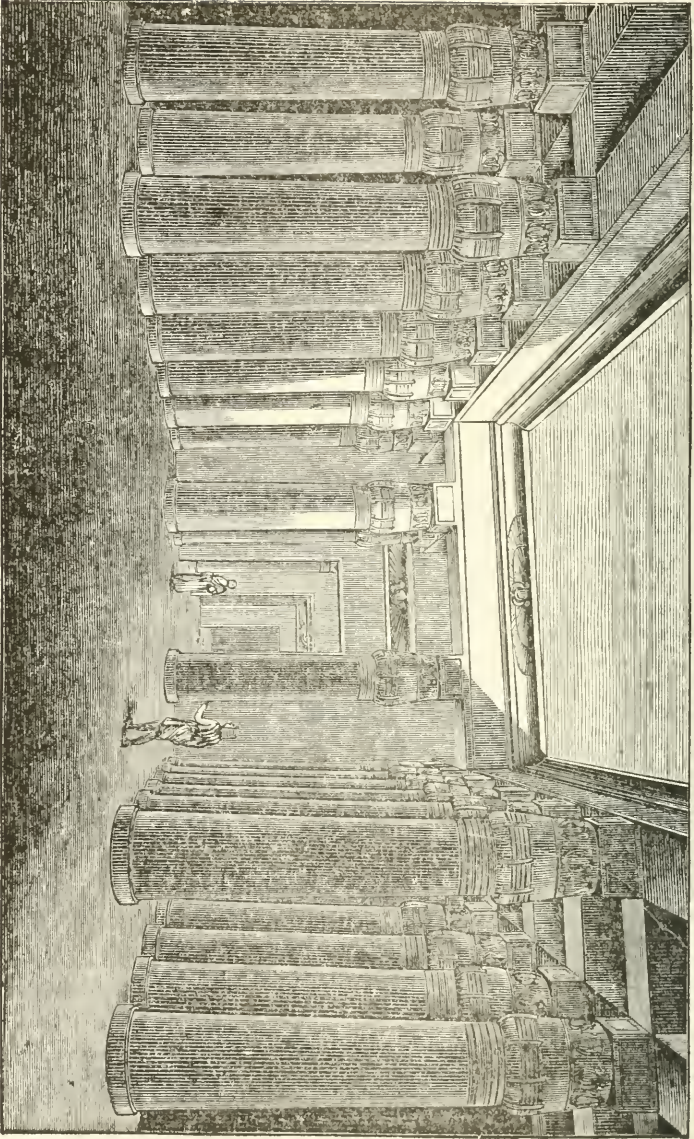


FIG. 67.—INTERNAL VIEW OF THE SMALL TEMPLE AT KARNAK.—See Page 108.

however, the surface is more or less sculptured, and at the same time is painted—often with much taste and delicacy. For the most part vegetable forms have been imitated. The column bulges out from its base like a water-plant, and is then sculptured so as to resemble a number of stalks tied together at the top or at intervals, and finally swelling above the last compression into a calix.¹⁹³ Or it has the leaves and flowers of water-plants delicately traced upon it and colored naturally.¹⁹⁴ Or, finally, it retains the mere general form derived from pillars thus moulded, and substitutes hieroglyphics and human or divine figures for the simple decoration of earlier times.¹⁹⁵ Capitals are of four principal forms. One, which has been called the “lotus blossom” or “bell” (Fig. 72) capital,¹⁹⁶ begins with a slight swell above the top of the shaft—is then nearly cylindrical for a while; after which it curves outwards very considerably, and terminates in a lip, which is rounded off into a flat surface. Water-plants of various kinds are represented on these “bell-capitals,” which are among the most beautiful of the architectural forms invented by the Egyptians. Another kind of capital is that which is thought to imitate a lotus bud, or a group of such buds, with the upper portion removed.¹⁹⁷ It swells out considerably from the top of the shaft, after which it contracts, and is terminated abruptly by a plain square stone, placed on it to receive the architrave. Capitals of this type are frequent at Thebes, but rare elsewhere.¹⁹⁸ The principal varieties are the following (Fig. 73).

A third form, which is very unusual, consists of the bell-capital *reversed*, a freak of the architect which is said not to add either to the beauty or the strength of the building.¹⁹⁹ There is also a compound capital which is decidedly unpleasing,²⁰⁰ consisting of four human heads placed at the summit of the ordinary bell-capital, between it and the architrave (Fig. 74).

The proportion of the capital to the shaft was considerably beyond that approved by the Greeks,²⁰¹ though less than the proportion which prevailed in Judæa²⁰² and in Persia.²⁰³ Instances are found in which the height of the capital is as much as one-third of the shaft,²⁰⁴ though it is more commonly one-fourth, and sometimes even as little as one-fifth.²⁰⁵ The appearance of “heaviness” produced by the thickness of the pillars is increased by the defect here noticed, which makes each column seem to be overloaded at the top and to be sinking under its own weight.

Another peculiarity in the Egyptian use of columns is the narrowness of the intercolumniation. Main avenues of pillars

are, indeed, sometimes of a fair width, extending to nearly two diameters in some cases.²⁰⁶ But the spaces left between the pillars at the sides, instead of being, as in Grecian art, the same or nearly the same, frequently do not equal a single diameter,²⁰⁷ and are scarcely ever as much as a diameter and a half. Thus the columns are unduly crowded together, and in the great pillared halls the forest of stems stands so thick that, except in front and on either flank, the view is everywhere interrupted, and the immensity of the space enclosed cannot be seen from any point. The intention, seemingly, is to make sure that the roof shall have an ample support, and to this desire is sacrificed every other consideration.

The caryatide piers (Fig. 75) of the Egyptians were even more massive than their columns. Square in plan, slightly pyramidal in outline, narrowing (that is to say) as they rose, and spaced at short distances one from another, with a heavy cornice above them, they had no ornament to take off from their solid strength beyond a few hieroglyphics and the figure from which they take their name. This was a colossus, generally from twenty-five to thirty-five feet high,²⁰⁸ which was placed directly before the pier on a pedestal of one or two steps. Solemn and stately stand the figures, clothed, apparently, in tight-fitting vests,²⁰⁹ with miters upon their heads, and arms crossed upon their breasts, each exactly like all the others, with expressionless countenances, emblems of complete repose. Unlike the similarly named statues of the Greeks, they do not afflict the beholder with the spectacle of human forms oppressed by the burden of a crushing weight whereof they can never be rid. The caryatides of Egypt bear no burden at all. They stand *in front* of the piers, entirely distinct from them, though touching them, and for the most part do not even quite reach to the architrave which the piers support.²¹⁰ They are not slaves condemned to an ignominious punishment,²¹¹ but emblems of a divine presence, impressing the spectator with a sense that the place wherein they stand is holy ground.

Obelisks, as already observed,²¹² were among the lightest of the forms used by the Egyptians. Architecturally they must have been intended to relieve the eye, wearied by the too great massiveness of pillars, piers, and pylons, with the contrast of a slim delicate spire, rising gracefully among them and cutting the horizontal lines at right angles. They were generally placed at the entrances to temples, one on either side of the main doorway; but sometimes they are found in the interior of buildings. The great Palace-Temple at Kar-

nak was adorned, as we have seen, with four; but in general a temple had no more than two, and most temples were altogether without them. The conventional necessity of setting them up in pairs²¹³ gave rise to occasional awkwardness. When obelisks of the largest size were ordered, it was difficult to find in the quarries two masses of granite ninety or a hundred feet long without break or flaw in them. Flaws might even be discovered when the work had proceeded to a certain point, and an obelisk intended to have reached a certain length might in consequence have to be shortened. The result was that in some instances the pair of obelisks supplied were not of equal height; and this want of symmetry had to be met by artifice. The shorter obelisk was given a higher pedestal than the taller one, and was sometimes even advanced a little towards the spectator that it might appear as large as the other.²¹⁴ Obelisks seem most usually to have been votive offerings set up by monarchs before temples, partly to propitiate the gods, but mainly for their own glory. The inscriptions upon them set forth in every case the greatness and the victories of their erector.

It is difficult for one who has not visited Egypt to pronounce positively on the merit or demerit of the Egyptian colored decoration. If we could feel sure that the effect produced was really such as is represented by the French artists who made the drawings for the "Description," we should have to assign it high praise, as at once tasteful, rich, and harmonious. Nothing in decorative color can well be more admirable than the representation given in that magnificent work of the interior of a temple at Philæ, restored to what is supposed to have been its ancient condition.²¹⁵ The design is excellent; the tints are pleasing; and the arrangement by which thin lines of white separate between colors that would otherwise offer too strong a contrast, leaves nothing to be desired. The pale gray of the stucco also, predominating throughout, subdues the whole, and prevents any appearance of glare or gaudiness. But it is difficult to decide how much this admirable drawing owes to the accurate observation of facts, how much it is indebted for its beauties to the imagination and the good taste of the designers. Egyptian coloring in its primitive aspect is to be seen only in the rock-tombs, where, we are told, the paintings have all the freshness of works executed but yesterday.²¹⁶ Much admiration is expressed for these paintings by many who have visited the tombs and described them; ²¹⁷ but nothing can well be more disappointing than to turn from the glowing descriptions that have been

given by these writers to the representations made by artists in the magnificently illustrated works of Rosellini and Lepsius, on which no expense has been spared. Of crude, coarse, and inharmonious coloring we behold in these works abundant specimens; of what is really harmonious and artistic in color we observe scarcely anything. A few vases and some of the patterns upon ceilings are fairly good; ²¹⁸ but these are exceptions, and in general the coloring is about as bad as coloring can be. A coarse and violent red, a dull blue, and a staring yellow predominate; white, the great chastener and subduer of color, is introduced but scantily. Strong tints prevail; half tones are scarcely to be seen. Shading is of course unknown: and the whole style cannot but be pronounced crude, harsh, and unpleasing. Still, it is to be borne in mind that these illustrated works are not the originals, and that what they present to us are fragments detached from their surroundings; and it would evidently be unsafe to conclude upon such data that the general effect actually produced upon the beholder by an Egyptian temple, seen as a whole, was not heightened and improved by the painted decoration, ²¹⁹ which was certainly rich and brilliant, though we may suspect that it wanted delicacy and would have seemed to moderns overglaring.

Before this chapter is brought to a close a few words must be said, first, with regard to the domestic architecture of the Egyptians, and, secondly, concerning some peculiarities of their construction.

The specimens which exist of the domestic architecture are few and fragmentary. Excluding the great buildings above described, which seem to have been at once temples and royal residences, there is but one example remaining of a mere dwelling-house, and that example is believed to be at the present time incomplete. ²²⁰ It stands in the near vicinity of the temple at Medinet-Abou, which has already engaged our attention, ²²¹ and is commonly called a "pavilion" ²²² (Fig. 83), having been built for himself as a sort of private residence by one of the kings. ²²³ It consists at present of a court in the form of a cross, surrounded on three sides by buildings three stories high, which attain an elevation of thirty-seven feet above the actual level of the soil, and must have had originally an elevation of about fifty feet. ²²⁴ The buildings consist of three rectangular blocks, with three rooms in each, one above the other, and two narrow erections enclosing passages that connect the three sets of rooms together. All the rooms are small, the largest not exceeding seventeen feet by thirteen,

and the smallest being about nineteen feet by nine. All were lighted by windows except the ground-floor room of the main block at the end of the court, which obtained light only from its doorways. The walls are of great strength and solidity; the roof and the ceilings of the chambers, except perhaps in one instance, were of stone. A wooden ceiling is thought to have separated the ground-floor room of the main block from the apartment above it; ²²⁵ but this has been destroyed, and the two rooms form now only one. The buildings are ornamented, both externally and internally, with hieroglyphics and sculptures of the usual type; ²²⁶ but the ornamentation is on the whole somewhat scanty. The entire edifice was of the same height, and was crowned with a sort of battlement, of which the annexed is a representation (Fig. 80). Its plan was remarkably varied in outline, and the numerous projections and recesses must have rendered the play of light and shade upon the building curious and striking.

In the pictorial representations which ornament the rock-tombs we sometimes meet with buildings which appear to be private residences. In one case ²²⁷ we have what seems to represent the exterior façade of a house, on the side on which it was ordinarily approached. The building divides itself into three portions, a centre and two wings (Fig. 77). The central part, which is higher than the rest, is crowned by a steep roof, ²²⁸ shaped like a truncated pyramid; below this is a projecting cornice, and below the cornice a plain wall, broken only by a door at the right-hand corner. Adjoining the door is the right wing, which consists of two stories—a basement one, ornamented with four pillars unequally spaced, and a first floor, likewise with four pillars, which are equally spaced, and thus not directly super-imposed over those below them. Between the pillars are represented stands with vases and eatables, from which we gather that the pillars are detached from the mansions, and form in the one case a colonnade, in the other a gallery. The character of the left wing is similar, but it does not extend so far as the other, and is ornamented with only four pillars, two to each story. The wings have an architrave above the pillars, and are then crowned with a sort of double cornice. The character of the pillars is thoroughly Egyptian.

Another tomb exhibits to us the internal courtyard (Fig. 78) of a three-storied mansion of much elegance, apparently decorated for a festival. ²²⁹ A central doorway, supported on either side by thin pillars representing a lotus plant, gives entrance to a staircase, which rises directly from it, and conducts prob-

ably to the upper apartments.²³⁰ The staircase seems to be carpeted and to have a mat at the foot of the first step. To the left we see on the ground-floor a doorway and three small windows protected by perpendicular bars. Above this rises a story, built, seemingly, of wood or crude brick, and broken by two windows with the blinds²³¹ drawn down nearly to the bottom. At the top is an open gallery, supported on four pillars, which sustain a painted cornice. On the right of the main entrance the ground-floor is perfectly plain, except that it is pierced about its centre by a low doorway.²³² Above it the first-floor presents to the eye nothing but a drapery or awning, which hangs in front of it and leaves its character a mystery. The second floor exhibits pillars at either end, and between them what is perhaps another awning, though this is not quite clear. Above this there is a long range of very short pillars, which seem to support an upper gallery, constituting on this side a sort of fourth story,²³³ though one too low to have been inhabited. Finally, the entire house is crowned by a cornice painted in stripes of red, blue, and white, and resting at either end on a lotus pillar of the same character with those at the main entrance.

A third representation of an Egyptian house is given by Rosellini in his great work,²³⁴ which has clearly four stories, but it is drawn in so conventional a manner that but little can be concluded from it as to the actual Egyptian arrangements. The doors by which the house was entered being, as it would seem, at the side, are introduced *sideways* into the front wall above and below one of the windows. The three upper stories are represented *in section* (Fig. 81), and exhibit the contents of the apartments. No staircase by which they could be reached is visible, and their inhabitants must apparently have flown up into them. The cornice of the house, which is painted in the usual way, supports three large masses of the papyrus plant.

On the whole, we may perhaps conclude, with Mr. Ferguson,²³⁵ that though the Egyptian houses "exhibited nothing of the solidity and monumental character which distinguished their temples and palaces, they seem in their own way to have been scarcely less beautiful. They were, of course, on a smaller scale, and built of more perishable materials;²³⁶ but they appear to have been as carefully finished and decorated with equal taste to that displayed in the greater works."

The peculiarities of Egyptian construction, whereto, in conclusion, it is desired to draw attention, are three in number, viz.: 1. Their non-employment of the arch as a constructive

expedient and preference of perpendicular supports and horizontal impost; 2. Their "symmetrophobia," or dislike of exactness and regularity either in the general arrangements or in the details of their buildings; and 3. Their skilful use of certain contrivances for increasing the apparent size, especially the apparent length, of their more important and more imposing edifices. This last has been entirely left out of sight by recent writers on Egyptian architecture,²³⁷ though it is a peculiarity well worthy of study and imitation.

That the Egyptians were acquainted with the principle of the arch (Fig. 76), and made occasional use of it in their minor edifices, is now generally admitted.²³⁸ Not only do eaved roofs appear in some of the rock-tombs,²³⁹ which might lead one to suspect such an acquaintance, but actual arches have been found, both in brick and stone, in connection with hieroglyphical legends and in purely Egyptian buildings. The latest historian of architecture goes so far as to maintain²⁴⁰ that the Egyptians had all the knowledge needed for the employment of the arch to any extent in their constructions, and that they purposely abstained from its use from a dislike of the complexity which it would have introduced, and a conviction of its architectural weakness, as a form wanting in durability. "The Arabs," he observes, "have a proverb that the arch never sleeps;" and it really exerts unceasingly a thrusting force laterally upon the walls at its side and centrally upon the keystone, which tends to destroy the building whereof it is a part. Its employment would not have accorded with the governing ideas of Egyptian architecture, which were durability, repose, and strength; and therefore they did not employ it. The position here laid down may be true; but it can never be more than a hypothesis, since it is quite impossible to prove that a people knew how to do that which they never attempted to do. The Egyptians never made any application of the arch on a grand scale or to large edifices. They were acquainted with the form as one that would bear a weight; but it would seem to have had no charms for them. This is not surprising, since arches would not have given the same impression of stability, firmness, and strength which is produced by the solid masses of flat stone that compose their roofs. Instead of maintaining that they deliberately preferred these roofs to vaulted ones, it would probably be nearer the truth to say, that, being entirely content with flat roofs, the idea of constructing vaulted ones never occurred to them.

The "symmetrophobia" of the Egyptians²⁴¹ is a peculiarity

which developed itself gradually, and is strongest in the latest times. It appears most strikingly in such buildings as the great temples of Luxor and Philæ, where, on proceeding from one court to another, we find the axis of the building violently changed,²⁴² and the lines running in entirely new directions. But, apart from these extreme cases, it appears that the Egyptians had a general dislike to exact correspondency and uniformity, preferring variation within limits. The difference in the elevation of the four corners of the Great Pyramid, noticed by Fergusson,²⁴³ is very remarkable, as also is the striking irregularity in the first or entrance court at Karnak, where the temple of Rameses II. breaks the line of the right-hand colonnade, while the left-hand one is continuous and complete.²⁴⁴ Other lesser irregularities are such as the following.²⁴⁵ Detached pylons have frequently their axis at an angle with that of the building whereon they depend; the columns in a colonnade are often unequally spaced; doorways that correspond in position are of different sizes; caryatide piers and rounded columns are united in the same colonnaded court, occupying different sides; columns contained within the same pillared hall have completely different capitals, and are of different heights; the wings of houses do not match; courts are seldom square; their angles and the angles of rooms are frequently not right angles. It is manifest that the Egyptians "purposely avoided regularity," and the conjecture is probable that they did this "with a view of not fatiguing the eye."²⁴⁶ The principle would seem to be sound within certain limits. Absolute uniformity is wearisome, and to be eschewed; but violent irregularities are displeasing. The Egyptians, even in the best times, somewhat overstepped the true mean; their mingling of different sorts of columns, and of columnus with caryatide or other piers, cannot be defended; but it was not until their art had greatly declined under the depressing influence of foreign conquest that they reached their extreme practices, the complete change in the axis of a building and the employment of twenty different capitals for the columns of a single apartment.²⁴⁷

The contrivance for augmenting the apparent size of buildings, of which we have to speak in conclusion, is the following. Egyptian buildings of large extent for the most part rise as we penetrate into them. When we pass from one limb to another, we generally ascend a few steps. Sometimes, however, the ascent is more gradual. At the Rameseum,²⁴⁸ and again at Edfou,²⁴⁹ the level of the ground rises from column to column, each column being placed on a low step a little above the pre-

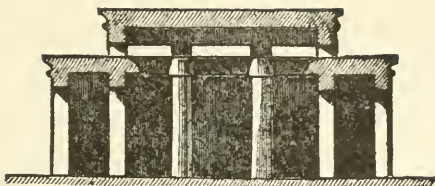


Fig. 68.—SECTION OF SMALLER PILLARED HALL, GREAT TEMPLE, KARNAK.—Page 108.

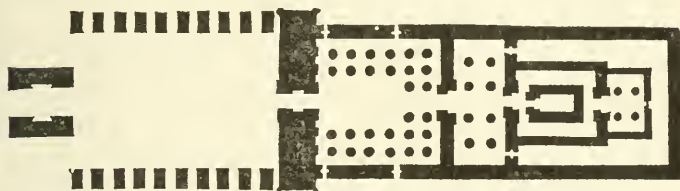


Fig. 69.—GROUND-PLAN OF SOUTHERN TEMPLE, KARNAK.—See Page 113.

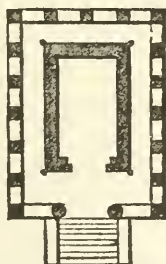
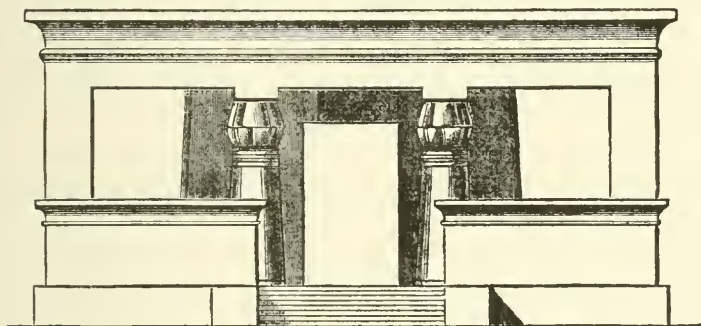


Fig. 70.—MAMMEISI, OR TEMPLE OF THE "MOTHER OF THE GODS,"—See Page 113.

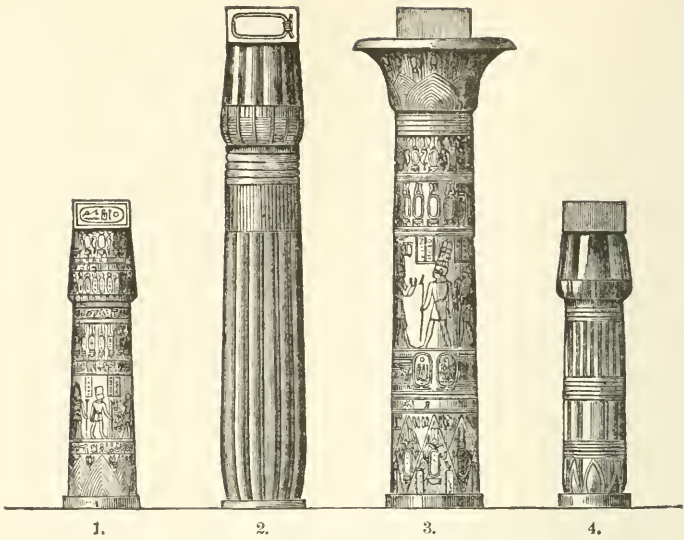


Fig. 71.—EGYPTIAN COLUMNS.—See Page 114.

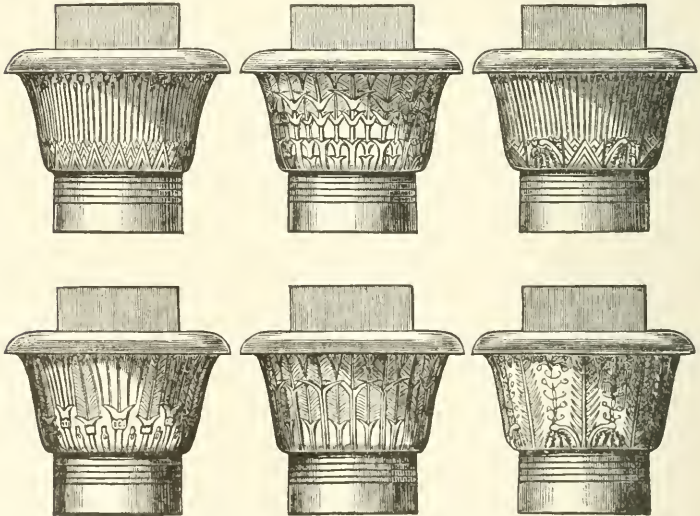


Fig. 72.—EGYPTIAN BELL-CAPITALS.—See Page 115.



Fig. 73.—EGYPTIAN LOTUS-CAPITALS.—See Page 115.



Fig. 74.—See Page 115.

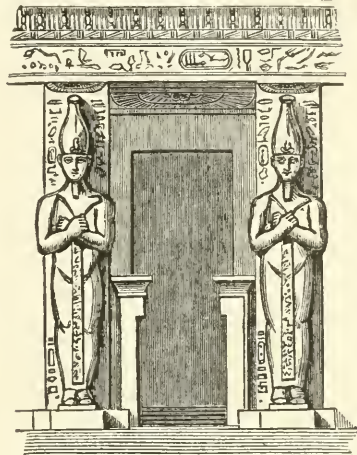


Fig. 75.—CARYATIDE FIGURES.—See Page 116.

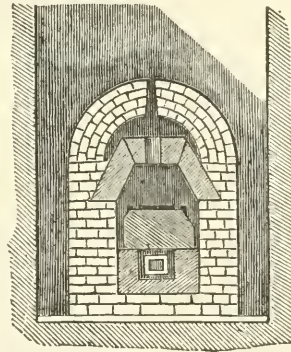
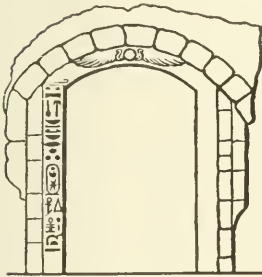


Fig. 76.—EGYPTIAN ARCHES.—See Page 121.

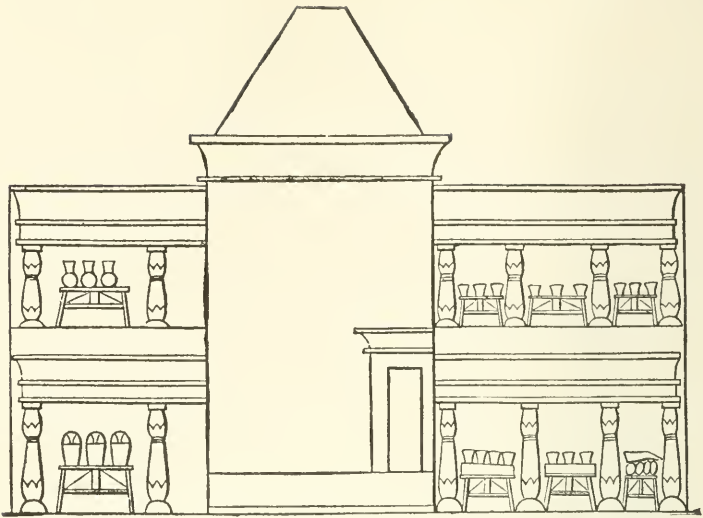


Fig. 77.—AN EGYPTIAN DWELLING-HOUSE, VIEWED IN FRONT.—See Page 119.

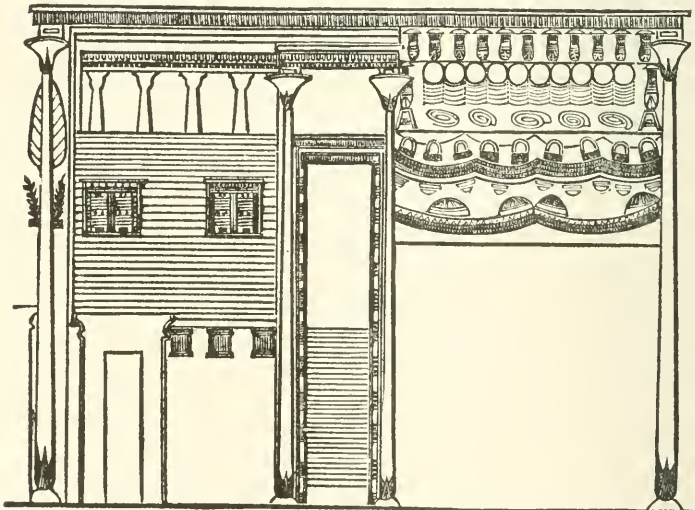


Fig. 78.—AN EGYPTIAN DWELLING-HOUSE, VIEWED FROM INTERNAL COURT.—Page 119.

ceding one. The effect is similar to that produced in a modern theatre by the slope of the floor from the foot-lights to the back of the stage. It is aided by the general arrangements of doors and pylons, which diminish in size as we advance. An illusory perspective is in this way produced; the vistas of pillars seem twice the length that they really are, and the entire building appears to be of an extent almost interminable. If it be one of the worst faults that an architect can commit, to make his edifice appear smaller than it is, and if the constructors of the pyramids are to be considered blamable in this respect, the later Egyptian builders must be regarded as deserving of no small commendation for an arrangement which, without introducing any unworthy artifice, makes the size of their constructions even greater in appearance than it is in reality.

CHAPTER VIII.

MIMETIC ART.

Sculpture of Ancient Egypt—Single Statues of full size—peculiarities. Groups. Principal Defects and Merits. Statuettes. General Uniformity and its Causes. Works in high Relief, rare. Works in Bas-relief and Intaglio. Defects. Superiority of the Animal over the Human Forms. Examples—Gazelle Hunt—Lion Hunt. Foreshortening. Want of proportion. Absence of Perspective. Ugliness. Four classes of Subjects: 1. Religious; 2. Processional; 3. Military; and 4. Domestic. Playful Humor in the Domestic Scenes. Egyptian Painting—its general Character. Mechanism employed—Colors. Paintings good as Wall Decorations. Stages of Egyptian Mimetic Art.

“*Les Egyptiens ont été, avant les Grecs, celui de tous les peuples de l'antiquité qui a porté les arts plastiques au plus haut degré de perfection et de grandeur.*”—LENORMANT, “Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient,” vol. i. p. 537.

THE sculpture of ancient Egypt falls under the three heads of statuary, or sculpture *in the round*; relief, or representation of forms on a flat surface by means of a certain projection; and intaglio, or representation by the opposite process of cutting the forms into the stone or marble, and thus sinking them below the surface. This last includes a process, almost peculiar to Egypt, which has been called *cavo-relievo*, or *intaglio-relievato*, whereby the figures are first incised, and then given a slight relief, which raises them almost, but not quite, to the level of the stone outside them.

Completely detached statues of full size were, comparatively speaking, rare in Egypt; and when they occur, their merit is but slight. Only about six or seven attitudes seem to have

been allowed ; and these are repeated with a monotony that is absolutely wearisome through the twenty centuries, or more, during which Egyptian civilization lasts. Single figures usually stand upright with their arms dependent at their sides, or crossed upon their breast, and their feet equally advanced ; or they are in a walking attitude, with the *left* foot (invariably) set before the right,² and the arms pendent ; or they sit on thrones, with their arms laid along their thighs, and the hands extended with palms downward ; or they kneel upon the ground with both knees similarly placed, and hold in their two hands a shrine containing an image of some god ; or finally they are seated on the ground, with both knees drawn up nearly to the chin, and the arms resting upon them, the lower part of the person being enveloped in a robe or petticoat. No movement is exhibited, no energy, scarcely any action even. The faces are for the most part expressionless, though sometimes they are evidently intended for portraits, and great pains have been taken to render them close imitations of nature.³ The mechanical finish is high, a perfectly smooth surface being produced, however stubborn the material.⁴ But the artistic finish is the lowest conceivable. There is no rendering of veins or muscles, no indication of any anatomical study, no appearance even of acquaintance with the human skeleton.⁵ The limbs are smooth and rounded—the general proportions not bad—though altogether the forms are too slim to accord with Western notions of beauty : but all the higher qualities of art, as understood in the West, are wanting—there is composure and calm dignity, but there is no expression, no vigor, no life, no attempt to grapple with difficulties, no idealism. The sculpture seems altogether incipient, undeveloped. It is not, as has been justly observed, “modelled grossly, but summarily,”⁶—that is to say, it does not fail of its aims through inability to give effect to them, but its aims are low. It seeks to indicate the human form, rather than to express it, to give the general contour rather than a representation of details, to embody repose and not action ; there is nothing rude, gross, or coarse about it ; on the contrary, the forms have delicacy and elegance, but they are incompletely rendered ; they are good, as far as they go, but they do not go far ; the artist has stopped short of the nature which he had before his eyes, and has preferred not to imitate too closely.

In the walking statues (Fig. 85), the want of completeness is strikingly shown by the fact, that the legs, though represented as separate, are not disengaged from the stone, the space between them not having been hollowed out. This

peculiarity does not extend, however, except occasionally, to figures in bronze or wood, which, so far, are superior to the stone figures.

Another curious peculiarity of Egyptian stone statues is the support which is given to them at the back. Except in the case of sitting figures (Fig. 87), which have the support of their chairs or thrones, Egyptian stone statues have almost invariably at their back an upright slab or plinth, sometimes resembling an obelisk, against which the figures lean, and with which they are in a manner blended. This is probably explained rightly, as the reminiscence of a time when all statues were attached to walls, and constituted mere architectural adornments.⁷

The Egyptian statnaries did not stop at single figures, but sometimes proceeded to the composition of groups. Two figures, a husband and a wife (Fig. 86), not unfrequently occupy a single seat. Generally they sit separate; but sometimes they hold hands, or the husband has his arm placed around his wife's waist.⁸ Occasionally, the man is seated on a chair, accompanied by standing figures of his wife and children, sculptured on a smaller scale, and evidently intended as accessories.⁹ The composition is in every case rude and inartificial, no attempt being made at "grouping," in the technical sense, or at producing an effective whole.

Besides the negative defects, which have been here noticed, there are some positive ones, which must not be glossed over, whereby a great part of the statuary is rendered repulsive, rather than attractive—at any rate, to the modern European. The figures are, for the most part, too elongated; and the limbs especially are too long for the body. The ears are misplaced, the hole of the ear being made parallel with the pupil of the eye,¹⁰ instead of with the nostrils (Fig 84). The inlaying of the eye in a different material from the rest of the statue, which is common, offends a correct taste;¹¹ and the prolongation of the eyebrows and eyelids nearly to the ears is unnatural and displeasing. The great masses of hair hanging down on either side of the face in heavy blocks, concealing the neck and resting upon the shoulders, the broad and depressed nose verging upon a negro type, the prominent cheekbones, the large mouth, and full, half out-turned lips, are even more disagreeable, and produce an *ensemble* from which the eye instinctively turns away, and on which it can only bring itself to gaze with difficulty.¹² The dark material commonly in use, and the smears of red paint often observable, render the physiognomies even more repulsive than they would have been

otherwise, and produce disgust and aversion. Again, the grotesque figures of the gods, sometimes coarse-featured and dwarfish, often mixing together animal and human forms,¹³ always utterly devoid of the faintest trace of beauty, lower the general character of the statuary where it might have been expected to be highest, and tempt the lover of high art to question whether the Egyptian attempts ought to be allowed the name of Art at all. If we pass from the contemplation of the Apollo Belvedere to that of an Egyptian representation of Phthah (Fig. 88) or Bes,¹⁴ we seem to step from one world to another, from one pole of production to its opposite; and it is difficult to persuade ourselves that one and the same term ought to embrace the two.

If, however, we contemplate Egyptian statuary in Egypt itself—on its native soil—as it was intended to be seen by those who wrought it, we shall find reason to modify some of these views, and to allow that, while devoid of the excellencies which we commonly associate with Greek art, it had merits of its own, and was not wholly contemptible. Sculpture in Egypt was almost entirely “architectonic,”¹⁵ and was intended simply, or at any rate mainly, for architectural embellishment. The Great Colossi (Fig. 92), the most remarkable of the Egyptian efforts, were set up in temples, or in their immediate neighborhood, and to be rightly judged must be viewed in connection with those buildings. The statues of the gods had their proper place in shrines prepared for them, and were not out of keeping with their surroundings. The grand effect of the Osiride images in the temple courtyards has been already noticed.¹⁶ Even the private statues of individuals were intended for ornaments of tombs, and seen, by torchlight only, in those dark abodes, must have been impressive. Altogether, the judgment appears to be sound, that “the sculptures were well adapted for architectural effect, from their grand, simple, and vertical lines, their great regularity, squareness and repose.”¹⁷ They had strength and massiveness, majesty and grandeur, simplicity and dignity; above all, they had about them an air of profound, eternal, unchanging rest.

The smaller statuettes (Fig. 90), in bronze, basalt, or clay, are less dignified than the statues, but have greater elegance and grace.¹⁸ Some female figures, apart from their uncouth Egyptian head-dress, are decidedly pleasing, though it must be admitted that they are too slender to satisfy an eye accustomed to the rounded forms of the Greeks. Animals (Fig. 89) are also rendered sufficiently well *in the round*. The pair of lions in the Southern Gallery at the British Museum have consider-

able artistic excellence. The Great Sphinx (Fig. 93) of the Pyramids, though scarcely deserving of all the praises which have been lavished upon it,¹⁹ must be admitted to be a striking monument, and to impress the spectator, not only by its bulk, but by its air of impassive dignity. Other sphinx figures (Fig. 82) are considered to have a certain calmness and grandeur. There are also statuettes of bulls, monkeys, and dogs,²⁰ which are characteristic and fairly good.

It has been urged by many,²¹ that the principal deficiencies of Egyptian statuary—the general uniformity of design, the stiffness and want of grace, the absence of motion from the forms, and of character and expression from the faces, nay, even the incompleteness of the representation—were the results, not so much of inability to do better on the part of the artists, as of a constraint imposed upon them from without by the religious prejudices of a dominant hierarchy.²² It is undoubtedly true that nothing more tends to cramp Art and prevent its satisfactory development, than laws against change, especially when they are imposed from without, and rest upon a religious rather than an artistic basis. It is also tolerably certain that there existed in ancient Egypt a religious censorship of Art—that “hieratic canons” were laid down and commanded to be observed²³—and that a restraint was thus placed upon genius and invention. But it may be remarked, on the other hand, that the laws against change cannot have been absolute, since there are decided differences of style at different periods,²⁴ and that freedom of treatment must have been, to a certain extent, allowed, since the animal forms at any rate improve as time goes on, and are best about the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. In representations that are strictly religious, the amount of change, it is true, was slight, and there it is probable that “hieratic canons” really prevailed; but in the portrait statues and the statuettes this is scarcely likely to have been the case, and the uniformity which is observable must, it would seem, be attributed to some want of artistic conception or power. A similar conclusion is naturally drawn from a general consideration of the bas-reliefs and intaglios, which, though boasting more freedom of treatment than the statues, still participate in their characteristics of uniformity, stiffness, and want of finish.

High relief—the exhibition of human and animal forms in connection with a flat surface, but very much raised above it—which was common in Persia,²⁵ Lycia,²⁶ and Greece, is very rarely found in Egypt. The few reliefs of the kind which occur possess scarcely any merit. It is scarcely necessary

to present specimens of these uncouth works, which can possess no attraction for any but professional students of art, who may desire to see sculpture of every kind in its rudest and most primitive condition. For such persons a few references are given in the subjoined note.²⁷

The bas-reliefs and intaglios of the Egyptians will be treated together, their general effect being very similar, and the composition in both kinds being marked by nearly the same characteristics, praiseworthy or the contrary. In general the defects are glaring, and preponderate greatly over the merits. With rare exceptions, the figures are represented in profile, stiffly erect, and standing still, or walking in a formal, stately manner. The eye is drawn in full, not as it really appears sideways, but as if seen from the front. It is long and narrow, often set a little obliquely; and both eye and eyebrow are prolonged nearly to the ear. The ear is placed too high in the head, and is generally somewhat too large. The limbs are for the most part too slim, and the hands and feet are stiff, straight, and of undue size. Where variety of attitude occurs, the drawing is generally incorrect, and the new attitude impossible. For instance, sometimes the head is turned completely round, and the man who walks one way looks directly the other (Fig. 97). Female tumblers (Fig. 96) lean backwards till their hands reach the ground with the palms downward. Others defy all the laws of gravity, and lean back in a position which could not be retained for a moment.²⁸

Composition is in general formal, artificial, and constrained. In the processional scenes the same figure is reiterated twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred times. There is scarcely any idea of grouping, of balance, or even of a main point of interest to which the rest shall be subordinate. In the battle scenes, it must be admitted, this defect is not so apparent. There the monarch is the central object, and the whole remainder of the composition, being intended simply for his honor and glory, is intentionally subordinated to him. But in this case another defect obtrudes itself. The artist, distrusting his ability to give the necessary pre-eminence to the royal figure by the means ordinarily considered legitimate—position, finish, expression, convergence of the attention of the others to him—has had recourse to the rude and inartistic expedient of making his superiority apparent by mere difference of size. Rameses towers above his soldiers and his enemies, not as Saul above the children of Israel,²⁹ or Ajax above the Argives,³⁰ but as Gulliver above the people of Lilliput. The colossal figure of the great king dwarfs all the others, not into subordination

merely, but into insignificance; ³¹ and it is necessary that we should shut him out from our vision before we can take an interest in the details of the battle. These are sufficiently lively and varied; they exhibit confusion, turmoil, strange attitudes of dying and dead, life, motion, energy; but it can scarcely be said that they are artistic. The reliefs in question may represent truthfully enough the varied and separate incidents of an ancient battle-field; but the want of mass, of grouping, and of perspective renders them singularly ineffective as pictures. ³²

Æsthetically, by far the best of the Egyptian reliefs are those in which animals form the entire subject, or at any rate constitute the preponderating element. ³³ The Pharaonic artists had a happy knack of catching the leading characteristics of beast ³⁴ and bird, ³⁵ and rendering them effectively though simply. A purely animal scene, represented by Rosellini in his great work, ³⁶ is graceful and pleasing, full of life, and characterized by an artistic touch which is very unusual. The subjoined woodcut repeats a portion of this drawing, and will give a tolerable idea of its general style (Fig. 94).

A nobler, grander, and altogether superior design may be seen at Medinet-Abou, on the external wall of the great palace, facing the north. ³⁷ This is a composition in which the monarch, standing by himself in his chariot (Fig. 99), advances at full speed in the chase of a wounded lion, while at the same time attacked from behind, probably by another similar beast, ³⁸ he turns himself round and directs his spear against the assailant. Under his horses, which, as usual, prance high in the air, lies the body of a lion pierced by two arrows, and struggling in the agonies of death. The hunted animal is in front. Though pierced by three arrows and a javelin, he continues his mad career, rushing through the water-plants, from which we may conclude that he has been aroused by the beaters. The whole piece is remarkable for the boldness and freedom of the outline, for the spirit of the composition, the good drawing of the lions, the expression of suffering in their countenances, and the contrast which they offer to each other and to the remaining figures of the design. ³⁹ Their massive forms compare well with the slim and graceful horses; their violent action sets off the comparative impassiveness of the main figure. Moreover, the balance of the composition, if we imagine another lion behind, is good; part corresponds to part, yet not too closely or exactly; and, by the greater elevation of the horses' crests and the hunter's spear, the "principle of the pyramid" is asserted, and

a unity given to the design which it might otherwise have lacked.

Like the human, the animal figures (Fig. 98) are drawn for the most part strictly in profile; but there are a certain number of exceptions, where the animal is turning round, and the form is to a certain extent foreshortened.⁴⁰ Occasionally even more ambition is shown, and more difficult attitudes are attempted, as in the Beni Hassan scene above mentioned, where some of the dogs turn their full faces to the spectator, and the antelopes are drawn in the act of falling prone to earth, or represented as struggling to shake off the hounds which have got hold of them.

Among the main defects of the Egyptian designs are the non-observance of proportion and the almost entire inability to represent anything in perspective, as it is really seen. Not only are royal personages drawn commonly on a larger scale than the officers and others in attendance upon them, but in the tomb scenes even the ordinary *paterfamilias* is given a similar advantage over his servants and laborers. This advantage he sometimes shares with his wife, who sits with him on the same seat⁴¹ and is drawn on the same scale.⁴² The animal forms are, on the other hand, frequently too small, cows being represented as about half the height of a man,⁴³ and donkeys as less than half.⁴⁴ When an elephant is depicted, the top of his back only just reaches his attendant's waist;⁴⁵ and the head of the giraffe a very little overtops that of the man who leads him.⁴⁶ The accessories of a battle scene, towns, forts, rivers, are on a scale absurdly disproportioned to the men, the horses, and the chariots;⁴⁷ while in domestic scenes the persons represented often exceed in height the doors of the mansions.⁴⁸

The inability to present a scene in perspective is, no doubt, one common to the Egyptian artists with other primitive designers; but it is a defect which attains in Egypt an intensity almost without a parallel elsewhere. A phalanx of soldiers is represented by a mass of figures ranged one above the other, either in completely distinct lines, or in such a position that each more distant row shows above the nearer ones to the extent of half the height.⁴⁹ As a general rule, what is distant and would be partially or entirely hidden by intervening objects is raised up, if the artist wishes to show it, and exhibited at a higher level. The animals and the targets, whereat shooters aim, are represented as close to them; and the full face of the target is shown, when it ought to be nearly, if not quite, invisible.⁵⁰ Where a river, pond, or pool has to be indicated,

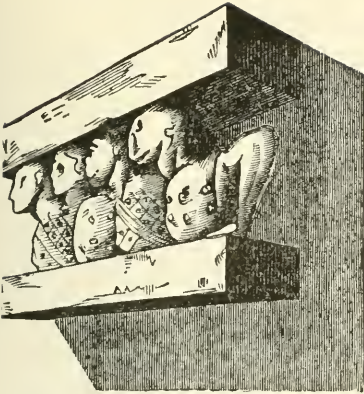


Fig. 79.—See Page 119.—Note 226.

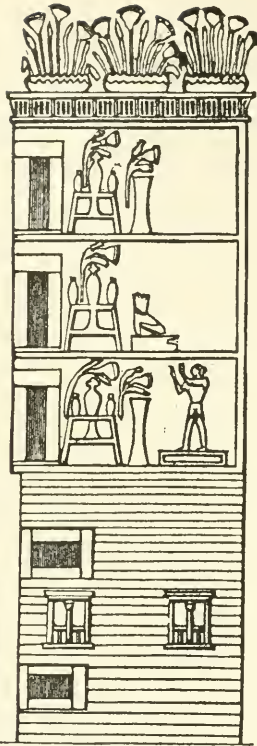


Fig. 81.—AN EGYPTIAN HOUSE,
PARTLY IN SECTION.—See Page 120.

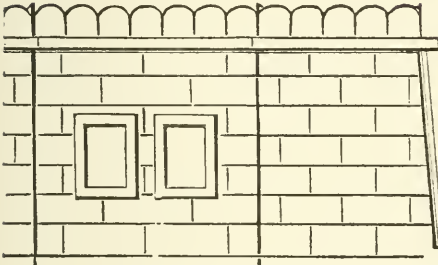


Fig. 80.—See Page 119.



Fig. 82.—ORDINARY SPHINX.



CRIO-SPHINX.—See Page 127.

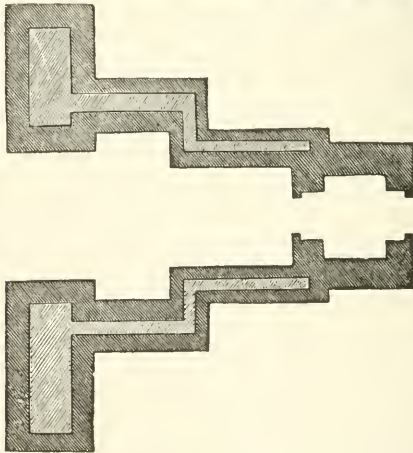
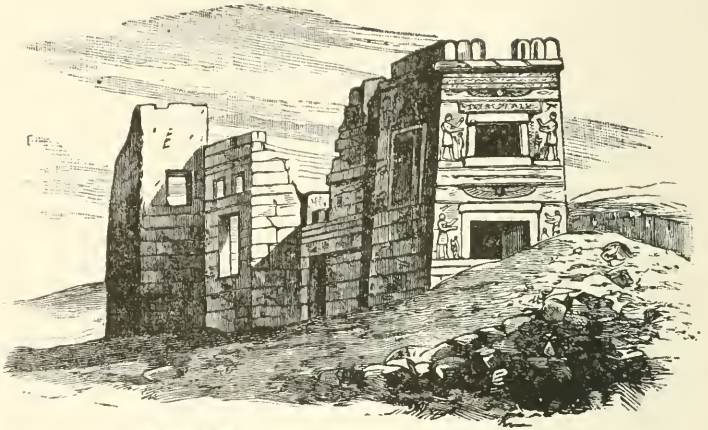


Fig. 83.—GROUND-PLAN AND VIEW OF THE PAVILION OF RAMESES III.—See Page 118.

the entire surface is presented to view, being lifted up (Fig. 109) and placed at right angles to the eye of the spectator.⁵¹ Gardens are commonly given in ground-plan, though the buildings which they contain stand erect,⁵² exhibiting their sides and not their roofs. Altogether, the rules of perspective are completely ignored or defied, and no representation is accurate, unless limited to objects which are all at the same distance and in the same plane.

Further, there is the same defect in the bas-reliefs of the Egyptians which has been already noticed in their statuary,⁵³ the frequent intrusion of simply hideous forms into the designs, more especially where these have a religious character. The three huge and misshapen figures,⁵⁴ so frequent upon the ceilings of temples, which are supposed to represent "the heavens," oppress the imagination of one who stands under them with the sense of a superincumbent nightmare. Bes in all his forms is fearful to behold; Taouris, Savak (Fig. 108), and Cerberus are not much better; even Osiris has presentations which are repulsive; and the constant recurrence of the Priapic Khem is a perpetual eyesore. All the forms of the gods are more or less disagreeable; the stiff constrained outlines, the tight-fitting robes, the large clumsily-drawn hands and feet, the frequent animal heads and enormous head-dresses, the ugly or inexpressive faces, compose an *ensemble* as unpleasant as can easily be conceived, and recall the monstrosities of Brahminical and Buddhistic religious representations. It seems strange that artists, who occasionally at any rate show taste and æsthetic culture, should consent to reproduce from age to age stereotyped forms of a character which sound artistic judgment must always pronounce repulsive and disgusting.

The bulk of the drawings are of a sober and serious character. They may be divided into:—1. The strictly religious, where worship of some kind or other—generally sacrifice—is offered to the gods, or where they strengthen and sustain the monarch, or where the soul passes through some of the scenes which it will have to undergo after death. 2. The processional, where the king goes in state, or where tribute is brought to him, or where the pomp of a funeral, or the inauguration of an officer, or some other civil ceremony, forms the subject. 3. The war scenes, including battles by sea and land, the siege of forts, the march of armies, the return home with booty and captives, etc.; and 4. The scenes of common life, represented exclusively in the tombs, where the deceased is presented with offerings, or with inventories of his worldly

goods, or exhibits his skill in the chase, or depicts his house and its environs, or the processes of the trade which he followed when alive, or the entertainments which he gave and the large number of his guests and friends, or the amusements which he delighted in. These tomb scenes are the most numerous and the most interesting; and, while perhaps the highest inventive qualities are displayed by the artists who decorate the walls of temples and palaces with gigantic battle-pieces, it is in the sepulchres that we observe the lightest touch, the freest drawing, the greatest variety of artistic excellence. Solemn as are the associations which attach to the grave, it is here, and here only, in the sepulchral chambers, in the close vicinity of the tombs, that the Egyptian artists shake off the weight of seriousness which elsewhere oppresses them, and condescend to be sportive and amusing, to exhibit playfulness and humor, to approach or even pass the line which separates serious drawing from caricature. There is a tomb near Thebes, where, in the middle of an entertainment, a guest is represented as bringing down the apartment upon the feasters by leaning against a central pillar, and upsetting it.⁵⁵ In another tomb, ladies, not of too refined an appearance, converse with animation about their ear-rings, and appraise them, or inquire where they were bought. The humor is sometimes even more broad.⁵⁶ "In one of the royal sepulchres at Thebes we see an ass and a lion singing and accompanying themselves on the phorminx and the harp. Another design is the burlesque of a battle-piece. A fortress is attacked by rats, and defended by cats, who are mounted on the battle-ments. The rats bring a ladder to the walls and prepare to scale them, while a body armed with spear, shield, and bow protect the assailants, and a rat of gigantic size, in a chariot drawn by dogs, has pierced the cats with his arrows, and swings round his axe in exact imitation of Rameses dealing destruction on his enemies. In a papyrus of the Museum of Turin, a cat is seen with a shepherd's crook watching a flock of geese, and a cynocephalus ape playing on the flute."⁵⁷ Souls returning from Hades after judgment in the form of pigs, under the protection of monkeys, have a crestfallen expression of countenance which is quaint and ludicrous.⁵⁸

Of painting, in the modern sense of the word, the Egyptians knew absolutely nothing. No surface was ever completely covered. The Egyptians drew figures of men and animals, together with other objects, in outline on a white or whitish background, and then filled in the outline, or portions of it, with masses of uniform hue. No shading or softening off of

the tints was practised.⁵⁹ All the exposed parts of a man's body were colored of a uniform red-brown; all the exposed parts of a woman's of a lighter red or a yellow. Except in the case of a few foreigners, the hair and beard were pitch black. Dresses were predominantly white, but had their folds marked by lines of red or brown, and were sometimes striped or otherwise patterned, generally with red or blue.⁶⁰ Most large surfaces⁶¹ were more or less patterned, in general with small patterns of various colors, including a good deal of white. Altogether the effect was one of combined flatness and spottiness, the white background showing far too strongly and isolating the different parts of the picture one from another.

The mechanism of painting was effected as follows: First of all the stone, whether it were sandstone, or fossiliferous limestone, or even granite, was covered over with a coating of stucco,⁶² which was white or whitish, and which prevented the colors from being lost by sinking into the ground. *Fresco* painting was unknown: the Egyptians allowed the composition whereon they painted to become completely dry before they commenced even to sketch in their figures, much less to paint them. An outline was first drawn with red paint, or red chalk, on the prepared surface; when this was satisfactorily executed, the filling in began. The scale of colors known to the artists was not extensive. Besides black and white, and the three primitive colors, red, blue, and yellow, the Egyptians employed only green and brown, together with a light wash of the black which produced a sort of gray.⁶³ The black is a bone-black,⁶⁴ very decided and very durable; the white is a preparation of pure chalk with a slight trace of iron. The red and the yellow are ochres, the coloring matter being iron, not, however, artificially introduced, but mixed by nature with the earthy substance.⁶⁵ The blue color is derived from the oxide of copper; but before becoming a pigment it has been combined with glass, which has then by trituration been reduced into a fine powder. The green is this same preparation, combined with a certain amount of yellow ochre.⁶⁶ The brown is probably a mixture of the blue-black with the red.

A somewhat narrow gamut of color was thus formed. The Egyptian artists appear to have enlarged it by employing several shades of the primitive colors—three, at least, of blue, one very dark, another of medium hue, and a third very light, resembling our "sky-blue;" two of red, a scarlet, and a red-brown; and at least two of yellow, a darker and

a lighter.⁶⁷ They used also at least two shades of green, and several of brown, ranging from a light drab to a hue nearly approaching black. But they were ignorant of lilac, of purple, of orange, of crimson, of olive, and were thus compelled to abstain from all attempts to produce that sort of beauty which is caused by the employment of half-tints, and the "soft and gradual transition from one tint to another," which is to the eye what "an harmonious concert of music is to the ear,"⁶⁸ and which especially characterizes the Italian schools of Bologna and Venice. They had to depend on the broad contrasts of the primitive tints mainly, and were thus thrown upon the style of coloring which produces its effects by striking contrasts.⁶⁹ It is quite possible to obtain a good result in this way. Only let care be taken that the colors are strong and forcible, that a balance is maintained, and that the masses are broad, and not too much entangled or interspersed, and an effect is produced which is simple and grand, effective and pleasing. The Egyptians, unhappily, broke up their masses of color, and intermixed them in such a way that a sense of unquiet is produced; there is a general flutter and disturbance; the eye finds nothing upon which it can dwell long, or repose with a feeling of satisfaction.

The painting was executed in a sort of distemper. The colors were mixed with water, and with a certain rather moderate amount of gum, which rendered the mixture more tenacious and adhesive.⁷⁰ They were applied, as already observed,⁷¹ to a stuccoed surface, which might either be flat and unbroken, or already prepared by the chisel with figures in relief or intaglio. These figures, by the variations of their surfaces, enjoyed the advantage of a slight variety of light and shade, which helped to mark them out, and gave their contour greater definiteness. Some compensation was thus introduced for the absence of painted *chiaroscuro*; but the compensation was slight, and did not extend to all classes of paintings.

Altogether it must be said that while, as artistic productions, the Egyptian paintings possess only a low degree of merit, as wall decorations they were undoubtedly effective and striking. Where the sun always shines and the air is always clear, where nature lights up the landscape upon every side with mellow hues and bright effects, pale plain surfaces of stone, such as match well with the dull gray of northern lands, are unsuitable, offend the eye, seem tame and out of harmony. The brilliant hues which covered the walls of the Egyptian temples, inside and outside, illuminated them with

a warmth that well accorded with their surroundings, and rendered them the richest-looking and brightest objects in a scene that was all brightness and richness. As the ancient Greeks employed color externally in the pediments and other parts of their temples,⁷² and the Italians of the Middle Ages warm marbles and stone of many different hues in their palaces and churches,⁷³ so these primitive builders made the exterior, as well as the interior, of their edifices to glow with color, from an instinctive feeling of what was truly fitting and harmonious. Separately, the colors are often crude, if not coarse, and the contrasts sometimes over-violent ;⁷⁴ but, in their entirety, the paintings had no doubt a pleasing effect, and "greatly improved" the appearance of the buildings which they decorated.⁷⁵

Egyptian mimetic art can scarcely be said to have a history. Its most notable characteristic is its general unchangingness and want of progress. Crystallized in its infancy, it presents to us from first to last a strange unparalleled sameness, an extraordinary monotony. Still, while this is its most striking feature, and the first and main impression which it produces on those who study it,⁷⁶ prolonged attention enables the inquirer to perceive certain minor differences which underlie this general uniformity, and prove that, whatever might be intended, change to a certain extent did in fact intrude itself, and that progress, development, decay, renaissance, are consequently terms not wholly inapplicable to the art of Egypt at different periods. The earliest remains found at Saccarah and at Meydoun, consisting in part of statues, in part of painted bas-reliefs, exhibit a certain amount of rudeness and indecision, a certain weakness and want of regular method, indicative of an incipient art which is as yet imperfectly formed and does not know exactly how to proceed.⁷⁷ When we reach the time of the fourth dynasty, improvement is observable, more especially in the statuary, which rapidly attains the highest degree of perfection that it ever reached in Egypt. The portrait-statues of Chephren, and of various private persons contemporary with him or with the other Pyramid kings, are the best specimens which occur of Egyptian sculpture "in the round," and are regarded by some as "rivalling the busts and statues of Rome."⁷⁸ Up to this time Egyptian art is thought to have been wholly, or at any rate to a great extent,⁷⁹ untrammelled by law ; and so far as statuary is concerned, it has a naturalness in the human forms that disappears afterwards. But the bas-reliefs of the period are decidedly inferior to those of a later time. Not only is the aim low, scenes of common life

being alone exhibited, but the rendering is unsatisfactory, the different representations being wanting in variety, and the best of them deficient in expression and life. A new epoch introduces itself with the twelfth dynasty, when hieratic canons were absolutely enforced,⁸⁰ and art, cramped so far, found compensation in an increased delicacy of rendering, an elegance and a harmony never previously realized.⁸¹ New ideas sprang into being under the fostering influence of enlightened princes. Obelisks were erected; piers were superseded by columns; and an architectural order was elaborated, which at a later date approved itself to the Greeks.⁸² Sculpture at the same time took a fresh start. The tombs of Beni-Hassan reproduce in a general way those of a more primitive age at Saccarah and Ghizeh; but the touch is more delicate, the proportions are better, and the subjects are more varied. After the time of the twelfth dynasty, Egyptian art does not so much decline as disappear, until the great reaction sets in under the eighteenth dynasty, when the Egyptian nation attains its acme, and the perfection of art, as of most other things, is reached. The "grand style" is now brought into existence,⁸³ and supersedes the humbler and more prosaic one that had hitherto prevailed. Colossi are erected; huge battle-scenes are composed, containing hundreds of figures; variety of attitude is studied; life and energy are thrown into the drawing; even the countenances lose their immobility and have a certain amount of feeling and expression. But after the space of about three centuries a rapid decline sets in⁸⁴—the higher qualities of art disappear—there is no more invention, no more expressiveness—convention resumes the grasp upon art which it had relaxed, and a dead period begins which continues till the time of the first Psamatik. Then there was a renaissance.⁸⁵ By a not unnatural reaction, the style of the eighteenth dynasty was discarded, and the artists took the older productions of the fourth and fifth dynasties for their models, imitating them in all their principal details, but "with greater smoothness, fineness, and floridity."⁸⁶ Much grace is visible in the countour of the figures—but the old vigor is not attained—all is too rounded and smooth—the muscles cease to be marked—and the attempted reproduction falls (as commonly happens) very much below the antique standard.⁸⁷ Ultimately Egyptian art is debased by intermixture with Greek,⁸⁸ most unpleasing effects being produced by a barbarous attempt to combine two styles absolutely and essentially incongruous. But this last stage of decline need not occupy us here, since it falls beyond the time whereto the present history is confined.

CHAPTER IX.

SCIENCE.

Egyptian Science. Arithmetic. Geometry. Astronomy—Observations of Eclipses—Planetary Occultations—Motions and Periods of the Planets—Tables of the Stars—Acquaintance with true Solar Year—General Character of the Astronomy. Egyptian Astrology. Medicine. Engineering. Science.

Περὶ Αἰγυπτῶν αἱ μαθηματικαὶ πρῶτον τέχναι συνέστησαν.—ARISTOT. *Metaph.* i. 1.

THE sciences in which the ancient Egyptians appear to have made a certain amount of progress, and which will be alone considered in the present sketch, are astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, medicine, and engineering. The bulk of the physical sciences are of recent growth, and were utterly unknown, even to the ancient Greeks. Morals, metaphysics, logic, and political science, in which the Greeks made considerable advances, were either unknown to the Egyptians, or at any rate not cultivated by them in a scientific manner.¹ There remain the abstract sciences of arithmetic and geometry, together with the practical ones of astronomy, medicine, and engineering, with respect to which there is evidence that they engaged the attention of this primitive people, and were elaborated to a certain extent, though very different opinions may be entertained as to the degree of perfection which was reached in them.

Arithmetic is a science some knowledge of which must of necessity be possessed by every nation that is not wholly barbarous. Savages frequently cannot count, or, at any rate, not beyond some low number, as five, six, or ten;² but the needs of civilized life, of buying and selling, hiring and letting, even of knowing the extent of one's possessions, require a familiarity with tolerably high figures, and the power of performing certain numerical processes. The Egyptians had an arithmetical notation similar to that of the Phœnicians, the Etruscans, and the Romans, whereby distinct signs being attached to the unit, to ten, to a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, etc., other numbers were expressed by repetition of these characters. Just as a Roman expressed 7,423 by MMMMMMCCCCXXIII, so an Egyptian rendered it by

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑ ⊙⊙⊙||; and similarly with other numbers, ex-

cepting that the Egyptians did not have special signs for five, fifty, or five hundred, like the Roman V, L, and D. It has been observed,³ and it is undoubtedly true, that "the Egyptian

method must have been very inconvenient for calculation;" but this difficulty was in practice overcome, and there can be no doubt that all the ordinary operations of arithmetic were performed as successfully in Egypt, or in Rome, as among ourselves. Numbers were dealt with readily as far as millions,⁴ and, no doubt, would have been carried further, if it had been necessary for practical purposes. Speculative calculations seem not to have been indulged in, or at any rate we have no evidence that they were, and the generally practical character of the Egyptian mind is against the supposition. In this they differed from the Babylonians, who formed tables of squares, not for any immediate practical purpose, but as arithmetical exercises.⁵

The geometry of the Egyptians originated, we are told,⁶ from the peculiar conditions of their country, which, owing to the changes produced by the annual inundation, required the constant employment of land-surveying. Accurate land-surveying involves a knowledge of trigonometry, and it would seem to have been mainly in this direction that the Egyptians pushed their mathematical inquiries. Pythagoras, who studied mathematics on the banks of the Nile,⁷ and is said to have "introduced geometrical problems from Egypt into Greece,"⁸ was especially proud of his demonstration of that fundamental problem of trigonometry, that in every right-angled triangle, the squares of the two sides containing the right angle equal the square of the hypotenuse, or side subtending the right angle.⁹ It is not absolutely certain that the Samian philosopher learnt the demonstration of this truth, or even the truth itself, in Egypt; but we may at least suspect that his Egyptian studies either embraced, or at any rate led him on to the apprehension of the truth, which was clearly not known to the Greeks before his day. So, too, with regard to the scanty remains which have come down to us of Egyptian geometry, we are told that the problems treated of belong to "plane trigonometry," including its simple necessary elements, and going somewhat beyond them.¹⁰ How far beyond, we are not informed; but modern criticism is probably right in questioning whether any very considerable advance was ever made by the native Egyptians beyond mere plane trigonometry, and in regarding spherical trigonometry and conic sections as outside the range of their mathematical science.¹¹ It is quite possible, however, that their geometry had a development of a different kind—that it "led on to geography," and the formation of maps,¹² the first employment of which is ascribed by some Greek writers to the Egyptians.¹³

The early direction of Egyptian thought to the subject of astronomy is so largely attested¹⁴ that the most skeptical of modern historical critics does not attempt to deny it.¹⁵ What is questioned, and what must be allowed to be, to a considerable extent, questionable, is the degree of their proficiency in the science—the amount of astronomical knowledge to which they actually attained by their own unassisted efforts, prior to the time when the science passed from their hands into those of the Greeks. It seems not to be doubted by any that their attention was given:—1. To eclipses of the sun and moon; 2. to occultations of the planets; 3. to the motions of the planets and the determination of their periodic and synodic times; 4. to the construction of tables of the fixed stars, and the mapping them out into constellations; and 5. to the settling of the exact length of the true solar year.¹⁶

Eclipses are phenomena which naturally attract the notice even of barbarous and ignorant peoples, by whom they are generally regarded as fearful portents, indicative of the divine anger and of coming calamity.¹⁷ There can be no reasonable doubt that the Egyptians from an early date observed eclipses, both of the sun and moon,¹⁸ and entered their occurrence in the books wherein all important events were registered by them.¹⁹ Whether they knew their causes, whether they registered them *scientifically*, whether they could to any extent predict them, are matters on which it is impossible to come to definite conclusions in the present state of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance. It has been conjectured²⁰ that Pythagoras derived from Egypt his acquaintance²¹ with the fact that the sun is the true centre of the planetary system, and the earth a spherical body revolving round it—a fact which, when known, leads on naturally to true conceptions as to the nature of eclipses. But we cannot be certain that the knowledge, if he possessed it, reached him in this way. Doubt is thrown on the scientific character of the Egyptian registration by the circumstance that neither Hipparchus nor Ptolemy, who both lived in Egypt, availed themselves, so far as appears, of the Egyptian records;²² nor is it easy to see how, with their loose ideas on the subject of chronology,²³ Egyptian *savants* could assign to their observations such definite dates as might render them of service in later ages. With regard to prediction we have no evidence beyond the fact that Thales, who studied in Egypt,²⁴ is said to have on one occasion predicted an eclipse of the sun;²⁵ but here again, even if we accept the fact, there is nothing to prove that the advanced knowledge of the Milesian sage was the result of his Egyptian studies. It is

quite conceivable that he derived it from Babylon, where the cycle of 223 lunations (or eighteen years and ten days), which is sufficient for the prediction of lunar, and to some extent of solar eclipses, was certainly known.²⁶

That occultations of the planets by the moon were carefully noted by the Egyptians, we have the testimony of Aristotle, who, after describing an occultation of Mars by the moon, proceeds to state that similar occultations of other stars (*i. e.* planets) had been noted by the Egyptians and Babylonians, who had observed the heavens for many years and communicated to the Greeks many oral reports concerning each of the stars.²⁷ Such occultations are of primary importance for the determination of astronomical distances; but, in order to be of service, they must be carefully timed and repeated at several distant places. It is not quite clear that the Egyptians could measure time very accurately:²⁸ and though the priests at the various seats of learning—Heliopolis, Thebes, Memphis—would in all probability observe the phenomena of occultations from those different localities, yet we do not hear of their comparing notes or drawing any conclusions from recorded differences in their observations. Thus the knowledge obtained was scarcely so productive as we might have expected it to be; the results which modern science derives from an occultation or a transit were not attained, nor even apprehended as attainable; probably, the bare fact of the occultation, together with some rough note of its time, was all that was put on record; and thus not even was material of much value for future progress accumulated.

The motions of the planets, which were somewhat strangely neglected by the earlier Greek astronomers,²⁹ attracted attention in Egypt from very primitive times, and must have been studied with great care, since conclusions not very remote from the truth were arrived at concerning them. Eudoxus, who is expressly stated to have derived his knowledge of the planetary movements from Egypt,³⁰ laid it down that the periodic time of Saturn, or the period in which that planet completes his orbit, was thirty years; the periodic time of Jupiter, twelve years; that of Mars, two years; that of Venus and of Mercury, like that of the Earth, one year.³¹ The real times are, respectively:—

	Years.	Days.	Hours.
Saturn	29	174	1
Jupiter	11	315	14
Mars	1	321	23
Venus		234	16
Mercury		87	28

So that, with regard to three out of the five planets known to the ancients, the error is inconsiderable; while with regard to one (Mercury) the error, though great, may readily be condoned if we consider the nearness of Mercury to the sun, and the consequent difficulty of making exact observations respecting it. The somewhat large error observable in the case of Venus is curious, and not readily explicable. Perhaps Eudoxus only meant that the two planets nearest the sun completed their orbits *within* the space of one year, not that they took the full year to complete them. It is noticeable that in laying down his periodic times, Eudoxus in no case introduces any fractions of years.

It is otherwise in his statement of the "synodic periods" of the planets, or the times of their periodic conjunctions. Here, once more, he derives his knowledge from Egypt;³² and the knowledge is, comparatively speaking, exact and accurate. The periods are given in months and days. The synodic period of Mercury is 110 days; of Venus, nineteen months; of Mars, eight (twenty-five?) months and twenty days; of Jupiter and Saturn, almost exactly thirteen months.³³ If the emendation proposed³⁴ in the case of Mars be accepted, these numbers give a very close approximation to the true times, as will be seen by the subjoined table:—

	Eudoxus' time.	True time.	Excess.	Defect.
Saturn . . .	390 days	378 days	$\frac{2}{35}$	
Jupiter . . .	390 "	399 "	—	$\frac{8}{135}$
Mars . . .	770 "	780 "	—	$\frac{1}{77}$
Venus . . .	570 "	584 "	—	$\frac{7}{185}$
Mercury . . .	110 "	116 "	—	$\frac{2}{55}$

The error is in no case so much as one-eighteenth, and in one case (if the proposed reading be right) is as little as one-seventy-seventh.

The Scholiast upon Aratus tells us that the Greeks derived their tables of the fixed stars from the Egyptians and Chaldeans.³⁵ The distribution or grouping of the stars was the subject of one of the astronomical books assigned to Thoth or Hermese, and required to be learnt by the horoscopos,³⁶ a priest of high rank in Egypt. This grouping, of course, included an arrangement of the constellations through which the sun travels; but the Egyptian arrangement did not correspond with that of the ordinary "signs of the Zodiac," which the Greeks (apparently) derived from the Babylonians,³⁷ and which the later Egyptians borrowed from the Greeks.³⁸ It is said indeed to have been, like that, duodecimal;³⁹ but the names

of the groups, and probably the groups themselves, were, at any rate for the most part,⁴⁰ different. Hence there is much difficulty in interpreting the older astronomical monuments of Egypt, it being seldom possible to identify the stars mentioned under their obscure and strange nomenclature.⁴¹

The ordinary Egyptian year consisted, like our own ordinary year, of 365 days, but was divided differently. It contained twelve months, each of thirty days; after the expiration of which, at the close of the year, five days were intercalated.⁴² All ordinary reckoning was by this year; and even the festivals followed it, with the result that in the course of time they circled round the entire range of the seasons, the festival which was properly a summer one becoming in turn a spring festival, a winter, and an autumn one.⁴³ This effect followed from the omission from the calendar of the quarter-day by which the true solar year is in excess of 365 days, or of any compensation for it, such as is furnished by the extra day of our "leap-years." Still, this excess appears to have been known to the Egyptians, whose "Sothic Cycle" was founded upon it. This was a period of 1,461 vague, or 1,460 true years, which was certainly recognized by the later Egyptians,⁴⁴ and is believed to be indicated by monuments of the Pharaonic time.⁴⁵ It was called by the Egyptians *Sothic*, because they fixed its commencement at a date when the Dog Star, which they called *Sothis*, rose heliacally, on the first day of the month *Thoth*, which was the beginning of their year. Now Sirius rose heliacally in Egypt, on the first of *Thoth*, in the years B.C. 2782 and 1322, and again in A.D. 138. This last-named year was certainly known to the Egyptians as the first of a Sothic cycle; ⁴⁶ the year B.C. 1322 was probably so known; ⁴⁷ concerning the year B.C. 2782 we have no evidence. On the whole, however, there would seem to be grounds for believing that the Sothic period was known and used even anterior to the time of the nineteenth dynasty, and therefore that the Egyptians had from a remote antiquity advanced so far on the road to accuracy and exactness as to fix the solar year, not at 365, but at 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days. They do not appear, on the other hand, to have been aware that that estimate is in excess, or to have made any arrangements for neutralizing the error such as are carefully provided by the Gregorian calendar now in general use.

The Egyptians also knew the obliquity of the ecliptic to the equator,⁴⁸ and found a way of determining an *exact* meridian line.⁴⁹ It has been supposed that they were acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes;⁵⁰ but the grounds for this

opinion are insufficient. Their astronomy must thus be pronounced on the whole not very advanced, and rather empirical than scientific, rather practical than speculative. Brugsch well says of it: "Astronomy with the Egyptians was not that mathematical science which calculates the movements of the stars through the construction of grand systems of the heavens. It was rather a collection of the observations which they had made on the periodically recurring phenomena of earth and sky in Egypt, the bearings of which upon each other could not long escape the notice of the priests, who in the clear Egyptian nights observed the brilliant luminaries of their firmament. Their astronomical knowledge was founded on the base of empiricism, not on that of mathematical inquiry."⁵¹

The astronomy of the Egyptians seems to have been less tainted with astrology than that of most ancient nations. In their calendar, certain days were reckoned as lucky and others as unlucky in connection with stellar influences;⁵² and horoscopes were occasionally cast for individuals from the general aspect of the stars at their birth,⁵³ or from the supposed influence of certain ruling constellations.⁵⁴ But astrology did not hold in Egypt the place that it held in Babylonia. If not altogether "an exotic in the country,"⁵⁵ it was at any rate of no great account; a very small proportion of the extant literature bears upon it;⁵⁶ and the references made to its employment by the Egyptians in the works of the classical writers are few and scanty.⁵⁷

In medicine, the Egyptians were regarded by their contemporaries as remarkably advanced;⁵⁸ and it seems to be certain that they had studied the subject from a remote period. The composition of medical works was assigned by tradition to more than one of the most ancient kings,⁵⁹ while by some these antique productions were regarded as composed by one of the native deities.⁶⁰ All physicians were expected to study them; and were required to employ the prescribed remedies, and in no case to resort to others, unless the regularly authorized prescriptions proved unavailing. Any transgression of this rule of practice, if followed by the death of the patient, was a capital offence.⁶¹ It is evident that, under such a system, while rash experiments would almost certainly be prevented, the progress and improvement of the healing art would suffer no inconsiderable hindrance. Still, medical knowledge seems to have, notwithstanding, progressed. Homer praised the skill of the Egyptian physicians;⁶² and no sooner did the Persian kings become masters of Western Asia than they had

recourse to Egypt for their medical advisers.⁶³ If it be true that *post-mortem* examinations were allowed, and indeed commanded by royal authority,⁶⁴ we can understand that advances would be made in Egypt, since elsewhere there was generally a prejudice against the dissection of the human subject. It is clear also that the subdivision of the medical profession, which prevailed among the Egyptians,⁶⁵ must have had a tendency, in some respects, to advance medical knowledge by specializing it. On the other hand, such information as has reached us of the treatment actually employed is not of a nature to raise our estimate of the proficiency attained. The monthly use of emetics and clysters for the purpose of purging the body of its ill humors,⁶⁶ though analogous to a practice widely current in Western Europe a hundred years ago, is scarcely one in accordance with modern notions of *hygiene*. The prescriptions of the medical treatises, so far as they have been deciphered and translated, are absurd, and their physiological views seem to be purely imaginary and fantastic.⁶⁷ On the whole, while there is reason to believe that the science of medicine was better understood in Egypt than in any other country during the period with which we are concerned in this history, the positive knowledge possessed must be pronounced to have been not very considerable.

In one respect, and in one only, do the scientific attainments of the Egyptians seem to have been really great and surprising. Their engineering science is certainly most remarkable; and, though it has perhaps been, like their sculpture, over-praised,⁶⁸ yet beyond dispute there is much in it that is truly deserving of our warm admiration. In their cutting of hard materials, in their finished polish of surfaces, in their exact production of whatever angle they required, in their perfect fitting of stone to stone, and again in their power of quarrying, transporting, and raising into place enormous masses, this ancient people was, and still is, unsurpassed. In stone-cutting the results attained are with reason declared to equal those which are effected at the present day by the aid of gunpowder and of steam machinery in the quarries of Aberdeen.⁶⁹ In mechanical skill their great works are as perfect as anything that has ever been produced since.⁷⁰ In massiveness of construction they far exceed all that any other nation has ever attempted. The engineering student is naturally lost in admiration when he contemplates the huge masses so prodigally employed by the Egyptians in their temples, their palaces, and their tombs—blocks of stone thirty or forty feet long, used in walls or for the lintels of doors—obelisks weighing from 200 to 450 tons,

each a wonder to the Western world, but in Egypt a common ornamentation, sometimes set up in avenues—monolithic chambers and colossi weighing 800 tons⁷¹—and all apparently moved with ease to the point required, as though there were no mechanical difficulties whatsoever in the transportation. At the first blush, one is apt to suppose that practical mechanics must have been profoundly studied and pushed to great perfection by a people which could with such apparent ease produce such an enormous number of colossal works. But such accounts as we obtain from the classical writers of the manner in which their grandest achievements were effected, and such representations as they have themselves left us of their methods of proceeding, are calculated to dispel these ideas, and to lower very considerably our estimate of their mechanical science. The transportation of the hugest colossi was effected by the simple plan of attaching ropes to them in front and dragging the enormous mass by main force from the quarry where it was hewn to the place where it was intended to set it up.⁷² Human muscular power was the motive force used; and scarcely any mechanical art or expedients were employed to facilitate the operation. No levers were made use of, so far as appears, no rollers.⁷³ Beyond the rounding off in front of the sledge whereon the colossus was placed, and the lubricating of the ground over which it had to be dragged by some oily substance, no ingenious contrivance was had recourse to. Sheer strength accomplished the object aimed at, which must have been achieved slowly,⁷⁴ painfully, and with much waste of power. It is difficult to persuade oneself that horrible accidents did not occur with some frequency, when blocks of such an enormous size and weight were moved long distances by large gangs of human laborers.⁷⁵

The raising into place of obelisks, lintels of doors, and roofing blocks, such as those which cover in the sepulchral chamber of the Great Pyramid,⁷⁶ must have called into play some larger amount of mechanical art, and can scarcely have been managed without machines. It is certainly curious that machines are nowhere represented in the Egyptian sculptures;⁷⁷ but Herodotus tells us that they were really employed in the construction of the pyramids,⁷⁸ and modern observation confirms his statement.⁷⁹ The machines may have been simple, or they may have been complex. As we have no representations or descriptions of them, it is impossible to determine their character. But at any rate they were such that works, difficult of execution even at the present day, were accomplished by them. Obelisks of the largest size were emplaced

upon their pedestals successfully; pyramids were built up to the height of nearly 500 feet; temples were roofed in with huge masses of limestone or granite. Whatever were the means employed, the ends were most certainly effected; and the lower the opinion which we form of the mechanical appliances in use, the higher must be our admiration of the skill which, with such poor means, produced such vast results.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGION.

Large share occupied by Religion in the Life of the Nation—Esoteric and Exoteric Systems. Nature of the Esoteric Religion. Opinions concerning God, concerning Evil, and concerning the Soul. Exoteric Religion. Local origin of the Polytheism. Egyptian Pantheon—Ammon—Kneph—Khem—Phthah—Maut—Sati—Neith—the Sun-Gods, Ra, Osiris, etc. Osirid Myths. Minor Deities—Athor, Isis, Khons, Thoth, etc. Powers of Evil, Set, Nubi, Taouris, Bes, Apap. Genii, Anubis, Amset, Hapi, etc. Orders of Gods. Triads. Character of the Worship—Prayers, Hymns, Sacrifices. Animal Worship. Apis, Mnevis, and Bacis Bulls—Memphite Cow. Origin of the Animal Worship. Outward Aspect of the Religion—Festivals, Processions, and Worship of Ancestors. The Mysteries.

"Toute en Egypte portait l'empreinte de la Religion."—LENORMANT, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," vol. i. p. 521.

THE most important element in the thought of a nation, that which beyond aught else forms and influences its character, which underlies all its customs, and comes to the surface in ten thousand various and surprising ways, is its Religion. The Egyptians were profoundly religious. What most struck Herodotus, when, in the middle of the fifth century before our era, he visited the country, was the extreme devotion of its inhabitants. "The Egyptians," he says,¹ "are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men;" and, accordingly, the greater portion of his description of Egypt is occupied with an account of the priests, the temples, and the religious ceremonies.² We have seen that, in the architectural remains, the Temple dominates over the Palace, and is itself dominated by the Tomb,³ both the Temple and the Tomb being the expression of religious ideas. Everywhere in Egypt gigantic structures upreared themselves into the air, enriched with all that Egyptian art could supply of painted and sculptured decoration, dedicated to the honor, and bearing the sacred name, of some divinity. The great temple of each city was the centre of its



Fig. 85.—2. EGYPTIAN SITTING STATUE.—Page 124.



Fig. 84.—BUST OF AN EGYPTIAN KING.—See Page 125.

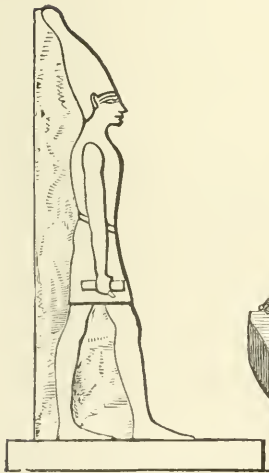


Fig. 87.—1. EGYPTIAN WALKING STATUE.—See Page 125.



Fig. 86.—GROUP OF TWO STATUES, HUSBAND AND WIFE.—See Page 125.



Fig. 88.—EGYPTIAN FIGURES OF PHTHAH AND BES.—See Page 126.



Fig. 89.—MODELLED FIGURES OF ANIMALS.—See Page 126.

life. A perpetual ceremonial of the richest kind went on within its walls, along its shady corridors or through its sun-lit courts—long processions made their way up or down its avenues of sphinxes—incense floated in the air—strains of music resounded without pause—all that was brightest and most costly met the eye on every side—and the love of spectacle, if not deep religious feeling, naturally drew to the sanctuary a continual crowd of worshippers or spectators, consisting partly of strangers, but mainly of the native inhabitants, to whom the ceremonies of their own dear temple, their pride and their joy, furnished a perpetual delightful entertainment.⁴ At times the temple limits were overpassed, and the sacred processions were carried through the streets of the town, attracting the gaze of all; or, embarking on the waters of the Nile or of some canal derived from it, glided with stately motion between the houses on either side, a fairer and brighter sight than ever.⁵ The calendar was crowded with festivals, and a week rarely passed without the performance of some special ceremony, possessing its own peculiar attractions. Foreigners saw with amaze the constant round of religious or semi-religious ceremonies, which seemed to know no end, and to occupy almost incessantly the main attention of the people.

Nor was the large share which religion had in the outer life of the nation the sole or the most important indication of the place which it held in their thoughts and regards. Religion permeated the whole being of the people. "Writing was so full of sacred symbols and of allusions to the mythology that it was scarcely possible to employ it on any subject which lay outside the religion. Literature and science were little more than branches of theology. The arts were scarcely employed for any other purpose than with a view to worship, and for the glorification of some god or of some deified monarch. Religious laws and precepts were so numerous, so multiplied, that it was impossible to exercise a profession, or even to obtain subsistence and provide for one's daily wants, without having constantly present to the memory the regulations established by the priests. Every province had its special divinities, its own peculiar rites, its special sacred animals. It even seems as if the sacerdotal element had presided at the original distribution of the country into nomes or cantons, and that these were, at the outset, not civil, but religious divisions."⁶

To understand the Egyptians, it is thus absolutely necessary to have something like a clear idea of their religion. The subject is, no doubt, one of great complexity and considerable obscurity; the views of the best authorities with respect to it

still differ to no small extent ;⁷ but a certain number of characteristic features, belonging to the inner life, seem to have obtained general recognition while there is a still more complete agreement as to the outward presentation of the religion in the habits and actions of the people. In the present sketch, mere speculation will be, as far as possible, avoided ; and only those conclusions set forth with regard to which there is something like a general accord among the persons best acquainted with the Egyptian remains, whether sculptured or literary.

First, then, it appears to be certain that the Egyptian religion, like most other religions in the ancient world, had two phases or aspects :⁸ one, that in which it was presented to the general public or vast mass of the population ; the other, that which it bore in the minds of the intelligent, the learned, the initiated. To the former it was a polytheism of a multitudinous, and in many respects of a gross, character : to the latter it was a system combining strict monotheism with a metaphysical speculative philosophy on the two great subjects of the nature of God and the destiny of man, which sought to exhaust those deep and unfathomable mysteries. Those who take the lowest views of the Egyptian religion⁹ admit that "the idea of a single self-existent deity," was involved in the conceptions which it set forth,¹⁰ and is to be found not unfrequently in the hymns and prayers of the Ritual.¹¹ It is impossible that this should have been so, unless there were a class of persons who saw behind the popular mythology, understood its symbolical or metaphysical character, and were able in this way to reconcile their conformity to the established worship with the great truths of natural religion which, it is clear, they knew and which they must have cherished in their heart of hearts.

The primary doctrine of the esoteric religion undoubtedly is the real essential Unity of the Divine Nature. The sacred texts taught that there was a single Being, "the sole producer of all things both in heaven and earth, Himself not produced of any"—"the only true living God, self-originated"—"who exists from the beginning"—"who has made all things, but has not Himself been made."¹² This Being seems never to have been represented by any material, even symbolical, form.¹³ It is thought that He had no name, or, if He had, that it must have been unlawful either to pronounce or write it.¹⁴ He was a pure spirit, perfect in every respect—all-wise, almighty, supremely good.

The gods of the popular mythology were understood, in the

esoteric religion, to be either personified attributes of the Deity, or parts of the nature which He had created, considered as informed and inspired by Him. Num or Kneph represented the creative mind, Phthah the creative hand, or act of creating ; Maut represented matter, Ra the sun, Khons the moon, Seb the earth, Khem the generative power in nature, Nut the upper hemisphere of heaven, Athor the lower world or under hemisphere ; 'Thoth personified the Divine wisdom ; Ammon, perhaps, the Divine mysteriousness or incomprehensibility ; Osiris (according to some) the Divine goodness. It is difficult in many cases to fix on the exact quality, act, or part of nature intended ; but the principle admits of no doubt. No educated Egyptian priest certainly, probably no educated layman, conceived of the popular gods as really separate and distinct beings. All knew that there was but one God, and understood that when worship was offered to Khem, or Kneph, or Phthah, or Maut, or 'Thoth, or Ammon, the One God was worshipped under some one of His forms or in some one of His aspects. It does not appear that in more than a very few cases did the Egyptian religion, as conceived of by the initiated, deify created beings, or constitute a class of secondary gods who owed their existence to the supreme God. Ra was not a Sun-Deity with a distinct and separate existence, but the supreme God acting in the sun, making his light to shine on the earth, warming, cheering, and blessing it ; and so Ra might be worshipped with all the highest titles of honor,¹⁵ as indeed might any god,¹⁶ except the very few which are more properly called *genii*, and which corresponded to the angels of the Christian system. Such is Anubis, the conductor of souls in the lower world,¹⁷ and such probably are the four "genii of the dead," Amset, Tuamutef, Hapi (Apis), and Kebhsnauf, who perform so conspicuous a part in the ceremonial of Amenti.¹⁸

It is difficult to decide what were the esoteric views of the Egyptians with regard to Evil. Several deities, as Set or Sutech, Nubi, or (as Wilkinson reads the name) Ombo,¹⁹ and Apepi or Apophis, the great serpent, seem to be personifications of evil ; and the strongest antagonism is represented as existing between these and the favorite divinities of the Egyptians, as Ammon, Khem, Phthah, Ra, Osiris ; but whether, as among the Persians,²⁰ two original Principles, one of Good, and the other of Evil, were intended, or whether Evil was viewed as "a necessary part of the universal system, inherent in all things equally with good,"²¹ and so as one aspect of the Divine nature, is to some extent doubtful. It is hard to believe that, if the pantheistic notion, by which Sin and

Evil generally are considered to be equally of the essence of God with goodness, had been the real belief of the Egyptian priesthood, their protests in favor of virtue and against vice of all kinds could have been so strong and earnest as they are.²² It is also difficult to imagine that the priests would have allowed the general obliteration of the monumental emblems of Set, which is noticed by Egyptologists,²³ if they had viewed him as really an aspect of the Supreme Being. Perhaps the Egyptian priests at no time thought out the problem of the origin and nature of evil, but were content with indistinct and hazy notions upon the subject. Perhaps their views varied at different times, inclining during the earlier ages to the pantheistic doctrine, in the later to the Persian tenet of Two Principles.²⁴

The continuance of the soul after death, its judgment in another world, and its sentence according to its deserts, either to happiness or suffering, were undoubted parts both of the popular and of the more recondite religion. It was the universal belief that, immediately after death, the soul descended into the lower world and was conducted to the Hall of Truth (or "of the Two Truths"),²⁵ where it was judged in the presence of Osiris and the forty-two dæmones, the "Lords of Truth" and judges of the dead. Anubis, "the director of the weight,"²⁶ brought forth a pair of scales, and, placing in one scale a figure or emblem of Truth, set in the other a vase containing the good actions of the deceased, Thoth standing by the while, with a tablet in his hand, whereon to record the result.²⁷ According to the side on which the balance inclined, Osiris delivered sentence. If the good deeds preponderated, the blessed soul was allowed to enter the "boat of the sun,"²⁸ and was conducted by good spirits to Aahlu (Elysium), to the "pools of peace,"²⁹ and the dwelling-place of Osiris. If, on the contrary, the good deeds were insufficient, if the ordeal was not passed, then the unhappy soul was sentenced, according to its deserts, to begin a round of transmigrations in the bodies of more or less unclean animals;³⁰ the number, nature, and duration of the transmigrations depending on the degree of the deceased's demerits, and the consequent length and severity of the punishment which he deserved, or the purification which he required. Ultimately, after many trials, if purity was not attained, the wicked soul underwent a final sentence at the hands of Osiris, Judge of the Dead, and, being pronounced incurable, suffered complete and absolute annihilation.³¹ The good soul, having first been freed from its infirmities by passing through the basin of purgatorial fire

guarded by the four ape-faced genii,³² and then made the companion of Osiris for 3,000 years, returned from Amenti, re-entered its former body, rose from the dead, and lived once more a human life upon earth. This process was reiterated until a certain mystic cycle of years became complete, when finally the good and blessed attained the crowning joy of union with God, being absorbed into the Divine Essence, and thus attaining the true end and full perfection of their being.³³

Such, in outline, was the general belief of educated Egyptians upon the highest subjects of human thought—the nature of God, and the ultimate destiny of man. On minor points varieties of opinion no doubt existed at different times and in different parts of the country. More especially was there diversity in the arrangements which were made of the Divine attributes and aspects into groups, and the subordination of some of those groups to others, arrangements which became the basis of the well-known disposition of the popular gods into “orders,” forming a sort of divine hierarchy.³⁴ It would seem that the selection of attributes and aspects made by the Egyptians was not the result of exact thought or of philosophic analysis, but was casual and partial. The priests of one district made one selection, of another another. Even where the same selection was made, different names were given. The attributes noticed, and separated off, increased in number as time went on; and it was not until a comparatively late period that graduation and arrangement were attempted. Then, in different parts of the country, different views were taken. There must always be much that is arbitrary in distinctions between the primary and secondary qualities of any existence. When the existence is the mysterious and inscrutable Author of Nature, the arbitrariness is apt to be excessive. Hence the remarkable diversity of the Egyptian groupings, the details of which will be given in a later portion of this chapter.

It has been supposed by some that the Egyptian esoteric religion comprised a recognition of the fact, first made known to mankind distinctly by Christianity, that the Divine nature is a Trinity in Unity. In the seventeenth century Cudworth strongly supported this view;³⁵ and in modern times it has been favored by some of those who are opposed to the doctrine and desirous of tracing it to a merely human origin. But the grounds upon which Cudworth rested his belief were long ago examined and refuted by Mosheim,³⁶ who showed, in the first place, that the authority on whom the English divine relied



was untrustworthy, and, in the second, that he did not make the assertion which was ascribed to him. Modern investigation of the religious books and inscriptions of Egypt confirms the view of Mosheim ; for, though in the local worships of the country "triads" were very numerous, there is not the slightest indication of the Egyptians having possessed any such conception as that of a Trinity in Unity. The Supreme Being was viewed as in his essence absolutely One, and, when divided up, was divided not into three, but into a multitude of aspects. The "triads" are not groups of persons, but of attributes ; the Three are not co-equal, but distinctly the reverse, the third in the triad being always subordinate ; nor is the division regarded as in any case exhaustive of the Divine nature, or exclusive of other divisions. The doctrine of the Trinity is thus in no sense an Egyptian doctrine ; and it is quite fanciful to suppose that it even, in any sense, grew out of the Egyptian affection for "triads ;" the doctrine, as has been frequently shown, underlies the most ancient portions of the Pentateuch, and is most reasonably regarded as involved in that primeval revelation which God vouchsafed to our first parents in Paradise.

It is essential to a true conception of the popular Egyptian religion that we recognize the fact that the polytheistic system ultimately adopted grew up gradually, its various parts having originated separately in different portions of the country.³⁷ The geographical conformation of Egypt has a natural tendency to produce separation ; and, historically, it seems certain, not only that, owing to its conformation, Egypt was at various times divided into several distinct kingdoms, but that originally *all* the nomes were distinct communities, having their peculiar customs and ideas, among which the most markedly peculiar were those connected with religion. No doubt "a certain unity of religious conception" prevailed throughout the whole country ; but this unity, as has been well said,³⁸ "was rather a national agreement in the mode of expressing the religious sentiment common to mankind" than any more definite acceptance of a single religious system. Egyptian worships and gods were, primarily, local ; and the Pantheon was gradually formed by joining together the various local groups and arranging them into a sort of hierarchy. Even these arrangements, though proceeding upon the same principle, were not always uniform ; and the chief centres at any rate of religious knowledge in the country had their separate and, to some extent, conflicting systems.³⁹ In most places there was very slight recognition of any deities, except those of the district ; and thus the polytheism, which theoret-

ically was excessive, practically was confined within narrow limits.

In treating of the several Egyptian gods, it will be convenient, first of all, to take them separately, and describe, so far as is possible, their general character and attributes, and then to arrange them in the recognized groups, whether these were strictly local, or such as obtained more widely. The order followed in the general description will be based upon that which, in his later years, was advocated by Wilkinson.⁴⁰

AMON or AMMON. (Egypt. *Am-n.*)

Ammon (Fig. 105) was the great god of Thebes, the southern Egyptian capital. According to Manetho,⁴¹ his name signified "concealment" or "that which is concealed;" and this meaning is confirmed both by the fact, which is now certain, that the root *amn*, , in the hieroglyphics has the signification "to veil," "to hide,"⁴² and also by statements in the religious poems of the Egyptians.⁴³ We may therefore safely adopt the view of Plutarch,⁴⁴ that the original notion of Ammon was that of a concealed or secret god, one who hid himself and whom it was difficult to find; or, in other words, that the mysterious and inscrutable nature of the Deity was the predominant idea in the minds of those who first worshipped God under this name. Ammon's most common title is *suten-neru*, , "king of the gods," and hence he was naturally identified by the Greeks and Romans with their Zeus or Jupiter,⁴⁵ who alone of their deities had that epithet.⁴⁶ He is also called *hek* or *hyk*, "the ruler." Other titles borne by him are—"the Lord of Heaven," "the Eldest of the Gods," "the Lord of the Throne," "the Strong Bull," and "the Horus (sun) of the two Egypts."⁴⁷ To him was dedicated the first mystic region in the other world. Originally, he seems to have been worshipped only in Thebes; but the conquests made by the Diospolite kings carried his cult southwards into Nubia and even to Meroe.⁴⁸ In Lower Egypt, on the other hand, he at no time obtained any acknowledgment, Ptah taking his place at Memphis, Neith at Saïs, Ra at On or Heliopolis, and other gods elsewhere.

The form under which he was worshipped was that of a man, walking or sitting upon a throne,⁴⁹ and crowned with a head-dress, whereof the distinguishing feature was a pair of enormously tall stiff feathers,⁵⁰ standing side by side, some-

times plain, sometimes varied by four or five broad black bars.⁵¹ The color of his body when he is painted, is light blue, a tint which has been supposed to indicate "his peculiarly exalted and heavenly nature."⁵² He is clothed in the ordinary Egyptian *shenti* or tunic, a closely fitting garment, reaching from the paps nearly to the knees, and confined at the waist by a girdle, besides which he wears only a collar, armlets, bracelets, and anklets. In his hands he ordinarily bears the *ankh* and the sceptre or hooked stick (*uas*), the symbols of life and purity,⁵³ to which are added occasionally the crook and flagellum, signs of the divine power to control and punish.

Originally Ammon was quite distinct from Ra, "the Sun," no two ideas being more absolutely opposed than those of "a concealed god" and of the great manifestation of Divine power and great illuminator of all things on earth, the solar luminary. But from the time of the eighteenth dynasty⁵⁴ a union of the two divinities took place, and Ammon was worshipped thenceforth almost exclusively as Ammon-Ra, and was depicted with the solar orb on his head.⁵⁵ This power of amalgamating deities arose, as already explained,⁵⁶ from the essential monotheism that underlay the Egyptian polytheism, whereby any two or more attributes or aspects of the Divine nature might be worshipped together. Nor was this the only combination in which Ammon had part. He appears in the sculptures not unfrequently as Ammon-Khem, or Ammon-Kamutf,⁵⁷ which has the same force, and has then the form of Khem, with the head-dress of Ammon. He is also found occasionally as Ammon-Kneph, and has the ram's head with horns curved downwards. Further, as Ammon-Ra, he takes naturally, in some cases, the attributes of Tum, Harmachis, or Osiris, since they were, as will be explained later, mere forms of the Sun-God, and so really identical with Ra.

Ammon, as Ammon, had many mystic names (Fig 101). Amongst them were the following:—Iruka, Markata, Ruta, Nasakabu, Tanasa-Tanasa, and Sharushatakata.⁵⁸ The meaning of these terms is uncertain, and it would seem that they were but seldom used. Ammon is ordinarily invoked as "Amen" or "Amen-Ra," "chief" or "king of the gods," and "lord of all earthly thrones." The hymns addressed to him are often remarkable for their simplicity and beauty. "O Ammon," says one suppliant, "lend thine ear to him who stands all alone before the tribunal. He is poor; he is not rich. The Court oppresses him; silver and gold (are needed) for the clerks of the books; garments for the servants. There is no other Ammon, that acteth as a judge, to deliver a man from his



Fig. 90.—See Page 126.



Fig. 91.—HEAD OF FEMALE.—See Page 133.



Fig. 92.—RAMESES II.—See Page 126.



Fig. 93.—SPHINX OF THE PYRAMIDS.—See Page 127.

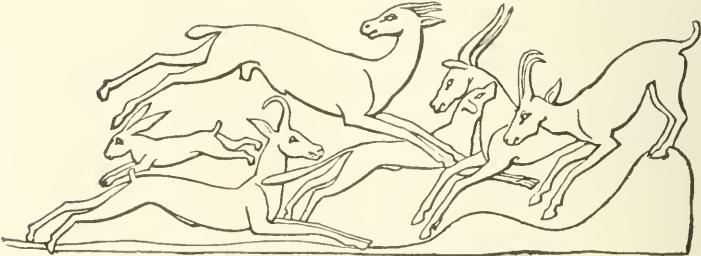


Fig. 94.—HUNTING THE GAZELLE AND HARE.—See Page 129.



Fig. 93.—AN EGYPTIAN KING DESTROYING HIS ENEMIES.—See Page 129, Note 32.

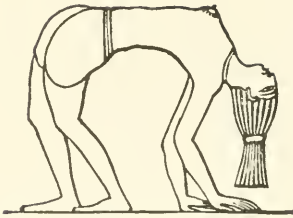


Fig. 96.—FEMALE TUMBLER, IN AN IMPOSSIBLE ATTITUDE.—See Page 128.



Fig. 97.—FIGURE OF AN EGYPTIAN PRIEST.—See Page 128.

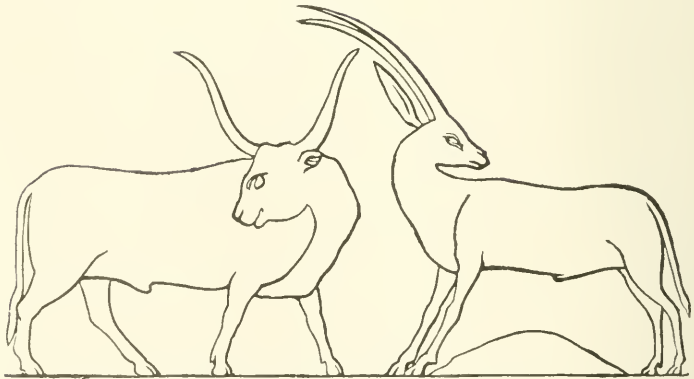




Fig. 98.—ANIMALS FORESHORTENED.—See Page 130.

misery; that, when the poor man comes before the tribunal, maketh the poor to go forth rich.”⁵⁹ “Thou art He that giveth bread,” says another, “to him that has none; that maintaineth the servant of thy house. Let no prince be my defender in my troubles; let not my memorial be placed before men. My Lord is my defender; I know his power; He is a strong defender; there is none mighty beside him. Strong is Ammon, and knoweth how to make answer. He fulfilth the desire of all those who pray to him.”⁶⁰ As Ammon-Ra, the addresses made to him are more elaborate. One, which has been translated by Mr. Goodwin, extends to above two hundred lines, and contains several curious and striking passages, as for instance the following:—

“Hail to thee, Ra, Lord of truth! Whose shrine is hidden, Lord of the gods; Creator, sailing in thy boat; at whose command the gods were made; Tum, the maker of men; that supportest their works, that givest them life, that knowest how one differeth from another; that listenest to the poor who is in distress; that art gentle of heart when a man crieth unto thee; Thou who deliverest the fearful man from the violent; who judgest the poor and the oppressed; Lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise; at whose pleasure the Nile overflows her banks; Lord of mercy, most loving, at whose coming men live; Opener of every eye; proceeding from the firmament; Causer of pleasure and light, at whose goodness the gods rejoice, their hearts reviving when they see Thee.”⁶¹

KNEPH. (Egypt. *Khnum* or *Num*.)

Kneph was the special god of Elephantiné, but he was worshipped also in all the more southern parts of Egypt, in Nubia, and in Ethiopia.⁶² We are told that his name was identical in meaning with the Greek *πνευμα*, “spirit,” or “breath.” If we may accept this statement on the authority of Plutarch and Diodorus,⁶³ and regard the root *num*, , as really equivalent

to *nef*, , “breath,” we must suppose that the original notion of Kneph was that of God as a spirit, moving over matter and breathing into it form and life.⁶⁴ This special notion was, however, soon overlaid and superseded by the more general one that he was the Creator, and in a peculiar sense the creator of mankind.⁶⁵ He was also regarded as presiding in some special way over water, which was expressed by *nem*,

 , as well as by *mu*,   , in Egyptian.⁶⁶ In

this capacity he was "lord of the inundation."⁶⁷ He had further a position among the gods of the lower world,⁶⁸ which does not belong to Ammon, who may be prayed to by the dead,⁶⁹ but is in no sense an infernal god.

Kneph (Fig. 103) was figured as a man walking, like Ammon, but with the head of a ram. This head has commonly two sets of horns, both those curving downwards, which are characteristic of the real animal, and a second pair, spiral, growing from the top of the head, which are properly those of the he-goat.⁷⁰ These latter horns appear also on the head of the sitting god which completes the hieroglyph of Kneph,



; and the form of the entire animal is not unfre-

quently attached to his name, without (as it would seem) any phonetic force. The he-goat, with spiral horns extended, must therefore be considered as his emblem, though the ram was the animal especially sacred to him. Above and between the spiral horns we see sometimes the asp or uræus, while occasionally that place is occupied by the vase,⁷¹ which was the main element in his name. In his two hands he bears, like Ammon, the sceptre, *uas*, and the emblem of life, *ankh*. His color is a bright green.⁷²

Kneph is also found with the peculiar crown (*atef*) on his head, which more commonly characterizes Ra or Osiris, a crown composed of the solar disk, with an ostrich-feather on either side, and between the feathers a tall striped conical cap, surmounted by a flower or a tassel.⁷³ Occasionally, but very rarely, he has for distinctive mark simply the uræus, which is placed on his head, or a little over it.⁷⁴

The Greeks confused Kneph with Ammon,⁷⁵ not unnaturally;⁷⁶ and some moderns so far agree with them as to consider Kneph "a form of Ammon."⁷⁷ This view, however, is not generally accepted, and it would seem to be no otherwise true than in so far as all Egyptian gods were, *to the initiated*, forms of the Supreme God, and so interchangeable one with another. In the minds of the vulgar, Kneph was as distinct from Ammon as from Phthah or Khem, and had his own temples, his own form, his own color, his own proper sacrifices, ceremonies, and the like. Though the embodiment of God as a spirit, he was a less spiritual conception than Ammon. His position in the hierarchy was probably between Ammon and Khem, with both of whom he had certain points in common. Less mysterious than Ammon, less remote from matter, less purely immaterial, he was of a more ethereal na-

ture than Khem, whose grosser attributes were not reproduced in him. Bunson supposes that in order of time Khem was anterior to Kneph ;⁷⁸ but, if this were so, of which there is no proof, still in idea Kneph must be assigned the precedence. Kneph was the creative spirit, Khem the generative power ; Kneph presided over men, Khem over nature. Kneph has higher titles than any which belong to Khem. He was "the god who made the sun and moon to revolve under the heaven and above the earth, and who created the world and all things in it"—"the god who forms on his wheel the divine limbs of Osiris"—"the god who forms the mothers, the progenitresses of the Divine Beings"—"the sculptor of all men."⁷⁹ It was not without some reason that Wilkinson originally placed him at the head of the Egyptian Pantheon,⁸⁰ though ultimately he assigned that place to Ammon.

KHEM. (Egypt. *Khem*⁸¹ or *Khemi*.)

The full Egyptian idea of Khem (Fig. 106) can scarcely be presented to the modern reader, on account of the grossness of the forms under which it was exhibited. Some modern Egyptologists⁸² endeavor to excuse or palliate this grossness ; but it seems scarcely possible that it should not have been accompanied by indelicacy of thought, or that it should have failed to exercise a corrupting influence upon life and morals. Khem, no doubt, represented to the initiated merely the generative power in nature, or that strange law by which living organisms, animal and vegetable, are enabled to reproduce their like. But who shall say in what exact light he presented himself to the vulgar, who had continually before their eyes the indecent figures under which the painters and sculptors portrayed him? As impure ideas and revolting practices clustered around the worship of Pan in Greece and later Rome, so it is more than probable that with the worship of Khem in Egypt were connected similar excesses. Besides his Priapic or "ithyphallic" form,⁸³ Khem's character was marked by the assignment to him of the goat as his symbol,⁸⁴ and by his ordinary title, *Ka-mutf*, "the Bull of his Mother," *i. e.*, of Nature.


Apart from the gross feature here noticed, Khem's image may be readily recognized by its being enveloped in swathes, like a mummy, with the exception of the right arm, which is upraised and brandishes the flagellum. Another distinguishing mark of Khem is the long bar which descends to the ground from the back of his head, and seems intended to

prevent him from falling. He wears the same head-dress as Ammon, and has very generally a cross, shaped like the letter X, upon his breast.⁸⁵

As the god of the vegetable world, Khem is represented generally with trees or plants about him, and the Egyptian kings offer him herbs and flowers, or cut the corn or till the soil in his presence.⁸⁶ The special seat of his worship was Chemmis,⁸⁷ or more properly Chemmo, a place which evidently took its name from him, and which the Greeks appropriately called "Pan's city" (Panopolis). But he was also worshipped in Thebes, and, to some extent, in Egypt generally. A feast was held in his honor, called "the bringing forth of Khem," whereat bulls, geese, incense, wine, and fruit were offered.⁸⁸

The titles of Khem are best set forth in an inscription belonging to the time of Darius Hystaspis, which was found in the temple of Ammon at El-Khargeh.⁸⁹ He is there called "the God Khem, who raises his lofty plumes,⁹⁰ king of the gods, lifter of the hand,⁹¹ lord of the crown, powerful, from whom all fear emanates, the Kamutef who resides in the fields, horned in all his beauty, engendering the depths." Like Ammon, he was occasionally identified with the Sun,⁹² the source of warmth and so of all mundane life, and was worshipped as Khem-Ra, or "Khem, the Sun-God." He is even said in some inscriptions⁹³ to have been "engendered by the Sun;" but this can only have been a loose mode of expression, since beyond all doubt he was regarded as a form of the Supreme God, and so as self-originated. Hence one of his titles was "father of his own father."

PHTHAH. (Egypt. *Ptah.*)

Phthah,  (Fig. 104), the Egyptian god whom the Greeks identified with their Hephaistos,⁹⁴ was the actual physical creator, the "demiurge," as the Greeks called him, the shaper and framer of the material universe. The special seat of his worship was Memphis; but he was also very generally adored, and figures of him are found in all parts of Egypt. These figures are of three very distinct forms. The commonest is that of a man swathed like a mummy, but with the hands left free, to allow of his holding in front of him the sceptre (*uas*) and the sign of life (*ankh*), with which is combined, generally, the so-called Nilometer, or emblem of stability. The head is covered with a close-fitting cap, and from

the drapery behind the neck there comes out a string to which is appended a bell-shaped tassel.⁹⁵ Another figure is that of a man walking, dressed in the ordinary tunic (*shenti*), and holding the *ankh* and *was*, only to be distinguished from figures of Ammon by the head-dress, which, instead of the tall plumes, is either the plain cap, or the striped head-dress of a king with lappets in front.⁹⁶ The third form is that of a pigmy, naked,⁹⁷ often with misshapen legs and feet turned inwards, and usually with a scarabæus on the top of the skull. Occasionally this figure is double, with four legs and four arms, hawk-headed at the back and human-headed in front.

The pigmy forms and certain others—modifications, chiefly, of the second type⁹⁸—are regarded as representing Phthah under a special character, as Phthah-Sokari or Phthah-Sokari-Osiris; that is to say, Phthah viewed as having some special connection with Osiris, the lord of the lower world. In the figures which front two ways Phthah would seem to be represented by the human, and Sokari by the hawk-headed, form.⁹⁹ No wholly satisfactory explanation has as yet been given of the reasons for this union; but perhaps they are to be found in the vivifying power of Phthah, and the supposed resurrection of Osiris from the dead, which may have been regarded as effected through Phthah's influence.



The principal titles of Phthah are—"the Lord of Truth," "the Lord of the World," and "the beautiful-faced."¹⁰⁰ He is also called "the father of the beginnings," and "the creator of all that is in the world."¹⁰¹ *Ma*, "Truth," is sometimes represented as standing before him; and Jamblichus was no doubt right in saying that he was considered to have created all things, "not deceptively, but *with truth*."¹⁰² The four-barred emblem of stability is especially characteristic of him, and unless when he bears the character of Phthah-Sokari, generally appears, either in his hands, on his head, or at his back. It is even used, together with the scarabæus and the solar disk, as emblematic of him, without the addition of any human figure.¹⁰³

The derivation of the word Phthah (Ptah) is, perhaps, doubtful; but the most probable theory connects it with an Egyptian root, *pet-h* or *pet-hu*, "to open."¹⁰⁴ Phthah was the great "opener" or "revealer"—the god who brought everything out of the ideal into the actual—who made the previously hidden deity (Ammon) manifest. At Memphis he was the chief, if not the sole object of worship to the people; and the kings of Thebes, after they became masters of Lower Egypt, were among his ardent devotees, and often called him

their "father."¹⁰⁵ His temple at Memphis seems to have been regarded by Herodotus as more magnificent than any other in Egypt, though it has now almost wholly disappeared, and the traveller can with difficulty trace its site. Monarch after monarch adorned it with statues and gateways,¹⁰⁶ each seeking to outdo his predecessors; but the ravages of time, and the still more destructive hand of man, have swept away the entire pile, and a single colossus of the second Rameses is almost all that remains to attract attention to the place.¹⁰⁷

MAUT. (Egypt. *Mut*.)

Maut, "the mother" (Fig. 107), which is the meaning of the word, was a "great goddess," worshipped especially at Thebes, in connection with Ammon (or Ammon-Ra) and Chons. She represented the passive principle in nature, and corresponded to the classical Rhea or Cybele, rather than to Latona, with whom she is identified by Herodotus.¹⁰⁸ Among her titles the chief were, "Lady of Heaven," "Queen of the gods," "giver of all life for ever," and "mistress of darkness."¹⁰⁹ In the last mentioned phrase the darkness intended is not that of night, nor of the Lower World, but the primeval darkness of chaos, ere light was,¹¹⁰ which the Egyptians regarded as, in a certain sense, "the one principle of the universe."¹¹¹

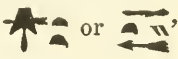

Maut is expressed in Egyptian either by  or ,

both forms being phonetic, and the latter emblematic as well, since the vulture was the Egyptian type of maternity.¹¹² She is represented by a female figure wearing the *pshent* or double crown, the emblem of sovereignty both over Upper and Lower Egypt, placed upon a cap ornamented with the head, body, and wings of a vulture. Wilkinson notes that the *pshent* is not worn by her as by the Egyptian kings, the one crown placed within the other, but that the two crowns are worn side by side,¹¹³ that of Upper Egypt being nearest to the spectator. In her two hands she bears the *ankh* and either the hooked sceptre (*uas*) or else one terminating in a lotus-flower. She is draped in the ordinary close-fitting robe, confined below the breasts by a girdle, and wears a collar, bracelets, and anklets.

In the popular mythology, Maut was the companion and wife of Amen-Ra, with whom she is constantly associated in the inscriptions and sculptures.¹¹⁴ The shrew-mouse was dedi-

cated to her,¹¹⁵ probably as a type of fecundity, or perhaps because it was thought to be blind, and was thus a good representative of "darkness."¹¹⁶ Besides being worshipped at Thebes, Maut was honored throughout Nubia, and even in Ethiopia, where her name is often found in the inscriptions.¹¹⁷ If we may identify her with the Buto of Herodotus, we must add that she was likewise among the principal objects of worship in Lower Egypt, where she had a famous temple and oracle at a city which bore her name, on the western side of the Sebennyitic branch of the Nile about twenty miles from the sea.¹¹⁸



SATI. (Egypt. *Sat*, or *Sati*.)

Sati (Fig. 102) stood in the same relation to Kneph as Maut to Ammon-Ra. She was his wife and perpetual companion.¹¹⁹ She had not, however, like Maut, the clear and unmistakable character of a goddess of Nature. Rather she appears as a sort of Queen of Heaven,¹²⁰ and was therefore compared by the Greeks to their Hera, and by the Romans to their Juno.¹²¹ The special seat of her worship was Elephantiné; and she was also acknowledged throughout Nubia and in Ethiopia;¹²² but in Lower Egypt she seems to have been scarcely ever either represented or mentioned. Her name is thought to signify "a sunbeam,"¹²³ and is expressed commonly by  or  followed by the form of a goddess.

The ordinary representation of Sati is a standing female figure, clothed in a long tight gown, with collar, belt or band, armlets, bracelets, and anklets, as usual, holding in her hands the *ankh* and lotus sceptre, and wearing on her head the crown of Upper Egypt, with cow's horns projecting from it on either side.¹²⁴ Sometimes, however, she is found seated on a throne or chair behind her husband, clad as above described, but with bare breasts and with a snake projecting in front of her horned crown. When colored, her tint is of a warm red representing human flesh; her head-dress is white; her sceptre, anklets, bracelets, and armlets are green; and her robe is delicately patterned in narrow stripes of blue, green, and white. The throne on which she sits, and its pedestal, are also patterned, or rather diapered, in the same colors.¹²⁵

NEITH. (Egypt. *Net*, or *Nat*.)

Neith (Fig. 100), according to the Greeks, corresponded to their Athênê,¹²⁶ and was thus a personification of the wisdom

or intellect of God. She was the especial goddess of Sais, the chief city of the Delta, where she seems to have been worshipped alone, not as the member of any triad. Her name is written with the two letters NT () after which follows an emblem, apparently non-phonetic, , in which most Egyptologists recognize a shuttle.¹²⁷ Her most usual title was "Lady of Sais." She is also called "the mother," "the mistress of heaven," "the elder goddess," and "the cow that produced the sun."¹²⁸ She is figured, ordinarily, as a female, dressed like Maut and Sati, but wearing the *teshr*, or crown of Lower Egypt, only, on her head.¹²⁹ In her right hand she bears the symbol of life, in her left either the *uas* or the lotus sceptre, to which are added in some instances a bow and two arrows.¹³⁰ Occasionally, instead of the crown she wears the common female head-dress, surmounted by the so-called shuttle.¹³¹ It is thought that she presided specially over war and weaving.¹³²

It is difficult to reconcile with this somewhat prosaic view of Neith the recondite and mystical ideas entertained by the Greeks and Romans with respect to the Saitic goddess. Plutarch says¹³³ that her name meant "I came from myself"—a meaning which would imply self-origination, and so the highest and most supreme divinity. Macrobius considers her "that virtue of the sun which administers prudence to the human mind."¹³⁴ Clemens of Alexandria declares that the inscription on her shrine at Sais ran as follows:¹³⁵ "I am all that was, and is, and is to be; and no mortal hath lifted my veil." It is impossible to suppose that there was no foundation for these higher views; and a certain support is lent to them by her title of "Mother" or "Great Mother," which would seem to imply that she was essentially a Nature goddess, not very different from Maut.

THE SUN-GODS, RA, KHEPRA, TUM, SHU, MENTU, OSIRIS, HORUS, HARMACHIS, ATEN.

That a large part of the Egyptian religion was connected with the worship of the sun cannot be denied, though it seems scarcely correct to say that their worship was "chiefly solar,"¹³⁶ or that "most of their gods" represented some aspect of the sun, or some portion of his passage through the upper or the lower hemisphere.¹³⁷ Still, the nine deities above enumerated had certainly, all of them, more or less of a solar character,



Fig. 99.—RAMESES III. HUNTING THE LION.— See Page 129.

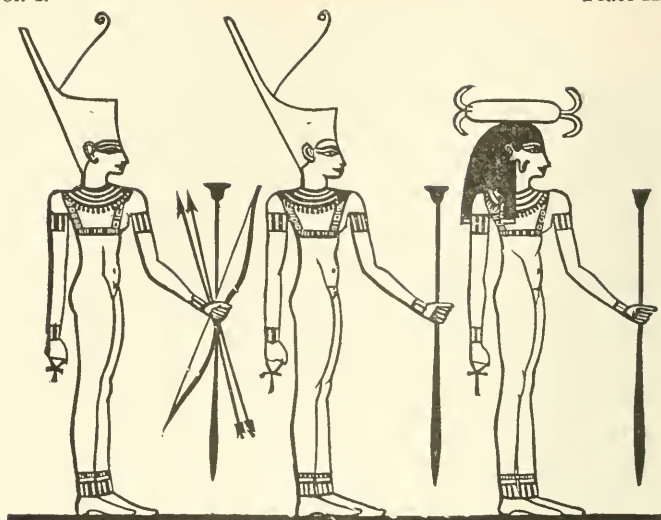


Fig. 100.—NEITH.—See Page 161.

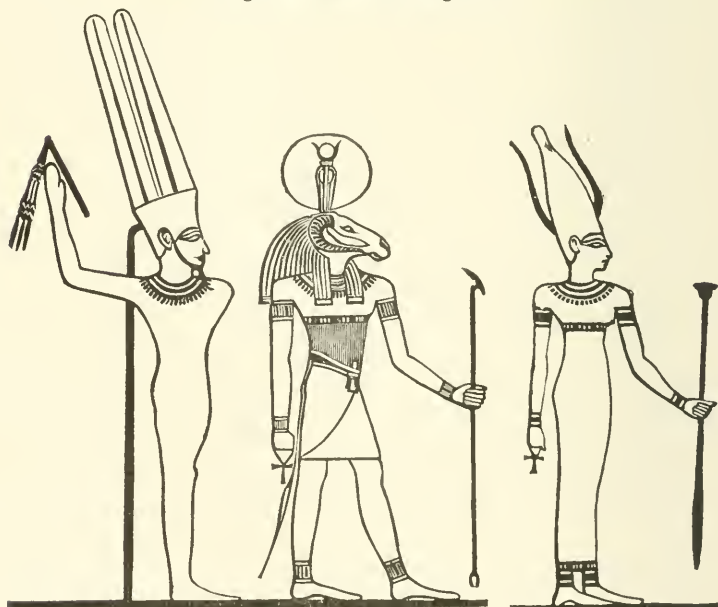




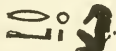


Fig. 101.—AMMON-KHEM.
See Page 154.

AMMON-KNEPH.—

Fig. 102.—SATI.—Page 161.

though no two in the list can be considered as mere synonyms, or as duplicates, the one of the other.

Ra (Fig. 110) was the sun in the widest and most general sense. To the initiated he was the power of God as shown forth in the material sun, which is the source of light and life to the world wherein we live, to the planets, and, as the Egyptians thought, to the universe. To the vulgar he was a created god, the son of Phthah and Neith; ¹³⁸ though he was often, indeed generally, worshipped with all the highest epithets of honor, as if he were the supreme God Himself. In the "Litany of Ra" ¹³⁹ he is called "the Supreme Power," "the only one," "the supremely great one," "the great eldest one," "the great sire that creates the gods," "the master of the hidden spheres who causes the principles to arise," "the dweller in darkness," "the master of light," "the revealer of hidden things," "the spirit who speaks to the gods in their spheres," etc. His name is sometimes expressed phonetically , Ra; sometimes symbolically by a circle, with or without the addition of the asp or *uræus* ( or ); sometimes by a union of the two methods , or with the addition of the figure of a god . It was proposed originally to pronounce the name as Rê; ¹⁴⁰ but the modern Egyptologists seem to be agreed that the true sound was Ra, ¹⁴¹ which was also the name of the Supreme God in Babylon, ¹⁴² and which probably meant "swift." ¹⁴³

Ra is figured as a man, walking, but commonly has the head of a hawk, surmounted by the disk of the sun, with the *uræus* or asp encircling it. ¹⁴⁴ He bears in his right hand the *ankh* or sign of life, and in his left the *uas* or sceptre. From his head depends a long cord, as from the heads of Kneph and Ammon. He wears the usual *shenti* or tunic, with armlets, bracelets, and anklets. Occasionally he is found human-headed, and in that case has the long wig with lap-pets. ¹⁴⁵ In the paintings his flesh is always of a red or red-brown color, as is also the disk of the sun superimposed upon him.

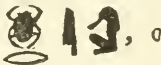
Among the emblems appropriate to Ra are, besides the solar disk, the hawk, the *uræus* or asp, and the *scarabæus* or beetle. The hawk is said to have been "dedicated to him as the symbol of light and spirit, because of the quickness of its motion, and its ascent to the higher regions of the air." ¹⁴⁶ Another ground assigned is, that "the hawk is able to look more in-

tently towards the solar rays than any other bird, wherefore they depicted the sun under the form of a hawk, as the Lord of Vision."¹⁴⁷ The uræus probably accompanied him as "the emblem of royalty and dominion."¹⁴⁸ Why the beetle was assigned to him is a subject on which much has been written,¹⁴⁹ but one which cannot be said even now to have received any satisfactory elucidation. Apion said it was because the Egyptians traced in the insect some resemblance to the operations of the sun;¹⁵⁰ but the grounds for their opinion, and even the exact meaning of it, are obscure. The beetle ordinarily represented in the sculptures and paintings is thought to be the *scarabæus sacer* of Linnæus, or common black beetle of Egypt;¹⁵¹ but nothing strange or peculiar has been pointed out in the habits of that creature.


Ra was worshipped more especially at On, near the old apex of the Delta, which city the Greeks therefore called Heliopolis, or "the City of the Sun;" but very great respect was paid to him also in various other places. At Thebes he was identified with Ammon, and worshipped as Amun-Ra, at the head of the local triad."¹⁵² At Memphis he was united with Phthah and Pasht;¹⁵³ at Silsilis with Phthah and the Nile-God, or sometimes with Ammon and Savak.¹⁵⁴ His worship was more nearly universal than that of any other Egyptian deity, unless it were Osiris, who was also a Sun-God, and so a form of Ra. As distinguished from Osiris, Ra was the sun of the upper world; as distinguished from Har or Harmachis, and from Tum or Atum (Atmu), he was the meridian or midday sun.¹⁵⁵ In litanies addressed to him, he ceases, however, to have any partial character, and is the light at once of the realms above and of the world below, of the heights of the empyrean and of the "two horizons," both that where he rises and that where he sets.¹⁵⁶ He is also, as already observed,¹⁵⁷ identified in these compositions with the Supreme God, being styled in them "the Lord of truth, the maker of men, the creator of beasts, the Lord of existence, the maker of fruitful trees and herbs, the maker everlasting, the Lord of eternity, the Lord of wisdom, the Lord of mercy, the one maker of existences, the one alone with many hands, the sovereign of life and health and strength."¹⁵⁸



KHEPRA.

Khepra seems to represent the creative energy of the sun,¹⁵⁹ which is the source of all the life that we see upon the earth. He is not, so far as appears, depicted separately, but **there is**

frequent mention of him both in the historical and the devotional compositions.¹⁶⁰ The scarabæus (*Khepr*) forms the chief element in his name, which is written , *o* Khepra, followed by the figure of a sitting god.

TUM or ATUM.

Tum (Fig. 111) is the sun, as he approaches or rests upon the western horizon, just before and when he sets.¹⁶¹ His common epithet is *nefer*, "good," and this is regarded by some as a part of his name,¹⁶² which is expressed by 

Temu,  Atum, or  Nefer-Tum. Among his other titles the commonest is "the Lord of the two lands,"¹⁶³ or "countries," by which has sometimes been understood "the two regions of Upper and Lower Egypt,"¹⁶⁴ but which appears from the inscriptions to have pointed rather to some division of the nome of Heliopolis.¹⁶⁵ He is also styled "the maker of men,"¹⁶⁶ "the Universal Lord,"¹⁶⁷ "the Creator God,"¹⁶⁸ and "the great Lord of created beings."¹⁶⁹ His worship was widespread. It was really Tum, rather than Ra, *i.e.*, it was Ra under the form of Tum, who was worshipped at Heliopolis;¹⁷⁰ and it was Tum who was the third god in the triad of Memphis. At Thebes he received frequent acknowledgment,¹⁷¹ and throughout Egypt he was universally recognized, at any rate as a god of the lower world, where he is scarcely distinguishable from Osiris. In the "Ritual of the Dead" the souls in Hades call to him and style him "father," while he in his turn addresses them as his "sons."¹⁷²

Tum's most common form is that of a man walking, dressed in the ordinary way,¹⁷³ but bearing on his head either the two crowns of Egypt, placed side by side, as on Maut,¹⁷⁴ or else the wig with lappets, which is worn also by Ra.¹⁷⁵ Like Ra, Kneph, Ammon, and many other gods, he carries the *ankh* and sceptre. He has also, like Ra, Kneph, and Ammon, the long pendent cord, ending in a tassel. As Nefer-Tum, he carries on his head a short shaft or stick, crowned by a lotus-flower, or else by two feathers, and two pendent tassels, one on either side of the shaft. Sometimes his sceptre terminates similarly. In the British Museum there is a silver figure of Nefer-Tum (Fig. 112), wearing the lily and also the two feathers.¹⁷⁶ The

ordinary color of Tum is, like that of Ra, red ; but he is said to be sometimes represented of a green hue.¹⁷⁷

The "house of Tum" at Heliopolis was one of the grandest of the Egyptian temples. In front of it stood a number of granite obelisks, among them that which has been recently erected on the Thames Embankment, and which is the second Egyptian obelisk that has been brought to England.¹⁷⁸ The temple itself was resplendent with gold, and so celebrated for its magnificence, that to say a building was "like the house of Tum" came to be regarded as the highest conceivable eulogy.¹⁷⁹ Large tracts of land were assigned to it by the munificence of the Egyptian monarchs ;¹⁸⁰ its sacred slaves (*hieroduli*) were reckoned by thousands ;¹⁸¹ and its furniture was of the richest and most costly character, comprising vessels and ornaments of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, turquoise, crystal, jasper, alabaster, green felspar, and hematite.¹⁸²

The following "Hymn to Tum" will show the feelings wherewith he was worshipped :—

Come to me, O thou Sun ;
Horus of the horizon, give me help.
Thou art he that giveth help ;
There is no help without thee.

Come to me, Tum ; hear me, thou great God ;
My heart goeth forth towards On ;
Let my desires be fulfilled ;

Let my heart rejoice, my inmost heart rejoice in gladness.
Hear my vows, my humble supplications every day,
Hear my adorations every night—


My cries of terror, cries that issue from my mouth,
That come forth from it one by one.

O Horus of the horizon, there is none other beside thee,
Protector of millions, deliverer of tens of thousands,
Defender of him that calls upon thee,
Lord of On !

Reproach me not for my many sins—
I am young, and weak of body ;
I am a man without a heart.

Anxiety preys upon me, as an ox [feeds] upon grass :
If I pass the night in [sleep], and therein find refreshment,
Anxiety nevertheless returns to me ere the day is done.¹⁸³

SHU.

The word *shu* signifies "light,"¹⁸⁴ and it is probable that Shu (Fig. 114) was originally the light of the sun, as distinguished from the solar orb itself ; but this distinction was known only to the initiated. The name¹⁸⁵ is expressed by an ostrich feather, followed by the ordinary sign for *u*, and then by a figure of a sitting god . Shu is commonly spoken


of as a son of Ra,¹⁸⁶ and frequently connected with Tafné,¹⁸⁷ a daughter of Ra, and (according to some) Shu's twin sister.¹⁸⁸ Tum, Shu, and Tafné are in one place called "the great chiefs of On."¹⁸⁹

When figured, Shu is either walking or kneeling. In the former case he has the ordinary form of a male deity, but bears on his head either a single ostrich feather, or else a fourfold plume.¹⁹⁰ In the latter, he kneels upon his left knee, and elevates above his head the sun's disk, which he holds in his two hands.¹⁹¹

Shu, like Tum, was a deity of the lower world, worshipped by the spirits in Hades, and invoked by them.¹⁹² It was his special office to stop the wicked on the steps of heaven, to prevent their entering, and effect their final destruction.¹⁹³ It is curious that the word *shu* meant in the Egyptian both "light" and "shade;"¹⁹⁴ and thus the god of light might be represented as plunging the hopelessly wicked into the darkness of annihilation.¹⁹⁵

We do not hear of any temples expressly dedicated to Shu; but he was probably worshipped at Heliopolis (On) in conjunction with Tum and Tefnut. Small procelain figures of him, kneeling and supporting the sun's disk, are common.

MENTU.

Mentu (Fig. 113) is thought to have been originally a provincial form of the deity who presided over the sun.¹⁹⁶ He is often identified with the solar orb, and bears the name of Mentu-Ra —i.e., "Mentu the Sun-God."¹⁹⁷



When, however, he was accepted into the general Pantheon, he came to have some peculiar attributes, and a peculiar form, assigned to him. He was viewed as the special protector of Egypt and of the monarchs, a sort of "Mars Ultor," but not the god of war in a vulgar sense.¹⁹⁸ The kings are fond of comparing themselves to Mentu, especially when they are fighting.¹⁹⁹ They celebrate his "force" and his "victorious arm," and speak of him as "very glorious."²⁰⁰ The peculiarity of his form is, that to the hawk's head, the disk, and uræus of Ra, he joins the tall plumes of Ammon.²⁰¹ His hue, when he is painted, like that of Ra, is red.²⁰²






The chief seat of the worship of Mentu was Hermonthis, a city which appears to have derived its name from this god.²⁰³ There he was the first deity of a local triad. In the rest of Egypt he would seem to have been but little known, unless it

were in the Thebaid, of which he is sometimes said to be "the lord."²⁰⁴ It is very rarely that the Egyptian monarchs make offerings to him. Still he occasionally attracted their regards, and is found associated in their memorials with Ammon, Ra, Phthah, Horus, and Sati, and again with Ammon-Ra, and Athor.²⁰⁵

OSIRIS.

Osiris (Fig. 115) was, practically, the god chiefly worshipped in Egypt, since, while all other worships were local, his was universal.²⁰⁶ Originally, perhaps, a personification of the divine goodness,²⁰⁷ Osiris came to be regarded as a form of the sun, and especially as the sun of the lower world, the great deity of Amenti or Hades.²⁰⁸ His office as judge of the souls of men upon their entrance into Hades has been already mentioned.²⁰⁹ This office was peculiar to him and never assigned to any other deity; but, except in this relation, Osiris seems to have been little more than a name for the Supreme God. He is called "the eldest," "the chief of his brothers," "the chief of the gods," "the master of the gods," "the king of the gods,"²¹⁰ and again "the lord of life," "the lord of eternity," "the eternal ruler," "the lord of the world," and "the creator of the world."²¹¹ A peculiar character of mildness, goodness, and beneficence attaches to him. He is "the manifester of good," "full of goodness and truth,"²¹² "the beneficent spirit," "beneficent in will and words," "mild of heart," "fair and beloved of all who see him."²¹³ He "affords plentifulness and gives it to all the earth; all men are in ecstasy on account of him, hearts are in sweetness, bosoms in joy; everybody is in adoration; every one glorifies his goodness . . . sanctifying, beneficent is his name."²¹⁴

The name of Osiris is expressed, most simply, by two hieroglyphs, thus:—; or more commonly , followed in

most cases by the determinative for "a god,"  or . Sometimes, however, the human eye  is replaced by a simple circle , and the other nondescript sign by an animal form, . The native pronunciation of the name would seem to have been *Hes-ar* or *Has-ar*,²¹⁵ which the Greeks, adding a nominative ending, converted into Osiris. There is some doubt as to the true meaning of the word; but perhaps "the many-eyed," which can plead for itself the authority of Plutarch,²¹⁶ may deserve acceptance as the most probable rendering.

Osiris was represented, most commonly, in a mummied form, to mark his presidency over the dead; but occasionally he appears as a man, walking or standing. Usually he bears in his two hands the crook and the flagellum, to which are sometimes added the sceptre (*uas*) and the *ankh* or symbol of life. On his head he carries the crown of Upper Egypt only, sometimes unadorned, sometimes ornamented on either side with a barred feather, and occasionally surmounted with a disk. When represented as a man walking, he has the lappeted wig, crowned with two wavy horns, above which are the two feathers. The wavy horns are also found with the plumed crown above them, and serpents (*uræi*) on either side, surmounted by disks. In some rare instances Osiris has the head of an ibis, but with two bills, one pointing either way.²¹⁷ His hue, when he is painted, is sometimes black, but more usually green.²¹⁸

Another rare form of Osiris is that which has been already given²¹⁹—a form rightly termed “barbaric,”²²⁰ with eyebrows meeting, fat cheeks, and a coarse mouth, clad in a spotted robe, and wearing “the Nilometer”²²¹ underneath the horns and plumed disk. Osiris likewise appears, but very rarely indeed,²²² seated on a throne, mummied, and wearing the disk of the moon, with which he appears then to be identified. Such figures have been called “figures of Osiris-Aah.”²²³

The myths connected with Osiris were numerous and curious, but, like the Greek myths, frequently contradictory.²²⁴ He is ordinarily represented as the son of Seb and Nutpe;²²⁵ but sometimes his father is Ra,²²⁶ at other times Shu,²²⁷ and his mother is Isis²²⁸ as well as Nutpe. Isis, at one time his mother, at another his sister, at another his daughter, is always his wife, and their child is Har or Horus. Osiris, according to the common legend,²²⁹ was once upon a time incarnate, and reigned as king of Egypt. Having ruled for a while beneficently, he went upon his travels, leaving Isis to conduct the government, which she did with vigor and prudence. Set, however, the principle of evil, conspired against Osiris, murdered him, and, having cut his body into fourteen pieces, disposed of them in various parts of the country. Isis collected the remains and revived them, while Horus, to avenge his father, sought out Set, and, engaging him, brought him under. Various offshoots of this stock tale were current. Isis, it was said, released Set after Horus had made him prisoner, and Horus thereupon tore off her crown, or (according to some) struck off her head. Set accused Horus of illegitimacy, and the other gods were called in to judge the cause,

which they decided in favor of Horus. The war between the two continued, and Horus ultimately slew his enemy, who is then represented either under a human form,²³⁰ or under that of the great serpent Apepi or Apap (Fig. 116).

Various explanations have been given of these legends. Osiris has been regarded by some as the sun, and Set as night or darkness, which destroys the sun and buries him, but is in its turn slain by the reappearing, rejuvenated sun of the next day, "Horus of the horizon," who thus avenges his father.²³¹ Others have seen in Osiris the Nile inundation, in Typho drought, in Isis the land of Egypt, and in Horus vapors and exhalations.²³² But the truth seems to be that little more was aimed at in the Osirid legends than to teach and illustrate the perpetual opposition and conflict between good and evil, light and darkness, order and disorder, virtue and vice. Starting from this basis, the religious imagination allowed itself pretty free play among the minor personages of the Pantheon, the details of the stories being of little account so long as the relative positions of Set and Osiris were maintained, so long as the struggle was shown forth, and the final triumph of good asserted. Interwoven into the various narratives are found religious ideas, which may be echoes from the far past of that primeval revelation which God vouchsafed to the human race, or may be merely thoughts natural to man, arising out of the constitution of his mind and its broodings upon God and nature. Such are the ideas of an incarnate god, a suffering god, a god who dies and is restored to life again; such, too, is the connection of evil with the form of the serpent, and the ultimate bruising of the serpent's head by the Divine benefactor.

It has been observed above,²³³ that Osiris was a deity worshipped throughout the whole of Egypt. And this is undoubtedly true. Indeed, it could scarcely be otherwise, since all recognized him as the god before whom they were to appear on their descent into the Lower World, and who was then and there to determine their final happiness or misery. Still, though an object of worship throughout Egypt, he had some special cities which were peculiarly devoted to him. The chief of these was Abtu, or, as the Greeks called it, Abydos, of which he is commonly called "the lord,"²³⁴ and where there was a great temple specially dedicated to him.²³⁵ Another Osirid city was Philæ, situated on an island in the Nile a little below Elephantiné, where again he had a magnificent temple, adorned with sculptures illustrative of his life on earth and mysterious sufferings.²³⁶ A third such city was Tattu, or This, which, like Abydos, claimed him as its "lord,"²³⁷ and







worshipped him in the form which is distinguished by the *tat* or "emblem of stability."

HORUS, HARMACHIS.


It has been usual to distinguish two Horuses,²³³ called respectively "the elder" and "the younger;" but the more Egyptian mythology is studied, the more doubtful does it appear to be whether any such distinction was really intended.²³⁹ No stress can be laid upon contradictory statements of the relationship borne by Horus to other gods, for such contradictions are quite common, and include cases where no one has ever suggested that different gods are meant, as those of Isis and Osiris.²⁴⁰ All the representations of Horus (Fig. 117) have a near resemblance; and the epithets attached to the name seem to mark, not different personages, but different aspects in which one and the same deity might be viewed. Primarily Horus is the youthful or rising sun, and is spoken of as Harmachis (*Har-em-akhu*), "Horus in the horizon." In this capacity he is one of the gods of Heliopolis,²⁴¹ and bears the title of Ra-Harmachis, to make his solar character unmistakable. In connection with the myth of Osiris he is Harpocrates (*Har-pa-krat*), "Har the child," and is dandled on the knee of Isis, or exhibited with the single lock of hair, which in Egypt was the mark of childhood, and often conjoined with Nephthys and Isis, his aunt and mother.²⁴² Occasionally his peculiar characteristics are forgotten, and he is the sun generally, "the sun of the two worlds,"²⁴³ identified with Ra and Tum, or with Amen-Ra, the sun considered as informed by the Supreme Being. He then has commonly the hawk's head, which characterizes Ra, surmounted by the double crown of the Two Egypts, with or without the uræus in front, while in his hands he bears, like Ra, the *ankh* and sceptre, and is represented walking, with the left foot advanced.

Horus is entitled "Lord of Truth," "Lord of Heaven," "Lord of the Crown," "helper of his father," "Lord of the sacred bark," "king of the worlds," and "supreme ruler of gods and men."²⁴⁴ He is "beauteous," "blessed," "self-sprung," "self-existing."²⁴⁵ A hymn addressed to him as Ra-Harmachis, celebrates his countless excellences. He was worshipped almost as universally as Osiris, and was in special favor at Heliopolis and Abydos.²⁴⁶ The Egyptian kings held him in peculiar honor, and delighted in identifying themselves with him and assuming his name and his titles.²⁴⁷ This




practice, begun (it would seem) by the monarchs of the fourth dynasty,²⁴⁸ continued down at least to the time of the twenty-second dynasty, when we find Pianchi addressed as "the indestructible Horus," "Horus, lord of the palace," and "Horus, royal bull."²⁴⁹

The name Horus is ordinarily represented by the figure of a hawk, , which is sometimes followed by a vertical stroke  the sign of the masculine gender.²⁵⁰ Harmachis is expressed by  ; Harpocrates by  . The hawk occurs also, as the emblem of Horus, on mummy-cases, on wooden tablets, in the tombs, and in bronze and porcelain figures, where the bird commonly wears the *pschent*.²⁵¹

ATEN.

Aten, written , was, properly speaking, the disk of the sun, and was worshipped under the representation of a large circle, from the lower hemisphere of which projected numerous arms and hands which presented to the worshipper the *ankh* or symbol of life.²⁵² It might have been supposed that there could be nothing very peculiar in this worship, or at any rate nothing to make it antagonistic to the rest of the Egyptian religion. Yet there was certainly a time when such an antagonism developed itself, and Aten, who had previously been only one of the many sun-gods, was elevated above every other deity, and even worshipped almost exclusively,²⁵³ while the adherents of the rest of the gods were persecuted. This time of undue favor was followed by a reaction; the name and form of the king who had carried the worship to its highest pitch were mutilated and defaced;²⁵⁴ disk-worship, as a special religion, disappeared; and Aten sank back into his old position of inferiority and subordination.

ATHOR.

With the sun-gods are closely connected two goddesses, Athor (Fig. 118) and Isis. Athor signifies "the abode of Hor,"²⁵⁵ and is generally expressed by a hieroglyph in which the hawk (Horus) is enclosed within the character representing a house . A variant mode of writing the word is  , "Eit-har" or "Athar." She represented most prop-




erly the lower hemisphere, from which the sun rose in the morning, and into which he sank at night; but in course of time came to be regarded as only one out of the many divinities of the lower world, to be adored together with Osiris, Isis, Horus, Nephthys, Anubis, Tum, Thoth, etc., as a goddess inhabiting the lower region together with them.²⁵⁶ She is depicted under many forms. Sometimes she appears almost as Isis, in the ordinary form of a female, but with horns, a disk, and a uræus on her head, and in her two hands the sceptre, *was*, and the *ankh* or "symbol of life." Or she has the vulture headdress of Sati and Maut, surmounted by the disk and horns, with or without two tall plumes, and bears in her left hand the sceptre which only females bear, or holds in her two hands a round object which is thought to be a tambourine.²⁵⁷ Occasionally she has a cow's head with a disk between the horns, or is worshipped under the figure of a spotted cow, crowned with a disk and two plumes. She appears likewise as a hawk with a female head and the usual horns and disk.

Among the titles of Athor were those of "mother of Ra," "eye of Ra," "mistress of Amenti," "celestial mother," "lady of the dance and mirth,"²⁵⁸ and "mistress of turquoises."²⁵⁹ Like Osiris, she was worshipped in most parts of Egypt, but especially at Tentyra, Thebes, and Atarbechis. Cows, especially white and spotted cows, were sacred to her, as also was a certain kind of fish,²⁶⁰ but the exact species cannot be determined. The Greeks identified her with their Aphrodité, and the Romans with their Venus; there does not, however, appear to be much reason for either identification.²⁶¹

ISIS.

Isis (Fig. 119) in original conception did not differ much from Athor, with whom she was sometimes identified by the Greeks,²⁶² and from whom even in the monuments it is often difficult to distinguish her.²⁶³ She was called the mother, as well as the wife and sister, of Osiris. It is, however, as his wife and sister that she is chiefly presented to us. The part assigned to her in the "myth of Osiris" has been already spoken of;²⁶⁴ and this constitutes the main feature in all the longer notices of her which occur in the inscriptions. Thus, in the "Tears of Isis," we have her lamentations over her brother when slain, and her joyful address to him upon his re-appearance.²⁶⁵ In the "Book of Respirations" we hear of the "sighs of Isis for her brother Osiris, to give life to his soul, to give life to his body, to rejuvenate all his members, that he

may reach the horizon with his father, the sun; that his soul may rise to heaven in the disk of the moon; that his body may shine in the stars of Orion on the bosom of Nut." ²⁶⁶ A hymn to Osiris tells us how "his sister took care of him by dispersing his enemies," how she "unrepiningly sought him, went the round of the world lamenting him, shadowed him with her wings, made the invocation of his burial, raised his remains, and extracted his essence." ²⁶⁷ Thenceforth, as a reward for her fidelity and love, Isis ruled with Osiris in the Amenti, assisted him in judging the dead, and received in common with him the principal worship of the departed. ²⁶⁸

The name of Isis is expressed by the hieroglyph supposed to represent a throne, followed by the two feminine signs ²⁶⁹ of the half-circle and the egg , to which is added sometimes the hatchet , *neter*, or the form of a sitting goddess . She is figured commonly as a female with a so-called throne upon her head, either simply, or above the horns and disk which are also characteristic of Athor. Sometimes she wears the vulture headdress; at other times she has the head of a cow; and she is even found with the head of a cat. ²⁷⁰ She has commonly in her hands the *ankh* and the female sceptre. Occasionally she is sitting on the ground and nursing Horus.

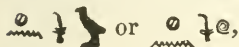
Her most frequent title is "defender" or "avenger of her brother;" ²⁷¹ but she is also called "the goddess mother," ²⁷² "the mistress of the two worlds," and "the mistress of Heaven." ²⁷³ She was worshipped more or less in every part of Egypt; but her most remarkable temples were those at Philæ and Coptos. The Egyptians connected her in some peculiar way with Sothis, the Dog-Star, ²⁷⁴ and also with a goddess called Selk ²⁷⁵ or Serk, whose special emblem was the scorpion.

THE MOON-GODS, KHONS AND THOTH.

The Egyptians had two moon-gods, Khons (Fig. 120) or Khonsu, and Tet or Thoth. Of these the former seems to have borne that character only, while the latter had, curiously enough, the further aspect of a god of letters. Khons was represented as the son of Ammon and Maut, ²⁷⁶ and formed together with those deities the third god of the Theban triad. He is frequently called "the god of two names;" ²⁷⁷ and these names seem to be Khons or Khonsu and Nefer-hetp, both words being of uncertain meaning. ²⁷⁸ Khons's ordinary titles are, "the great god," "the giver of life," and "the giver of

oracles." 279 He is also called "the expeller of spirits from the possessed," 280 and "the clerk of the divine cycle." 281 He was generally worshipped in combination with Ammon and Maut; 282 but Rameses III. built him a special temple in Thebes "of good hewn sandstone and black basalt, having gates whose folding doors were plated with gold, and itself overlaid with electrum like the horizon of heaven." 283 It was probably from this temple that, in the time of Rameses XII., an image of the god was sent enclosed in a sacred ark from Thebes to Mesopotamia, for the purpose of curing a "possessed princess," the daughter of a "king of Bakhten." 284 The cure was happily effected, and the monarch so delighted with the result, that he could not bring himself to part with the image, until in the fourth year he was warned by a dream to restore it to its proper place in Egypt.

The name Khons or Khonsu is always written phonetically




or , with or without the figure of a bearded

god. The form most commonly assigned to the deity is that of a mummied figure, like the figure of Phthah, 285 but with the lock of hair that characterizes Harpakrat and other *young* gods, and with the disk and crescent that mark him as a moon deity. In his hands he bears either "the Nilometer," with the crook and whip, like Phthah, or a palm-branch and pen, like Thoth. Occasionally he is represented as hawk-headed, and is distinguishable from Horus and Ra only by the crescent and disk which always accompany him.

Thoth (Fig. 121) who adds to his lunar character the features and titles of a god of letters, is ordinarily represented with the head of an ibis and a wig with lappets, the head being surmounted by the crescent and disk. To these an ostrich feather is sometimes added, while occasionally in lieu of the crescent and disk we see the complicated headdress which is worn more commonly by Kneph, Ra, and Osiris. 286 In some few cases the entire figure is that of a man, 287 attired as usual, while, still more rarely, the form selected is that of a cynocephalous ape. Thoth commonly bears in his hands a tablet and reed pen; but sometimes he has the palm-branch and pen, like Khons, sometimes the *uas* or crook-headed sceptre. 288

The titles most frequently given to him are "lord of Sesennu" 289 and "lord of truth." 290 He is called also "one of the chief gods," "the great god" or "the god twice great," "the great chief in the paths of the dead," "the self-created, never born," "the lord of the divine words," and "the scribe of Truth." 291 It is his special office to be present in Amenti when souls are

judged, to see their deeds weighed in the balance, and to record the result. He is also in this world the revealer to men of God's will. It is he who composes the "Ritual of the Dead," or at any rate its more important portions.²⁹² It is also he who in the realms below writes for the good souls with his own fingers "the Book of Respirations," which protects them, sustains them, enlightens them, gives them life, causes them to "breathe with the souls of the gods for ever and ever."²⁹³ According to one legend, Thoth once wrote a wonderful book, full of wisdom and science, containing in it everything relating to the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the four-footed beasts of the mountains. The man who knew a single page of the work could charm the heaven, the earth, the great abyss, the mountains, and the seas. This marvellous composition he enclosed in a box of gold, which he placed within a box of silver; the box of silver within a box of ivory and ebony, and that again within a box of bronze; the box of bronze within a box of brass, and the box of brass within a box of iron; and the book, thus guarded, he threw into the Nile at Coptos. The fact became known, and the book was searched for and found. It gave its possessor vast knowledge and magical power, but it always brought on him misfortune. What became of it ultimately does not appear in the manuscript from which this account is taken;²⁹⁴ but the moral of the story seems to be the common one, that unlawful knowledge is punished by all kinds of calamity.

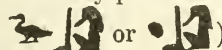
The name of Thoth is written with the ibis standing upon a perch, followed by a half-circle and the two oblique lines, which are used commonly to express *i*. Birch reads the name as "Teti," regarding the sign  as having its usual force;²⁹⁵ but Wilkinson supposes that the two lines in this case "double the T," and reads the name as 'Tet or 'Tot.²⁹⁶

As a god who took part in the judgment of the dead, Thoth was an object of universal reverence throughout Egypt.²⁹⁷ His main worship, however, was at Sesennu, or Hermopolis, where he had a temple,²⁹⁸ and was adored together with Tum, Sa, and Nehemao.²⁹⁹ Oxen, cows, and geese were sacrificed in his honor,³⁰⁰ and the ibis and cynocephalous ape were sacred to him.³⁰¹ He is often represented in attendance on the kings of Egypt, either purifying them, or inscribing their names on the sacred tree, or in some other way doing them honor.³⁰²

Among the minor divinities of the Egyptians may be mentioned the gods Seb, Savak, Hanher, Merula or Malouli, and

Aemhept, together with the goddesses Bast or Pasht, Nu or Nutpe (Netpe), Nebta or Nephthys, Anuka, Ma, Tafné, Merseker, Heka, Menh, and Nehemao; to whom must be added the malignant deities Set or Sutech, Nubi, Bes, Taourt, and Apepi (Apap) or Apophis. A few words only can be given to each of these.



SEB.

Seb (Fig. 122), the father of Osiris, is thought to have been the embodiment of "the stellar universe," and is spoken of as "the father of the gods" (*atef neteru*) or "the leader of the gods." His name is expressed by a goose or an egg, followed by the ordinary phonetic sign for *b*, and the image of a sitting god (). He is figured in the form of a man, walking, dressed in the short tunic or *shenti*, with collar, girdle, armbands, bracelets, and anklets. In his two hands he holds the *ankh* and *was*, and sometimes he carries on his head the figure of a goose. There is not much mention of him in the inscriptions.³⁰³

SAVAK.



Sabak or Savak, the crocodile-headed god, has all the appearance of having been originally a local deity, worshipped in the Arsinoite nome, and perhaps there representing the Supreme Being. Bunsen supposes that the "tractability" of the crocodile was the quality which drew attention, and caused it to be invested with a sacred character;³⁰⁴ but it is perhaps more reasonable to consider that its strength and destructiveness made it first feared and then worshipped. The crocodile is the only animal that attacks man in Egypt; and many deaths are caused by crocodiles every year.³⁰⁵ If we take this view, we can understand why crocodiles, and the crocodile-headed god, were either hated, as at Tentyra, Apollinopolis, Heracleopolis, Elephantiné, and elsewhere, or else honored and revered. Savak obtained at a somewhat late date³⁰⁶ recognition and worship in Thebes and the adjacent parts of Egypt, just as Set obtained recognition; but he was never honored generally.³⁰⁷ The Thebans connected him with Kneph and Ra, representing him with a ram's head, or with a human head and the headdress appropriate to sun-gods, and sometimes changing his name from Sabak into Sabak-Ra. The people of Ombos gladly adopted him, and identified him with their favorite deity, Ombo or Nubi, who was himself a form of Set,

as will be shown later. He was also accepted at a few other places; but, generally speaking, both Sabak and the crocodile, his sacred animal, were held in horror and detestation.

Sabak's name is expressed either phonetically , or by a crocodile and a sort of shrine or chapel . Where

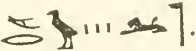
the phonetic characters are used, the others are often added. His crocodile-headed form has been already given; ³⁰⁸ in his other shapes he is undistinguishable from Kneph and Phthah-Sokari-Osiris. ³⁰⁹

ONURIS. (Egypt. *Hun-her*.)

Onuris is generally said to be the Egyptian Mars, ³¹⁰ and his name would certainly seem to mean "bringer of fear." ³¹¹ It is written either  or , but does not occur very

frequently. Rameses III. calls him "son of Ra," identifies him with Shu, and speaks of him as his own father. ³¹² He is noted as a god who wore "tall plumes," ³¹³ and distinguished in the sculptures by four upright feathers. Silsilis appears to have been the city where he was chiefly worshipped, ³¹⁴ and it would seem to have been the temple of that place which Rameses III. surrounded with a wall ninety feet high, to protect it from the attacks of the native Africans. ³¹⁵

MERULA.

Merula (Fig. 123) or Malouli is a god who does not appear until the later sculptures and inscriptions, but who can scarcely be supposed an invention of the later ages. His name ³¹⁶ is written . He is represented in the ordinary form of a god, but with the Osirid headdress placed above a wig and fillet, or else with a still more complicated head-ornament, ³¹⁷ placed above a cap resembling one sometimes worn by the kings.

At Talmis in Nubia, Merula was the third deity of a triad consisting of Horus, Isis, and himself. ³¹⁸ On another Nubian site he occupied the same subordinate position, together with Seb and Nut or Netpe. ³¹⁹ According to some, he is a mere form of Osiris; according to others, he is the last link in the long chain of the divine manifestations, the final member



Fig. 103.—KNEPH.—See Page 156.

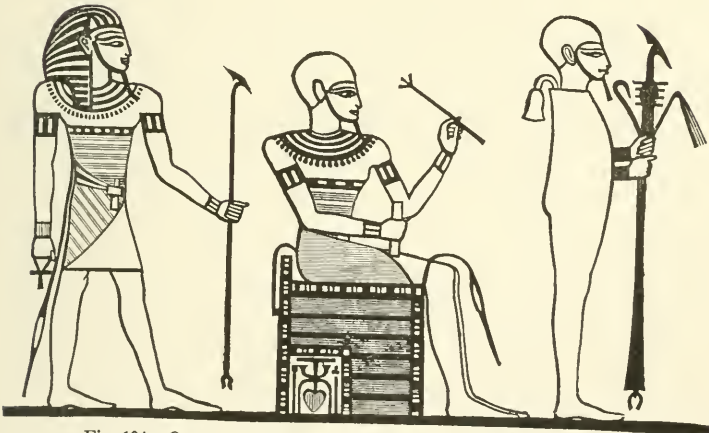


Fig. 104.—ORDINARY FORMS OF PHTAH OR PTAH.—See Page 158.




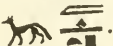
Fig. 105.—AMMON (ordinary form).—See Page 153.

Fig. 106.—KHEM.—See Page 157.

Fig. 107.—MAUT.—See Page 160.


of the final triad of all, the "last of the incarnations of Ammon."³²⁰ It may be suspected that he was a local (Nubian?) deity.

AEMHETP.


Aemhetp (Fig. 125), whom the Greeks compared to their Asclepius or Æsculapius, was a god but little acknowledged and but little worshipped. He seems never to have had a temple expressly built in his honor.³²¹ The form assigned to him is the simplest that we find given to any god, consisting, as it does, merely of a bearded man, wearing a plain tunic, with a collar and a close-fitting skull cap. The *ankh* and sceptre which he carries, alone show him to be a god. His name is expressed by  or .

The monuments state that he was the "son of Phthah," but give no account of his attributes. We may conclude, however, from the notices of the classical writers,³²² that he was in some sort a "god of medicine," and was worshipped in the belief that his favor would avert disease from his votaries, or cure them when afflicted with any malady. Images of him which appear to have been votive offerings, and represent him seated on a stool, unfolding a papyrus roll which lies upon his knees, are not uncommon.³²³

PASHT or BAST.




Of the goddesses not hitherto described, the most important seems to have been Pasht or Bast (Fig. 126). Some writers have even placed her among the eight deities of the first order;³²⁴ but this view is scarcely tenable. She was the wife of Phthah,³²⁵ and was worshipped together with him and their son, Tum, in the great triad of Memphis. Her common title is Merienptah  "beloved of Phthah;" she is also called *Mut*, "the mother," and *ur-heku*, which is of uncertain meaning.³²⁶

Bast is represented in the ordinary form of a goddess, but as lion-headed in the earlier, and as cat-headed in the more recent times. In most instances she bears upon her head the sun's disk, with the uræus, but sometimes she has the disk only, sometimes the uræus only, and occasionally neither the one nor the other.³²⁷ Excepting by her hieroglyphic name, she is undistinguishable from Meuh and Tafné. This name is ex-

pressed by three signs, thus: , and is read doubtfully as Pasht or Bast.

The worship of Bast was widely spread. At Thebes she held a high place among the contemplar deities there revered.³²⁵ At Memphis, she was not only united with Phthah, but had a special temple of her own.³²⁹ Her great city was, however, Bubastis (now Tel-Basta) in the Delta, which was wholly dedicated to her,³³⁰ and contained her principal shrine, an edifice pronounced by Herodotus to be "the most pleasing of all the temples of Egypt."³³¹ Once a year a great festival was held at this place, accompanied by indecent ceremonies, which was frequented by vast numbers of the Egyptians.³³² It does not appear that her worship was very ancient; but from the time of Rameses III., at any rate, she was held in high repute, and received the frequent homage of the kings, who even sometimes called her their "mother."³³³


NUT or NETPE.

Nu, Nut, Nuhar, or Netpe (Fig. 124) is the rendering of a name expressed in hieroglyphics by the three characters , which are sometimes followed by the feminine signs of the half-circle and egg . It is doubtful whether the third hieroglyph , which is the ideograph for "heaven," was sounded, and, if it was, whether the sound was *har* or *pe*. The goddess was the divinity of the firmament, and is generally called the wife of Seb and mother of Osiris. Her titles are, "the elder," "the mother of the gods," "the mistress of Heaven," and "the nurse." She is at once the mother and the daughter of Ra.³³⁴ She was represented in the common form of a goddess, with the *ankh* and female sceptre, sometimes bearing a vase upon her head. Occasionally she appears in a fig or sycamore tree, pouring liquid from a similar vase into the hands of a deceased soul.³³⁵ As the mother of Osiris, she is held in honor in the lower world, and thus her figure often appears in the tombs. It does not seem, however, as if she was a special object of worship in any city, or had anywhere a temple specially built in her honor.

NEPHTHYS. (Egypt. *Nebta*.)

Nephtys (Fig. 127), according to the myth, was the sister of Isis, and assisted her in her painful efforts to collect her husband's scattered members and effect his resuscitation.³³⁶

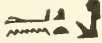

Her common titles are "the sister," "the benevolent saving sister," "the sister goddess," and "the great benevolent goddess."³³⁶ She held an important office in the under world, where she is the constant associate of Osiris and Isis,³³⁷ and is said to "cut away the failings" of deceased persons.³³⁸ Her name is written with a sign which seems to be a combination

of a house with a basket, , followed by the half circle and egg so frequently attached to the name of a goddess. It has been read Neb-tei, and translated "lady of the abode,"³³⁹ but Birch reads it simply Neb-ta.³⁴⁰



Neb-ta was figured like other goddesses, but with the house and basket upon her head, or else in a form in which she is undistinguishable from Isis, crowned, that is, with the sun's disk between two long cow's horns. She often appears in the tombs, but does not seem to have had any temple dedicated to her.

ANUKA. (Egypt. *Ank.*)

Anuka (Fig. 128) has been regarded by some as a form of Nephthys,³⁴¹ by others as a form of Sati.³⁴² But she seems to be really a distinct and substantive goddess. There is nothing that properly connects her in any way with Nephthys; and though she stands connected with Kneph, very much as Sati does, being, like Sati, his wife and companion, yet they can scarcely be identical, since the two are invoked together,³⁴³ and represented together,³⁴⁴ and called, in the plural number, "the ladies of Elephantiné."³⁴⁵ Anuka was acknowledged as a goddess only at the extreme south of Egypt and in Nubia. There she was the third deity in a triad composed of herself, Kneph, and Sati, or sometimes a third deity in a "tetrad" composed of Kneph, Sati, herself, and Hak, who is her son by Kneph.³⁴⁶

Her name is written phonetically , or *ank*, followed by the feminine sign , and that by the form of a goddess. She is represented, like other goddesses, in the ordinary female attire, and with the *ankh* and lotus sceptre, but is clearly distinguished from all her rivals by a headdress of a very peculiar kind. This is a high cap, ornamented at the top with a number of feathers which spread outwardly, and form a striking and graceful plume.³⁴⁷ The Greek conquerors of Egypt identified her with Hestia or Vesta,³⁴⁸ but on what grounds is uncertain. She seems to have been really rather a war-goddess than a protectress of the hearth.


MA.

Ma (Fig. 129) was the Egyptian goddess of truth. To the initiated she was, no doubt, the truth and justice of the Supreme God personified; but to the vulgar she was a distinct personage, a goddess who presided over all transactions in which truth and justice came into play. The kings, as supreme judges, are frequently said to be "beloved of Ma," *i. e.*, friends of truth.³⁴⁹ The chief judge in each subordinate court is said to have worn an image of Ma, and when he decided a cause to have touched with the image the litigant in whose favor his decision was made.³⁵⁰ In the final judgment of Osiris Ma's image was also introduced, being set in the scale and weighed against the good actions of the deceased.³⁵¹ Ma was reckoned a daughter of Ra, and was worshipped together with him.³⁵² She is sometimes called "chief" or "directress of the gods."³⁵³ No special temples were dedicated to her, nor was she comprised, so far as is known, in any triad. Her peculiar emblem was a single ostrich feather ; and her name is sometimes written with such a feather, followed by the half-circle and egg, which are usual signs of femininity, thus, . But the more common mode of expressing it is as follows:—



Ma is most frequently figured in the ordinary form of a standing goddess, but with an ostrich feather erect above her head. Sometimes, however, she sits, and bears the *ankh* without the sceptre. She is also found occasionally with huge wings, which project in front of her body to a considerable distance. In this guise, she is often double, since the Egyptians were in the habit, for some recondite reason, of representing truth as twofold.³⁵⁴

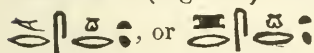
TAFNÉ.

Tafné (Fig. 134), another daughter of Ra, has a faint and shadowy character, which does not admit of much description. She ordinarily accompanies Shu,³⁵⁵ whose twin sister and wife she is, and seems to be a sort of goddess of light.³⁵⁶ Both Osiris and Horus are called in places "sons of Shu and Tafné;"³⁵⁷ but this mythology is of course exceptional. Her name is written phonetically , with or without the figure of a sitting goddess. She is portrayed in the usual

female form, but with the head of a lioness, like Sekhet, and bearing on her head the solar orb, surmounted by the uræus.³⁵⁸ Within the limits of Egypt, she was worshipped chiefly at Thebes ;³⁵⁹ but her effigy is found also in Nubia,³⁶⁰ where she was held in honor by the Ethiopians.

MERSEKER.




Merseker (Fig. 135)—whose name is written in two ways

—is a goddess not very often men-



tioned. We may gather from her name, which means “loving silence,”³⁶¹ that she was the “goddess of silence,”³⁶² a conclusion which is confirmed by our finding her called, in one of the royal tombs at Thebes, “the ruler of Amenti” or “the regions below.”³⁶³ The form assigned to her is very like that usually given to Isis and Nephthys, differing only in the head-dress, which is without lappets. She carries the *ankh*, like other goddesses, but bears the *uas* or male sceptre.

HEKA.

The goddess Hak (Fig. 136) or Heka, as commonly represented, is undistinguishable from Tafné, having the lion's head surmounted by the solar orb and asp. She seems, however, unlike Tafné, to have been a goddess of the tombs, in which her effigy often occurs. Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposed her to correspond to the Greek Hecaté,³⁶⁴ whose name he identified with hers; but the resemblance of the two in character is very slight. Hak appears on some of the older monuments as the wife of Kneph.³⁶⁵ She is there frog-headed instead of lion-headed, and bears neither the disk nor the

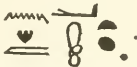
uræus. Her name is written either  or , and has sometimes the figure of a sitting frog  placed after it.

MENH or MENHI.

In form this goddess is, like Heka, an exact reproduction of Tafné, lion-headed, with the solar orb and uræus, and bearing the *ankh* and lotus sceptre in her two hands.³⁶⁶ Her name is written , or . No special office can be assigned to her.

NEHEMAO.

Nehemao is another colorless and shadowy goddess, not often mentioned, and, when mentioned, given no epithets that assign her any definite character. She is a "daughter of the sun," "the lady of Tentyris," and "the mistress of the eight regions of Egypt."³⁶⁷ Her headdress consists of a shrine, from which in some cases water plants are seen to issue on all sides. At the quarries near Memphis she was worshipped as the second member of a triad, in which she was conjoined with Thoth and Horus. Her name is expressed in Egyptian by





the following group 

It has been already stated that to a certain number of the Egyptian deities an evil and malignant character very unmistakably attaches,³⁶⁸ if not in the more ancient form of the religion, at any rate in that form which ultimately prevailed and established itself universally. This character belongs in some degree even to Savak, the crocodile-headed god, who was a main object of worship at the best period; but it is intensified in such deities as Set or Sutech, Nubi or Ombo (if he is really distinct from Set), Bes, and Taouris, who are represented in grotesque or hideous forms, and whose attributes and actions are wholly or predominantly evil.

SET or SUTECH.

Set (Fig. 137) was a son of Nut or Netpe, and so a brother of Osiris. According to the myth, he rebelled against his brother, murdered him, cut his body into pieces, and reigned in his stead. Osiris was afterwards avenged by his son, Horus, who vanquished Set, and, according to some accounts, slew him.³⁶⁹ Set, however, though slain, continued to be feared and worshipped, being recognized as the indestructible power of evil, and so requiring to be constantly propitiated. In the time of the Old Monarchy he seems to have held a place among the "great gods,"³⁷⁰ but was not the object either of any special adoration or of any marked aversion. During the rule of the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, those invaders selected him as their sole deity, refusing to worship any of the other Egyptian gods.³⁷¹ On their expulsion, he resumed his former place till the time of the nineteenth dynasty, when increased prominence was given to him by Seti I., in whose name Set was the chief element.³⁷² Subsequently, but at what exact time is unknown,


Set passed wholly out of favor. His worship ceased, and his very name was obliterated from the monuments.³⁷³

The name Set is expressed commonly by  or ; but in the latter case the Typhonian animal , which sometimes stands by itself for Set, is usually added. When Sutech is the name used, it is commonly written . The

worshippers of Set call him "the lord of the world," "the most glorious son of Nut," and "the great ruler of heaven."³⁷⁴ His detractors view him as "wicked," "vile," and "the enemy of Osiris."³⁷⁵ The form generally assigned him is curious. It is a human figure of the ordinary type, but with a strange and monstrous head, halfway between that of a bird and that of a quadruped. A pair of long, erect, and square-topped ears, a bill like that of a stork, a small eye, and a large wig, form an *ensemble* which is grotesque in the extreme,³⁷⁶ and which naturally provokes a laugh. Sometimes, besides this head there is a second, which is clearly that of a hawk.³⁷⁷

NUBI or NUBTI.

It is probable that in Nubi or Nubti we have not so much a distinct god as another name of the deity above described,³⁷⁸



Sutech or Set. The name Nubti, written , is followed

by the same grotesque animal form as the name Sutech; and it not unfrequently accompanies one or other of the figures which were assigned to Set in the last paragraph. Nor is there any other form than this which can be ascribed to Nubti. Nubti is called "the occupant of the south,"³⁷⁹ and is said to "shoot his arrows against the enemies of the sun," and to "shake the earth and the sky with his storm."³⁸⁰



TAOURIS. (Egypt. *Taour* or *Taourt*.)

Taour or Taourt (Fig. 130), the feminine counterpart of Set, appears commonly in the form of a hippopotamus walking, with the back covered by the skin and tail of a crocodile.³⁸¹ In one hand she generally bears an implement like a knife, while in the other she sometimes holds a young crocodile.³⁸² Her mouth is commonly furnished with huge teeth, and has

the tongue protruding from it more or less. Sometimes, instead of a knife, the implement which she bears in her hand resembles a pair of shears. She was worshipped at Silsilis in combination with Thoth and Nut or Nutpe,³⁸³ standing there, as it seems, at the head of a local triad. Her name is

commonly written phonetically  and is sometimes followed by a uræus , *ouro*, which is redundant.

BES.

Bes (Fig. 131), represented as a hideous dwarf, generally with a plume of feathers on his head and a lion-skin down his back,³⁸⁴ is thought by some to be a form of Set, by others to be the Egyptian "god of death."³⁸⁵ He is sometimes seen armed with a sword or swords, and is even found in the act of slaying persons.³⁸⁶ His name, which is written , is followed, curiously enough, by the hieroglyph representing a skin , which occurs commonly as the determinative of animals.

He was worshipped at Thebes, at Tentyris, and in Ethiopia. Bronze images of Bes are common, and appear sometimes to connect him with the moon.³⁸⁷

APOPHIS. (Egypt. *Apep*.)

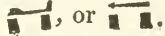

Apophis (Fig. 132) is portrayed either as a huge serpent disposed in many folds, or as a water-snake with a human head.³⁸⁸ He was supposed to have sided with Set against Osiris, and to have thereby provoked the anger of Horus, who is frequently represented as piercing his head with a spear.³⁸⁹ The place of his ordinary abode is the lower world, where he seems to act as the accuser of souls, and to impede their progress towards the inner gates of Hades and the Hall of the Two Truths.³⁹⁰ He is thought to have been the original principle of evil in the Egyptian system, and to have subsequently given way to Set, when their hatred of the Asiatics, whose great god Set was, caused the Egyptians to invest that deity with a malignant and hateful character.³⁹¹ The word "Apep" seems to be derived from *ap*, "to mount" or "rise." It is expressed in Egyptian either by , or .



Fig. 108.—EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF TAOURIS, SAVAK, AND OSIRIS.—Page 131.

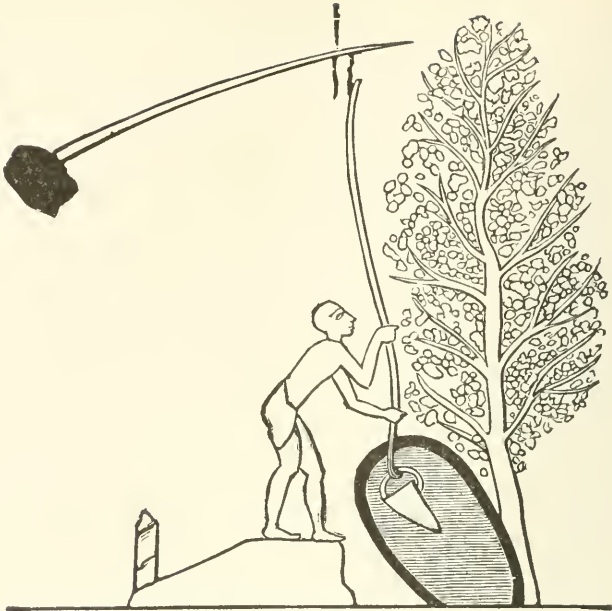


Fig. 109.—EGYPTIAN DRAWING WATER FROM A RESERVOIR.—See Page 131.



Fig. 110.—1.

Ra.

2.—See Page 163.

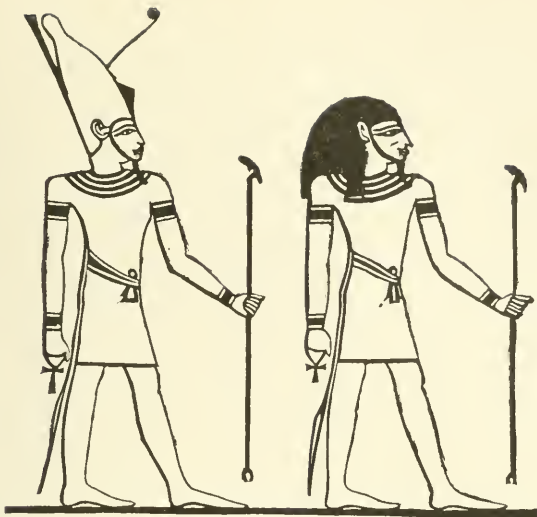


Fig. 111.—TUM.—See Page 165.

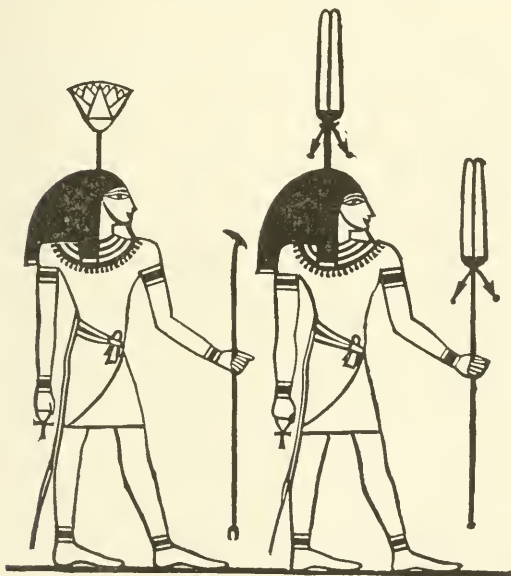


Fig. 112.—NEFER-TUM.—See Page 165.



Fig. 113. — MENTU. — Page 167.





Fig. 114. — SHU. — See Page 166.






Fig. 115. — THREE FORMS OF OSIRIS. — See Page 168.


Besides gods, the Egyptians recognized a certain number of *dæmones* or *genii*, who were not the objects of any worship, but figured in their religious scenes, and had certain definite offices assigned them, if not in this world, at any rate in the next. Such was Anubis, the conductor of the dead, who is sometimes represented as watching the departure of the spirit from the body of one recently deceased,³⁹² but more often appears in the judgment scenes, where he weighs the souls in the balance,³⁹³ or superintends the execution of the sentence which has been passed upon them by their judge.³⁹⁴ Anubis is represented with the head of an animal which the Greeks and Romans considered to be a dog,³⁹⁵ but which is now generally regarded as a jackal. In other respects he has the ordinary form of a god, and even, when unemployed, carries the *ankh* and sceptre. Occasionally he bears on his head the crown of the two Egypts.³⁹⁶ He is called "lord of the burying-ground,"³⁹⁷ and regarded as presiding over coffins,³⁹⁸ tombs, and cemeteries. In the mythology he was said to be a son of Ra and Nephthys,³⁹⁹

or of Osiris and Nephthys.⁴⁰⁰ His name is written either 

"Anep," or  "Anepu."

With Anubis may be joined the "four genii of Amenti,"

Amset, , Hapi, , Tuamutef, , and

Kebhsnauf, , who are represented either as

mummied figures, or in the ordinary human form,⁴⁰¹ and bear respectively the heads of a man, a cynocephalous ape, a jackal, and a hawk. These beings presided, with Anubis, over the grave. At the embalment of a corpse the intestines were taken out, treated with medicaments, and then either deposited in jars (Fig. 133) bearing the respective heads of the four genii, and placed with the coffin in the tomb, or else returned into the body accompanied by their complete figures. Each genius had certain special intestines committed to his care: Amset, the stomach and large intestines; Hapi, the smaller intestines; Tuamutef, the lungs and heart; Kebhsnauf, the liver and gall-bladder.⁴⁰² Speeches, supposed to be made by the genii, were frequently inscribed on the exterior of coffins, and on the boxes which held sepulchral vases and sepulchral figures.⁴⁰³ In the infernal regions the four genii were closely associated with Osiris, and are spoken of as "lords of truth,

chiefs behind Osiris.”⁴⁰⁴ Their duties are not very clear, but seem rather connected with the perservation of the body than the safe passage of the soul through its ordeals.⁴⁰⁵ Still, the genii are sometimes invoked to sustain the soul upon its way with food and light, to help it to “pass through the secret places of the horizon,” and to cross “the lintels of the gate.”⁴⁰⁶

It is usual to attach to the “four genii of Amenti” the “forty-two” who are known as “the assessors.” In representations of Osiris upon the judgment-seat, the assessors usually appear, standing or sitting in two or more rows above him or behind him, each crowned with an ostrich feather, the emblem of truth, and carrying in his two hands an implement resembling a sword or knife.⁴⁰⁷ All have mummied forms, and, while some have human, the majority have animal heads, chiefly those proper to certain of the gods, as hawks’, lions’, jackals’, rams’, crocodiles’, and hippopotamuses’. Each assessor has his own proper name; and these names it was necessary for all persons to know, and to repeat when standing in the “Hall of the Two Truths,” and disclaiming the forty-two sins of the Egyptian moral code. All the names appear to have been significant, and most of them were well calculated to cause the guilty to tremble.⁴⁰⁸ “Eyes of flame,” “breath of flame,” “cracker of bones,” “devourer of shades,” “eater of hearts,” “swallower,” “lion-god,” “white tooth,” “smoking face,” and the like, sufficiently indicated what fate would befall those who made a false protest of innocence to the spirit whose province it was to punish some one particular crime. The assessors “lived by catching the wicked,” “fed off their blood,”⁴⁰⁹ and “devoured their hearts before Horus.”⁴¹⁰ They were thus not merely judges, but accusers and punishers of crime. Guilty souls were handed over to them by Osiris, but to be “tortured” only, not destroyed.⁴¹¹

Long as is the above list of Egyptian gods and genii, let it not be supposed that the catalogue is as yet complete. A full account of the Egyptian Pantheon would have to comprise, besides the deities which have been enumerated, at least twenty or thirty others; as for instance, Nun, the god of the primeval waters;⁴¹² Hapi, the Nile god;⁴¹³ Bahu, the lord of the inundation;⁴¹⁴ Repa, the wife of Hapi;⁴¹⁵ Uati, the goddess of Lower Egypt;⁴¹⁶ Khaft, perhaps the goddess of the upper country;⁴¹⁷ Sem, the goddess of the West;⁴¹⁸ Sefkh, goddess of writing;⁴¹⁹ Seneb, goddess presiding over childbirth;⁴²⁰ Rannu, goddess of the harvest;⁴²¹ Nepra, god of corn;⁴²² Hu, touch;⁴²³ Sa, taste;⁴²⁴ and the foreign importations, Anta or

Anaitis; ⁴²⁵ Astartet, Ashtoreth or Astarte; ⁴²⁶ Bar, or Baal; ⁴²⁷ Reshpu, or Reseph; ⁴²⁸ Ken, or Kiun; ⁴²⁹ and Sapt. ⁴³⁰ Rito, Sekar, and Serk would also claim a place in any full description, though it would probably appear on examination that they were mere forms of the better known Athor, Phthah, and Isis. Inquiry would also have to be made into the true character and attributes of Am, Amente, Astes, Hak, Makai, Nausaas, Nebhept, Nishem or Nuneb, Nuhar, Urhek, ⁴³¹ etc. But to exhaust the subject would clearly require the devotion to it of at least one whole volume. In a work of moderate dimensions, such as the present, where even the more important deities have to be sketched rather than described at length, it is impossible to do more than glance at the minor and, comparatively speaking, insignificant personages of the Pantheon.

The arrangement of the gods into classes, and the organization, so to speak, of the Pantheon, belong to a comparatively late date, and are too artificial to be of much interest. According to Herodotus, ⁴³² the Egyptians recognized three orders of deities, and assigned to the first order eight, to the second twelve, and to the third an indefinite number. There is some reason to question the accuracy of this statement. In the extant native monuments and papyruses, neither "the eight" nor "the twelve" are to be recognized. We hear sometimes of a "holy nine," ⁴³³ of "nine gods of the Ta-Mera," ⁴³⁴ and of "nine gods, the masters of things," ⁴³⁵ but never of eight or twelve. Still, as Manetho to some extent confirms Herodotus, ⁴³⁶ it has been generally thought that there must have been, at any rate under the late Pharaohs, some arrangement of the gods into groups and some recognition of a presiding "eight;" but great difficulty has been found in determining both the principle or principles of the division, and (still more) the deities which belong to each group. Following a hint dropped by Herodotus, ⁴³⁷ one writer takes, as the general principle of the grouping, genealogical succession, ⁴³⁸ placing in the first order original or uncreated gods, in the second gods derived or descended from them, and in the third gods derived or descended from deities of the second rank. He is unable, however, to obtain more than seven gods of the first order by this method, and, to complete the eight, has to associate with them a produced god, Ra, the son of Phthah and Neith. ⁴³⁹ Recently it has been thought best to lay aside this principle of division altogether, and merely to ask the question, What eight gods practically received the chief worship of the Egyptians? To this question it has been found impossible to give

a simple answer, since different usages prevailed in different parts of the country. The subjoined, for instance, is given as the probable list at Memphis:—1. Phthah ; 2. Shu ; 3. Tafné ; 4. Seb ; 5. Nut or Netpe ; 6. Osiris ; 7. Isis (with Horus) ; and 8. Athor ; while at Thebes “the eight” is supposed to have been constituted as follows:—1. Ammon-Ra ; 2. Mentu ; 3. Tum ; 4. Shu (with Tafné) ; 5. Seb ; 6. Osiris ; 7. Set (with Nephthys) ; and 8. Horus (with Athor).⁴⁴⁰ It is reasonable to suppose that a similar divergence would show itself, were the inquiry extended to other religious centres.⁴⁴¹

The recognition of a first order of gods, if we regard it as established, necessitates the recognition of a second order ; but it seems very improbable that the number of the second order was limited to twelve. Whatever eight we separate off from the rest to form the first order, we shall find at least twenty with about equal claims to a place in the second.⁴⁴² It would seem most probable that in the second order were included all the proper deities below the first eight ; and that the third order contained only the deities more correctly called “dæmones” or “genii,” such as Anubis, Amset, Hapi, Tuamutef, Kebhsnauf, Am, Astes, Maentfef, Karbukef,⁴⁴³ and “the Assessors.”

Of far more practical importance than this division into orders was the curious preference, shown by the Egyptians generally, for worshipping their gods in triads, or sets of three.⁴⁴⁴ In almost every town of any consequence throughout Egypt, a local triad received the chief worship of the inhabitants. At Memphis the established triad consisted of Phthah, Sekhet, and Tum ; at Thebes, of Ammon-Ra, Maut, and Chonsu ; at Heliopolis of Ra (or Tum), Nebhept, and Horus ; at Elephantiné, of Kneph, Sati, and Anuka ; at Abydos, of Osiris, Isis, and Horus ; at Ombos, of Savak, Athor, and Khonsu ; at Silsilis, of Ra, Phthah, and Hapi, the Nile-god. Occasionally, but not very often, a fourth divinity was associated with the principal three, as Bast or Pasht (if she be different from Sekhet) at Memphis, Neith at Thebes, Nephthys at Abydos, and Hak at Elephantiné ;⁴⁴⁵ but the fourth always occupied a wholly subordinate position. The three gods of a triad were not themselves upon a par. On the contrary, the first god of the three had a decided pre-eminence, while the last was generally on a lower footing. The middle deity of a triad was ordinarily, but not always, a goddess.

Temples were generally dedicated to a single god ; but the god thus honored was worshipped in them *together with his contemplar deities*. Worship comprised three things, prayer,

praise, and sacrifices. Specimens of the first and second have been already given.⁴⁴⁶ But we subjoin one or two more. The following is an address to Ammon-Ra, considered as the Supreme God:—

Hail to Thee for all these things,
 The One alone with many hands ;
 Lying awake while all men sleep,
 To seek the good of Thy creatures !
 O Ammon, sustainer of all things,
 Atum-Horus of the horizon !
 Homage to Thee from all voices !
 Salvation to Thee for Thy mercy towards us ;
 Acknowledgment to Thee, who hast created us.
 Hail to Thee, say all creatures,
 Salutation from every land—
 To the height of heaven ; to the breadth of the earth ;
 To the depths of the sea.
 The gods adore Thy majesty ;
 The spirits Thou hast created exalt Thee,
 Rejoicing before the feet of their Begetter.
 They cry out welcome to Thee,
 Father of the father of all the gods ;
 Who raises up the heavens, who fixes the earth.

Maker of beings, Creator of existences,
 Sovereign of life and health and strength, Chief of the Gods :
 We worship Thy spirit, which alone has made us :
 We, whom Thou hast made, thank Thee that Thou hast
 given us birth :
 We give praises to Thee for Thy mercy towards us !⁴⁴⁷

The subjoined is part of a "Hymn to the Nile ;"⁴⁴⁷ but the local coloring gradually fades, and, forgetting his special theme, the sacred bard passes to a general expression of thankfulness to the Almighty:—

Bringer of food ! Great Lord of provisions :
 Creator of all good things !
 Lord of terrors, and of all choicest joys !
 All are combined in Him,
 He produceth grass for the oxen,
 And provides victims for every god ;
 The choicest incense he too supplies.
 Lord of both regions,
 He filleth the granaries ; he enricheth the storehouses ;
 He careth for the estate of the poor.

He causeth growth, to fulfil all desires ;
 He wearies not ever of it.
 He maketh His might a buckler.
 He is not graven in marble ;
 No image of Him bears the double crown ;
 He is not beheld ;
 He hath neither ministrants nor offerings ;
 He is not adored in sanctuaries ;
 His abode is not known ;
 No shrine of His is found with painted figures.

There is no building that can contain Him.
 There is none that can give Him counsel.
 The young men, His children, delight in Him ;
 He directeth them, as their King.
 His law is established in all the land ;
 It is with His servants, both in the north [and in the south].
 He wipeth away tears from all eyes ;
 He careth for the abundance of His blessings.⁴⁴⁸

The great deficiency which we note in the prayers of the Egyptians is the want of any earnest appeals for pardon, of any heartfelt repentance, or deep conviction of sin. Only once or twice do we find an Egyptian making any confession of sin at all.⁴⁴⁹ On the other hand we find abundant boasting and self-assertion. As before the assessors in the Amenti each departed soul had to protest its absolute innocence, so every Egyptian takes every opportunity of setting forth his manifold good deeds and excellences in this life. "I was not an idler," says one, "I was no listener to the counsels of sloth : my name was not heard in the place of reproof. . . . All men respected me. I gave water to the thirsty ; I set the wanderer in his path ; I took away the oppressor, and put a stop to violence."⁴⁵⁰ "I myself was just and true," writes another on his tombstone, "without malice, having put God in my heart, and being quick to discern His will. I have done good upon earth ; I have harbored no prejudice ; I have not been wicked ; I have not approved of any offence or iniquity ; I have taken pleasure in speaking the truth. . . . *Pure is my soul* ; while living, I bore no malice. There are no errors attributable to me ; no sins of mine are before the judges. . . . The men of the future, while they live, will be charmed by my remarkable merits."⁴⁵¹ It is, of course, possible that we have here merely the indiscriminate and overstrained eulogium of an affectionate widow or orphan, bent on glorifying a deceased husband or parent, and thus that the effusion is simply parallel to those epitaphs of the Georgian era, assigning every virtue under the sun to the departed, which disgrace so many of our own churches ; but it was certainly the general practice in Egypt for persons to prepare their own tombs,⁴⁵² and the use of the first person singular is therefore, probably, not a figure of rhetoric. Beka, most likely, saw nothing unseemly or indelicate in putting on record his own wonderful merits, and inviting posterity to imitate them. Similarly, Uja-hor-resenet, a government official under Amasis, Psamatik III., and Cambyses, asserts his own excellence upon a statue, which he certainly dedicated during his lifetime, in terms such as the following :⁴⁵³—"I was a good man before the king ; I saved the popu-

lation in the dire calamity which took place throughout all the land ; I shielded the weak against the strong ; I did all good things when the time came to do them ; I was pious towards my father, and did the will of my mother ; I was kind-hearted towards my brethren. . . . I made a good sarcophagus for him who had no coffin. When the dire calamity befell the land, I made the children to live, I established the houses, I did for them all such good things as a father doth for his sons."⁴⁵⁴

Sacrifice with the Egyptians, as with the Jews and with the classical nations, was of two kinds, bloody and unbloody. Unbloody sacrifice was the more usual. The Egyptians offered to their gods bread,⁴⁵⁵ flour,⁴⁵⁶ cakes of various kinds,⁴⁵⁷ oil, honey, fruit, incense, wine, beer,⁴⁵⁸ perhaps spirits, and also flowers.⁴⁵⁹ Libations to the gods were of daily occurrence,⁴⁶⁰ and were certainly both of beer and wine, possibly also of the spirit which is easily obtained from dates.⁴⁶¹ Incense was continually offered,⁴⁶² and consisted, in part, of frankincense, in part of various aromatic gums, and sweet scented woods.⁴⁶³ The best produce of Arabia was desired for this pious practice, and expeditions were sometimes undertaken, mainly for the purpose of procuring incense of the best quality.⁴⁶⁴ The fruits presented were such as dates, grapes, figs, the produce of the *doum* palm, olives, mulberries, etc.⁴⁶⁵ Flowers were offered in bouquets, in basketfuls, and in garlands ; the lotus and papyrus being among the plants in highest favor.⁴⁶⁶

The sacrificial animals included certainly bulls, oxen, male calves, sheep, goats, pigs, geese, ducks, pigeons, and certain undomesticated creatures, such as antelopes and various kinds of water-fowl. Of these, oxen, male calves, and geese were most in request, and served as victims universally ;⁴⁶⁷ goats were offered at Thebes and in most other parts of Egypt, but not at Mendes, where sheep took their place ;⁴⁶⁸ pigs, generally regarded as unclean, formed the necessary sacrifice on certain special and rare occasions ;⁴⁶⁹ ducks and pigeons served as convenient offerings for the poor ;⁴⁷⁰ parts of antelopes seem to have been occasionally offered by the rich.⁴⁷¹ It has been generally maintained that cows and heifers, being sacred to Athor, could under no circumstances be employed as victims in Egypt,⁴⁷² and this was certainly the belief of Herodotus ;⁴⁷³ but the Egyptian remains throw great doubt upon the truth of the Herodotean statement. Not only do cows and heifers appear among the sacrificial animals presented to the temples by the Egyptian monarchs, as regularly and in as large numbers as bulls, oxen, and steers,⁴⁷⁴ but it is distinctly stated in

numerous passages that cows were actually offered in sacrifice.⁴¹⁶ Whatever objection, therefore, the Egyptians may have felt to eating the flesh of cows and female calves,⁴¹⁶ it would seem to be certain that they had no scruple about sacrificing them. Probably such victims were made in every case "whole burnt-offerings"—consumed, that is, entirely upon the altar, and not partaken of, either by the priests or by the worshippers.

When a sacrifice was intended, the victim was usually decked with flowers,⁴¹⁷ and brought to the temple by the offerer, who submitted him first of all to the inspection of the priests, and then, if he was pronounced pure, and sealed in the appointed way,⁴¹⁸ conducted him to the altar, where, after a libation had been poured, he was slaughtered by the officiating minister, who cut his throat from ear to ear,⁴¹⁹ and let the blood flow freely over the altar, or over the ground at its base. Generally, only certain parts of the animal were burnt, the remainder being shared between the priests and the person, or persons, who brought the victim; but sometimes the whole animal was placed on the altar and consumed with fire. Cakes of the best flour, honey, raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other odoriferous substances were often added, together with a quantity of oil, which helped the fire to consume the whole.⁴²⁰ Such sacrifices were, no doubt, in many cases, thank-offerings, mere indications of the devotion and gratitude of the worshipper; but occasionally they were of the nature of expiatory rites, and gave some indication of that sense of sin and desire of pardon which were, as already observed,⁴²¹ generally lacking in the devotional utterances of the Egyptians. Herodotus tells us⁴²² that it was usual, when a victim was offered, to cut off the head, and after heaping imprecations upon it, and praying that whatever evils were impending either over Egypt or over the worshippers might fall upon that head, to sell it to Greeks or cast it into the Nile—a practice which recalls the Jewish ceremony of the scape-goat, and likewise that commanded in Deuteronomy for the expiation of an uncertain murder.⁴²³ Again, the same writer informs us that, in sacrifices to Isis, it was the custom for the sacrificers both to offer the victim fasting, and to beat themselves during the burning⁴²⁴—both which practices point to the expiatory idea as involved, to some extent at any rate, in the Egyptian notion of sacrifice.

One of the most remarkable features of the Egyptian religion—and one in which it differed from almost all others—was the sacred character with which it invested various animals. A certain number of animals were held sacred universally, and



Fig. 116.—HORUS DESTROYING THE GREAT SERPENT APAP.—See Page 170.

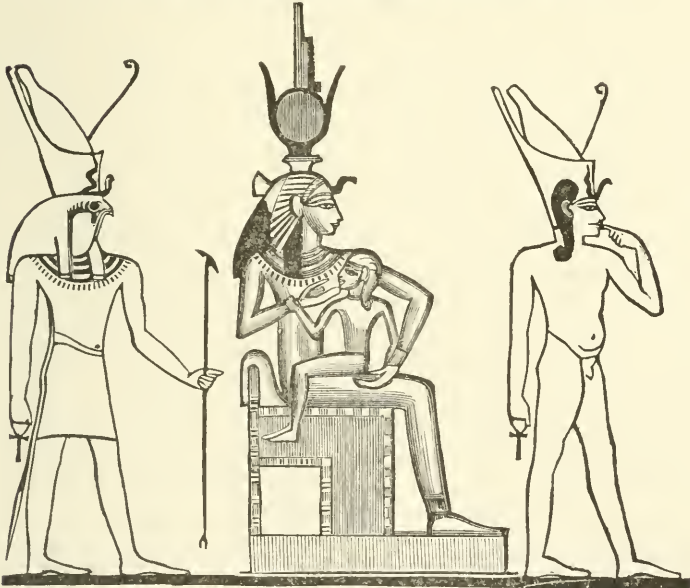


Fig. 117.—1. HORUS. 2. ISIS NURSING HORUS. 3. HORUS THE CHILD (Har-pa-krat).—
See Page 171.

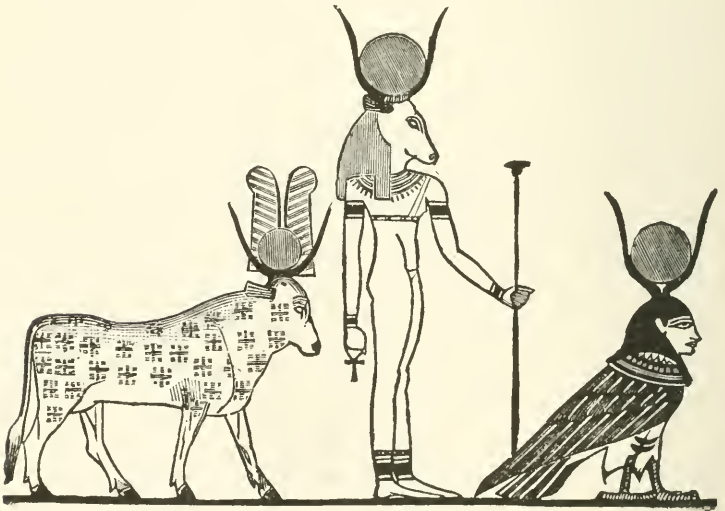
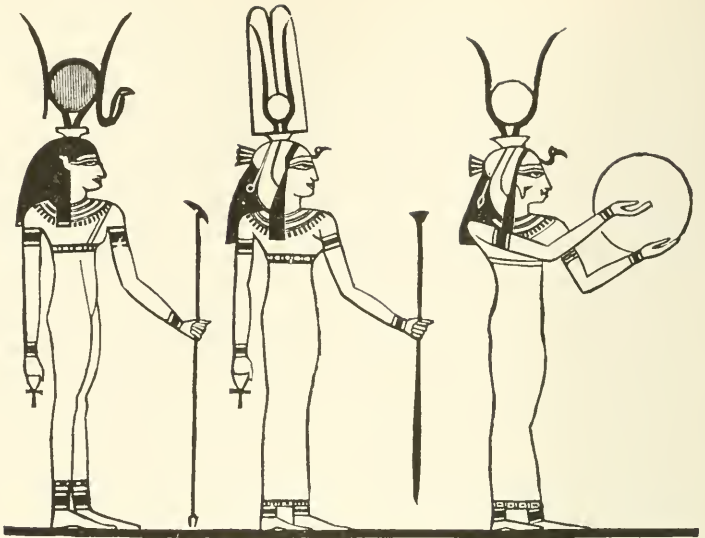


Fig. 118.—FORMS OF ATHOR.—See Page 172,

might nowhere under any circumstances be killed or injured. Others received a veneration less than universal, but not far short of it; while a third set enjoyed a mere local and exceptional privilege. To the first class belonged the cat,⁴⁸⁵ which was sacred to Bast or Sekhet; the ibis⁴⁸⁶ and cynocephalous ape,⁴⁸⁷ which were sacred to Thoth; the hawk⁴⁸⁸ and beetle,⁴⁸⁹ which were sacred to Ra; the asp, probably;⁴⁹⁰ and either cows as a class, or at any rate white cows, which were sacred to Athor. Generally but not universally revered were sheep,⁴⁹¹ which were sacred to Kneph, and dogs,⁴⁹² which do not seem to have been assigned to any special deity. Local honors attached to lions, crocodiles, hippopotamuses, wolves or jackals, ibexes, antelopes, goats, ichneumons, shrew-mice, vultures, frogs, certain snakes, and certain kinds of fish. Lions, emblems of Horus and Tum, were sacred at Heliopolis and Leontopolis; crocodiles, emblems of Set, at Ombos, Coptos, and in the Arsinoïte nome (or Fayoum) generally; hippopotamuses, emblems of Taouris, at Papremis in the Delta; wolves or jackals, emblems of Anubis, at Lycopolis; ibexes and frogs at Thebes; antelopes at Coptos; goats at Mendes; ichneumons at Heracleopolis; shrew-mice at Athribis; vultures, emblems of Maut, at Eileithyia; snakes at Thebes; and fish of different kinds at Latopolis, Lepidotopolis, Elephantiné, and elsewhere.⁴⁹³ In each locality where any kind of animal was sacred, some individuals of the species were attached to the principal temples, where they had their special shrines or chambers, and their train of priestly attendants, who carefully fed them, cleaned them, and saw generally to their health and comfort.⁴⁹⁴ When any of them died, they were embalmed according to the most approved method, and deposited in mummy-pits, or in tombs specially appropriated to them, with much pomp and ceremony.⁴⁹⁵ All the other individuals of the species were sacred within the locality, and had to be protected from injury. It was a capital offence to kill one of them intentionally; and to do so even accidentally entailed some punishment or other,⁴⁹⁶ and necessitated priestly absolution. The different towns and districts were jealous for the honor of their favorites; and quarrels occasionally broke out between city and city, or between province and province, in connection with their sacred animals, which led in some cases to violent and prolonged conflicts, in others to a smouldering but permanent hostility.⁴⁹⁷ An appreciable portion of the religious sentiment of the nation was absorbed by these unworthy objects; but so strong and lively was that sentiment among the Egyptians, that the animal worship, widely spread as it

was, does not appear to have interfered seriously with the respect and reverence which were paid to the proper deities.

In the animal worship hitherto described, it was the species and not the individual that was held in honor. But in certain cases the religious regard attached to the individual either solely or specially. The Egyptians believed that occasionally a deity became incarnate in a particular animal, and so remained until the creature's death. The occurrence was made known to the priests by certain signs;⁴⁹⁸ and the god, greeted, as soon as recognized, with every token of respect and joy, was conducted in solemn procession to his proper temple, and installed there as the actual deity. This form of superstition prevailed at Memphis, Heliopolis, Hermonthis, and Momemphis. At Memphis, a magnificent abode, in the shape of a court surrounded by Osirid pillars,⁴⁹⁹ was prepared for the accommodation of a sacred bull, believed to be an incarnation of the god Phthah,⁵⁰⁰ who was thought from time to time to visit Egypt in person. When a male calf, having been examined by the priests, was pronounced to have the required marks, he re-

ceived the name⁵⁰¹ of Apis, , and became the occupant

of this building, which thenceforth he never quitted, except on certain fixed days when he was led in procession through the streets of the city and welcomed by all the inhabitants, who came forth from their houses to greet him.⁵⁰² Otherwise he remained continuously in his grand residence, waited upon by numerous priests, fed on choice food, and from time to time shown for a short space to those who came to worship him and solicit his favor and protection. The cow which had been so favored as to be the earthly mother of the deity was also made an inmate of the sacred edifice, being lodged in the vestibule which gave access to the building.⁵⁰³ It is remarkable that the Apis bulls were not in every case allowed to reach the natural term of their lives. If a natural death did not remove them earlier, the priests drowned them when they reached the age of twenty-five,⁵⁰⁴ after which they were buried with the usual honors, their bodies being carefully embalmed and deposited with much ceremony in the sepulchral chambers of the Serapeum,⁵⁰⁵ a temple at Memphis expressly devoted to the burial of these animals. Each Apis, when dead, became an Osiri-Apis,⁵⁰⁶ or Serapis, and the object of a special cult,⁵⁰⁷ which in Ptolemaic and Roman times received an extraordinary development. All Egypt went into mourning at the death, however produced, and remained inconsolable until it pleased

the priests to declare a new *avatar*, when mourning was at once cast aside, a time of festival was proclaimed, and, amid the acclamations of the whole people, the new-found Apis was led in solemn pomp to occupy the chambers of his predecessor.⁵⁰⁸

At Heliopolis, another sacred bull was maintained in the great temple of the sun,⁵⁰⁹ which was viewed as an incarnation of Ra or Tum,⁵¹⁰ and received the same sort of honor as the Apis bulls of Memphis. The name assigned to this animal was Mnevis. It is said by Plutarch and Porphyry to have been a black bull; but the monuments are thought to represent it as white.⁵¹¹ Though highly revered by the Heliopolites, it did not enjoy much regard beyond the precincts of its own city.

A third sacred bull, called Bacis or Pacis, was maintained at Hermonthis,⁵¹² not far from Thebes, on the left bank of the river. Like the Heliopolite bull, this was regarded as an incarnation of Ra; and was kept in the temple of Ra at Hermonthis, which was a magnificent building. Its natural color was black; but it is said to have changed color frequently,⁵¹³ which would seem to have been through some priestly artifice; and we are told also that its hairs, or some of them, grew the wrong way.⁵¹⁴ It was an animal of unusual size.⁵¹⁵

White cows, sacred to Athor, were maintained in temples at Hermonthis, Athribis, Momemphis, and elsewhere; but whether they were regarded as incarnations of Athor, or simply as emblematic of her, is uncertain. The fact that Athor is sometimes represented under the form of a cow⁵¹⁶ tells in favor of the view that they were considered to be incarnations; but the distinction which Strabo draws⁵¹⁷ between Apis and Mnevis on the one hand, and most of the sacred cows on the other, points in the opposite direction. Perhaps the Momemphite cow was alone regarded as an actual incarnation.⁵¹⁸

On the origin of the animal worship of the Egyptians much speculation has been expended, both in ancient and modern times. By some it is maintained that the entire system is to be referred to the prudence and foresight of the priests, who invested with a sacred character such animals as were of first-rate utility, in order to secure their continuance and increase.⁵¹⁹ This theory sufficiently accounts for the veneration paid to the cow, the sheep, the goat, the dog, the cat, the ichneumon, the hawk, the vulture, and the ibis; but it fails completely if applied to the great majority of the sacred animals. The lion, the crocodile, the hippopotamus, the cynocephalous ape, the cobra de capello, the wolf, the jackal, the shrew-mouse, did

not benefit the Egyptians appreciably, if at all; and indeed must have presented themselves to the general intelligence rather as harmful than as useful creatures. The sacred fish, which might not be eaten, cannot be shown to have been in any other way beneficial to man; nor is the practical utility of beetles very apparent. These objections to the utilitarian theory⁵²⁰ have prevented its general acceptance, and led to various other suggestions, both anciently and recently. Some of the ancients said, the animals worshipped were those whose forms the gods had occasionally taken when they came down from heaven to visit the earth;⁵²¹ others that they were those which Osiris had selected and placed on the standards of his army.⁵²² A third theory was that the whole of the animal worship had been introduced by a politic king, with the express object of causing division and discord among the natives of the different nomes, and so making it easier to govern them.⁵²³ In modern times the Pantheistic nature of the Egyptian religion has been alleged as the "true reason" of the worship by one writer,⁵²⁴ while another⁵²⁵ has seen in it an original African fetishism, on which was afterwards engrafted a more elevated form of belief by an immigrant Asiatic people. To us it seems a sufficient and probably a true account of the worship, to say that it grew out of that exaggerated symbolism⁵²⁶ which was so characteristic of the Egyptian religion, which, beginning by tracing resemblances in certain animals to certain attributes of the Divine Nature, proceeded to assign to particular deities the heads of these creatures, or even their entire forms; after which it was but a short step to see in the animals themselves a quasi-divinity, which elevated them above their fellows and rendered them venerable and sacred. If this explanation does not cover the whole of the worship, as (it must be admitted) it does not, still the exceptions are so few, and comparatively speaking, so unimportant,⁵²⁷ that their existence is perhaps not incompatible with the truth of the origin suggested.

The outward aspect of the Egyptian religion was, as already noticed,⁵²⁸ magnificent and striking. The size and number of the temples, the massiveness and solidity of their construction, the immense height of the columns, the multiplicity of the courts and halls, the frequent obelisks and colossi, the groves and lakes,⁵²⁹ the long avenues of sphinxes, the lavish abundance of painted and sculptured decoration, formed a combination which was at once astonishing and delightful, and which travellers were never weary of describing.⁵³⁰ But all this was the mere exterior framework or setting within which the religion displayed itself. Life and meaning were imparted to

the material apparatus of worship by the long trains of priests and the vast throng of worshippers constantly to be seen in and about the temples, by the processions which paced their courts in solemn pomp, the mournful or jubilant strains which resounded down their corridors, the clouds of incense which rose into the air, the perpetual succession of victims which smoked upon the altars. The Egyptians, as Herodotus notes,⁵³¹ "were religious to excess." There was certainly not a day, perhaps scarcely an hour, without its own religious ceremony, in any of the greater temples, whose "colleges of priests"⁵³² could readily furnish a succession of officiating ministers, always ready to offer on behalf of those who brought victims or other oblations. Thus a constant round of religious offices was maintained; the voice of prayer, however imperfect or misdirected, went up from the temples continually; and Egypt, in whatever darkness she lay, at least testified to the need and value of a perpetual intercession, a constant pleading with God, a worship without pause or weariness.

The worship culminated in certain festivals, or great gatherings of the people for special religious services,⁵³³ which were mostly either annual or monthly. A monthly festival, on the day of the new moon, celebrated the reappearance of that luminary after its temporary obscurity.⁵³⁴ On the fourth day of each month, a festival was held in honor of the sun.⁵³⁵ Once a year, on the day of a particular full moon, there was a festival in which the moon and Osiris would seem to have been honored conjointly.⁵³⁶ On this occasion, according to Herodotus, the rites included a procession to the sound of the pipe, wherein both men and women participated, though the ceremony was of an indecent character.⁵³⁷ Other feasts were held in honor of Osiris on the seventeenth day of Athyr and the nineteenth of Pashons; in the former of which the "loss of Osiris," and in the latter his recovery, were commemorated. A cow, emblematic of Isis, was veiled in black and led about for four successive days, accompanied by a crowd of men and women who beat their breasts, in memory of the supposed disappearance of Osiris from earth and his sister's search for him; while, in memory of his recovery, a procession was made to the seaside, the priests carrying a sacred chest, and, an image or emblem of Osiris fashioned out of earth and water having been placed in it, the declaration was made, "Osiris is found! Osiris is found!" amid general festivity and rejoicing.⁵³⁸

Among the most remarkable of the annual festivals were those of Bast or Pasht at Bubastis, of Neith at Sais, and of Mentu or Onuris at Papremis. It would be uncritical to at-

tach any great value to the details which Herodotus, in his lively manner, gives us of the ceremonies on these occasions,⁵³⁹ or of the numbers by which the festivals were attended.⁵⁴⁰ Still we may safely conclude from his account that the concourse was often very great, that the Nile was used for religious processions, and that open and flagrant indecencies disgraced some of the gatherings. We may perhaps be also justified in concluding that some of the ceremonies led actually to fighting and bloodshed, the god being regarded as honored by the wounds of his votaries, and still more by their deaths, if the wounds received proved fatal.⁵⁴¹

Processions were a conspicuous, if not a very important, part of the Egyptian ritual. On special occasions the sacred animals, and on others the images of the gods, were taken from the *adyta* of temples, in which they were commonly kept, to be paraded openly through the towns, down their streets and along their watercourses, in the sight of admiring multitudes. The animals were led along by their respective attendants, and received the homage of their adorers as they passed.⁵⁴² The images were sometimes placed upright upon platforms,⁵⁴³ and borne along the line of route upon the shoulders of a number of priests, while others, marshalled according to their various ranks and orders, preceded or followed the sacred figures, clad in a variety of vestments, and with symbolic headdresses, chanting hymns or litanies in praise of the gods whom they accompanied. At other times, and more commonly, the images were deposited in boats of a light construction,⁵⁴⁴ richly carved and adorned at either end with a symbol of the god, which could either be drawn along the streets upon a low sledge, or carried (like the platforms) upon men's shoulders, or launched upon the Nile and propelled by oars along its waters. These boats are favorite objects of representation upon the monuments.⁵⁴⁵ Generally a number of priests carry them, under the superintendence of a chief priest, clad in the usual leopard's skin; then follows a crowd of subordinate ministers and nobles, with sometimes even the Pharaoh of the time, who, when represented, always takes an important part in the ceremony. A portion of the priests bear flowers, another portion banners, while some have long staves surmounted by a religious emblem; occasionally there is one who offers incense, while another beats a tambourine.⁵⁴⁶

Besides their worship of gods, the Egyptians also practised to some extent a worship of ancestors. A sepulchral chamber, cut in the rock, or built over the mummy-pit, was an ordinary appendage of tombs;⁵⁴⁷ and in this apartment, which was or-

namented with suitable paintings, the friends of the deceased met from time to time to offer sacrifices to the dead and perform various acts of homage.⁵⁴⁸ The mummies, which were kept in a closet within the sepulchral chamber, having been brought forth by a functionary, were placed upright near a small portable altar, on which the relations then laid their offerings, which consisted ordinarily of cakes, wine, fruit and vegetables, but sometimes comprised also joints of meat, geese, ducks, loaves, vases of oil, and other similar delicacies. Sometimes a libation of oil or wine was poured by an attendant priest over the mummy-case. The relations made obeisance, sometimes embraced the mummy, sometimes tore their hair, or otherwise indicated the sorrow caused by their bereavement. Prayers were probably offered either to or for the deceased; his mummied form was adorned with flowers, and after an interval was replaced in the closet from which it had been taken. Representations of these scenes are frequent in the tombs,⁵⁴⁹ where, however, the deceased are generally depicted, not in their mummied forms, but dressed as they used to be in life, and seated before the table or altar, whereon are deposited the good things which their relations have brought to them.

It is impossible to say what exactly was the feeling or belief which lay at the root of these ceremonies.⁵⁵⁰ They resemble the Roman "parentalia," and necessarily implied, first, the continued existence of the dead; secondly, their exaltation to a sort of quasi-divinity; and, thirdly, their continued need of those supports of life which had been necessary to them in this world. There is something contradictory in these last two notions; but the Egyptians were not a logical people, and, accustomed to a mythology full of contradictions;⁵⁵¹ did not regard them with absolute disfavor. Moreover, their entire conception of the condition of the dead was strange, abnormal, and irrational,⁵⁵² so that the different portions of the system could not be expected to be in all cases in harmony.

It is possible that the confusion which to the ordinary observer seems to prevail, alike in the details of the Egyptian mythology and in their opinions concerning the dead, may have been superficial only, and that to those who saw below the surface into the deeper meaning of what was taught and believed, all appeared consistent, harmonious, and readily intelligible. The Egyptians, we are assured,⁵⁵³ had "mysteries;" and it was of the essence of mysteries, in the Greek and Roman sense of the word, to distinguish between the outer husk of a religion and its inner kernel, the shell of myth and legend and allegorical fable with which it was surrounded, and

the real essential doctrine or teaching which that shell contained and concealed. Initiation into the mysteries conveyed to those who received it an explanation of rites, an interpretation of myths and legends, which gave them quite a different character from that which they bore to the uninitiated. If we possessed any full account of the Egyptian mysteries drawn up by themselves, or even any authentic description of them by a classical writer, we should probably be able to explain the contradictions, clear up the confusion, and elucidate the obscurity which still hangs about the subject of the Egyptian religion after all the investigation that it has undergone. But we are not so fortunately circumstanced. Though the veil of Isis has been partially lifted through the decipherment and interpretation of the hieroglyphics, though some points of the esoteric doctrine have been made sufficiently clear, and can no longer be questioned,⁵⁵⁴ yet we are far from possessing anything like a complete account of the inner religion, or indeed any authentic account at all of the true interpretation of that great mass of legend which clustered about the Osirid deities, and formed practically the chief religious *pabulum* of the bulk of the people. The existing remains are in no case formally exegetical; and any light which they throw upon the myths is indirect and uncertain. Nor do the classical writers afford us much assistance. Some claim to have been initiated, but decline to tell us what they had learned thereby,⁵⁵⁵ withheld by motives of religious reverence. Others⁵⁵⁶ appear to have simply indulged their fancy, and to have given us conjectural explanations of myths with which they show no very full or exact acquaintance. The result is, that their comments are without any value, and leave us where they find us, uninformed and unable to do more than guess at the truth. Where examination and inquiry lead to such a result, it seems best to quit the subject with a confession of ignorance.

CHAPTER XI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

question of the Peculiarity of Egyptian Customs—Proposed Mode of treating the Subject. Division of the People into classes—Number of the Classes. Account of the Priests—the Sacred Women. The Soldiers—Number of these last—Training—Chief Divisions—The Infantry—the Cavalry—the Chariot Service—Weapons—Tactics—Mode of conducting Sieges. Treatment of Prisoners and of the Slain. Camps—Marches—Signals—Triumphs, Naval Warfare. Condition of the Agricultural Laborers—of the Tradesmen and Artisans. Principal Trades—Building—Weaving—Furniture-making—Glass-blowing—Pottery—Metallurgy, etc. Artistic Occupations—Sculpture, Painting, Music and Dancing. Musical Instruments and Bands. Professions—the Scribe's, the Physician's, the Architect's. Lower Grades of the Population—Boatmen—Fowlers—Fishermen—Swineherds. Life of the Upper Classes. Sports—Entertainments—Games. Conclusion.

THE statement of Herodotus,¹ that “the ancient Egyptians in *most* of their manners and customs exactly reversed the common practice of mankind,” is one of those paradoxical remarks in which that lively writer indulged with the view of surprising his readers and arresting their attention. In observations of this kind, the “Father of History” is never without some foundation for what he says, though, if we were to accept such statements literally, they would very seriously mislead us. There was certainly in Egyptian customs much that, to a Greek—even to a travelled Greek—must have seemed strange and peculiar, much that he was not likely to have seen elsewhere. We may even go further and say, that there was a considerable body of customs which (so far as is known) were unique, absolutely unshared by any other ancient people; but these peculiar usages were not really so very numerous—certainly they did not outnumber those which belonged to the nation in common either with most civilized peoples, or at any rate with some. There were analogies between Egyptian customs and those of India,² of China and Japan,³ of Assyria,⁴ nay, of Greece itself; and if Herodotus had been as observant of resemblances as of differences, he might have found ample materials for a good many chapters in the usages which the nation possessed in common with others. Few things strike the modern inquirer so strongly, or with so much surprise, as the numerous points in which the Egyptian coincided with modern civilization, the little difference that there seems to have been between the life of the opulent classes under the Pharaohs three thousand years ago and that of persons of the same rank and position in Europe at the present day.

In the present survey of Egyptian manners and customs, it will be impossible to treat the subject with the minuteness and thoroughness with which it has been already handled by a learned and popular English writer. Sir Gardner Wilkinson devoted to the theme more than four out of the five volumes of his *magnam opus*,⁵ and illustrated it with above five hundred engravings. His elaborate treatment left little to be desired even when his work first appeared in 1837-1841; and the little that might have been then wanting has now been fully supplied by the "annotations and additions" appended to the edition of 1878 by Dr. Birch. The present author cannot, within the space of fifty or a hundred pages, attempt to compete with this most excellent and exhaustive treatise. He would gladly have avoided a comparison which must necessarily be unfavorable to himself, and have omitted the matter altogether, could he have persuaded himself that to all readers of his work that of his valued friend and *collaborateur*,⁶ would be accessible. But, as this is not likely to be the case,⁷ his duty to his readers compels him not wholly to pass over an important branch of the subject on which he has undertaken to write. He proposes, however, to limit himself to a certain number of the more essential, more salient, or more curious points, thus embracing what will be sufficient to complete in outline the picture of the people which the present volume contains, but not attempting to fill up the details, or to do more than furnish his readers with a careful *sketch*. Those who have the desire and the leisure to convert the sketch into a finished portrait, must obtain the "Manners and Customs" of Sir G. Wilkinson, and give that work their best attention.

The separation of classes in Egypt was very marked and distinct; and though these classes were not castes, in the strict sense of that word, yet they approached to them. In other words, although the son did not necessarily or always follow his father's calling, yet the practice was so general, so nearly universal, there was such a prejudice, such a *consensus* in favor of it, that foreigners commonly left the country impressed with the belief that it was obligatory on all, and that the classes were really castes in the strictest sense. Such was the conviction of Herodotus,⁸ of Plato,⁹ of Diodorus Siculus,¹⁰ of Strabo,¹¹ and of others; and though modern research shows that there were exceptions to the general practice, yet it shows also that the transmission of employments was usual, and was extraordinarily regular and prolonged. It is enough to refer, in proof of this, to the "family of architects" tabulated by Dr. Brugsch in his "History of Egypt,"¹² where the occupation of

architect is found to have descended from father to son for twenty-two generations, from the time of Seti I., the first king of the nineteenth dynasty, to that of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the second Persian monarch. That the succession was equally, if not even more, persistent in the priestly order, is indicated by the story which Herodotus tells concerning the high priests of Thebes, who were said to have descended in a direct line from father to son for 345 generations,¹³ from the foundation of the monarchy by Menes to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

On the other hand, it is proved by the monuments (1) that a man might change his occupation; (2) that a father need not bring up all his sons, or even an only son, to his own trade or profession; and (3) that one and the same man might pursue two or more callings.¹⁴ Priests might serve in the army, and often did so; and members of any class might hold civil office, if the monarch chose to give them an appointment. It is not improbable that Herodotus is right in saying that the soldiers, while they continued soldiers, liable to be called out on active service, could not engage in a trade; but when they were past the military age, it is probable that they might do as they pleased. No religious notions seem to have attached to the class distinctions; and it is certain that, unless the swineherds formed an exception,¹⁶ the classes were free to intermarry one with another. Thus it must be fully allowed that the essential ideas of caste were absent from the Egyptian system, which was merely one in which classes were sharply defined, and in which sons, as a rule, followed their father's calling.

The number of the classes is differently stated by ancient authors. Herodotus makes them to be seven, Plato six, Diodorus five,¹⁷ Strabo three only. In a general way it would seem to be right to adopt the classification of Strabo, and to say that the entire free population of Egypt, which did not belong to the sacerdotal or the military order, formed a sort of "third estate" which admitted of subdivisions, but is properly regarded as politically a single body.¹⁸ The soldiers and the priests were privileged; the rest of the community was without privilege of any kind. The chief subdivisions of the unprivileged class were as follows: 1. The laborers or *fellahin* in the country, who cultivated the estates of the rich proprietors,¹⁹ men chiefly of the military class. 2. The tradesmen and artisans in the towns, including merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, notaries, builders and architects, brickmakers, weavers, upholsterers, glassblowers, potters, workers in metal, shoe-

makers, tailors, armorers, painters, sculptors, and musicians. 3. The herdsmen, chiefly in the Delta, who were either oxherds, shepherds, goatherds, or swineherds, the last-named class forming a completely distinct and much-despised body.²⁰ 4. The boatmen on the Nile and its branches, who conveyed produce up and down the stream, and ferried passengers across it, employments which, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, gave occupation to vast numbers. 5. The hunting class, comprising those who pursued the gazelle and other wild animals in the deserts which bordered the Nile valley; the fishermen who obtained a living from the produce of the Nile itself, of the canals, and of the great lake, the Birket-el-Keroun;²¹ and the fowlers, who supplied the market with edible birds of various kinds, as especially wild ducks, wild geese, and quails.²² 6. The dragomans or interpreters, a small class and one belonging only to later times,²³ but kept very distinct from the rest by the prejudice against any intercourse with foreigners.

It does not appear to be necessary to regard the officials of the kingdom as a distinct class. "Egypt," no doubt, "swarmed with a bureaucracy,"²⁴ a bureaucracy which was "powerful, numerous, and cleverly arranged" in such a graduated series that the most bureaucratic countries of the modern world may with reason be said to "have nothing superior to it;"²⁵ but the official class was composed in the main of persons who belonged previously either to the priestly or to the military order.²⁶ Some official posts appear to have been hereditary;²⁷ but this is the exception rather than the rule, and the Egyptian, like other Oriental monarchs seems to have been free to bestow all but a few official posts on any subject whom they chose to favor.

Of all the classes, that of the priests was the most powerful and the most carefully organized. At the head of the order stood a certain number of high priests,²⁸ among whom the high priest of the great temple of Ammon at Thebes had a species of primacy. This individual held a rank second only to that of the king;²⁹ and the time came when, taking advantage of his position, the Theban high priest actually usurped the throne. Next in rank to the high priests were the prophets,³⁰ who were generally presidents of the temples, had the management of the sacred revenues, were bound to commit to memory the contents of the ten sacerdotal books,³¹ and directed the details of ritual and ceremonial according to the prescribed *formulae*. Below the prophets was an order of "divine fathers,"³² or ordinary priests, of whom several were attached

to each temple. After these came first the *hierostolistæ*, who had the charge of the sacred vestments and the office of attiring in appropriate garments the statues of the gods; ³³ next the *hierogrammateis*, or sacred scribes, ³⁴ who kept the accounts and registers, made catalogues of the sacred utensils and other possessions of the temples, and performed generally all literary functions devolving upon the sacerdotal order; and, finally, a crowd of servants or attendants invested with a semi-sacerdotal character: the *pastophori*, or bearers of the sacred shrines; ³⁵ the *hierophori*, or bearers of sacred emblems; ³⁶ the *pterophori*, or bearers of the fans and fly-flappers; ³⁷ the *neocori*, who were charged with the sweeping and cleansing of the sacred edifices; ³⁸ the *hierolaotomi*, or sacred masons; ³⁹ the *theriotrophi*, or guardians of the sacred animals, ⁴⁰ and others.

The exact arrangements by which this entire priestly body was bound together and enabled to act in concert without unseemly contest, or even perceptible friction, have not come down to us; ⁴¹ but there is reason to believe that the organization was almost as perfect as that attained by the Church of Rome at the present day. When a decree went forth from the chief authority, the entire priesthood accepted it; and the religious movement, whatever it was, swept at once over the length and breadth of the land. Though there were in Egypt distinct centres of priestly learning, yet, at any rate from the time of the nineteenth dynasty, no religious difference is perceptible; one and the same spirit animates the whole of the sacerdotal order; no contest occurs; no "heresy" shows itself; a uniform system prevails from Elephantiné to Canopus and Pelusium, and the priestly body, having no internal divisions to waste its strength, is able to exercise an almost unlimited dominion over the rest of the community.

The independence and freedom of the hierarchy was secured by a system of endowments. From a remote antiquity ⁴² a considerable portion of the land of Egypt, perhaps as much as one third, ⁴³ was made over to the priestly class, large estates being attached to each temple, and held as common property by the "colleges," which, like the chapters of our cathedrals, directed the worship of each sacred edifice. These lands were probably, in part, let to tenants; but they seem to have been, in the main, cultivated or grazed by *hieroduli*, or "sacred slaves," under the direction of the priests themselves, ⁴⁴ to whose granaries and cattle-stalls, attached to the temples, the produce was from time to time brought in. The priestly estates were, we are told, exempt from taxation of any kind, ⁴⁵ and they appear to have received continual augmentation

from the piety or superstition of the kings, who constantly made over to their favorite deities fresh "gardens, orchards, vineyards, fields," and even "cities."⁴⁶

Besides their regular revenues, the proceeds of their own lands, the priests received, at the hands of the faithful, a large amount of valuable offerings, whereby they were enabled at once to live themselves and bring up their families in luxury, and also to add year by year to the wealth stored in the temple treasuries. The gold, the silver, the fine linen, the precious stones, the seals, the rings, the "pectoral plates," the necklaces, the bowls and vases, the censers, the statues and statuettes in precious materials,⁴⁷ which the kings and other donors continually offered to the various deities, and which became really the property of the priests, were of a value that cannot be computed, but that must have been enormous,⁴⁸ and must have ultimately made the priestly class by far the richest portion of the community. If it had not been for the plunder of the temples from time to time by foreign invaders, which dispersed the accumulated hoards, the precious metals must have tended to become gradually locked up in the sacred treasuries; and Egypt, drained of these important elements of national wealth and prosperity, would have fallen into a condition of exhaustion and premature decay.

The advantages enjoyed by the priests were accompanied by correspondent obligations. As mediators between men and the gods, they were bound to maintain a high standard both of internal and of external purity. No doubt there were evasions of the former; but from the latter it was impossible to escape. For the preservation of perfect purity of body, each priest had to wash himself from head to foot in cold water twice every day and twice every night.⁴⁹ Not only were their heads constantly shaved, but they were bound to shave the entire body every other day, to make it impossible that any vermin should harbor upon their persons.⁵⁰ Their garments, at any rate when they were inside the temples, had to be of linen only;⁵¹ and their shoes, or rather sandals, were necessarily of the papyrus plant,⁵² that so no animal substance might be in contact with them. The "Sem," however, or officiating high-priest, wore, as his costume of office, a complete leopard-skin, with head, claws, and tail;⁵³ but this sacred vestment was placed over the linen clothes, and may have been lined with linen where it was liable to touch the priest's arms or body. Their food was limited to the flesh of oxen and geese, with wine, bread, and certain kinds of vegetables.⁵⁴ Mutton, pork, and fish, were expressly forbidden them; and

they were bound to abstain from beans, peas, lentils, onions, garlic, and leeks.⁵⁵ It has been conjectured that these regulations originated in "dietetic motives," and that "the sanitary rule grew into a religious prohibition;"⁵⁶ but, as this theory fails to account for the larger number of the prohibitions, it is perhaps better to suppose that what were regarded as the coarser and grosser kinds of food were considered to be unsuited to the priestly dignity, and were therefore forbidden. It may be objected that mutton is not coarser than beef; but the Egyptians may have been of a different opinion; and certainly mutton was held generally in disesteem among them, and was avoided even when it was not prohibited.⁵⁷

At certain times of the year, even greater abstemiousness was necessary. The religious calendar contained a number of fasts, some of which lasted from seven to forty-two days. Throughout the whole duration of every such period, the priests were required to abstain entirely from animal food, from herbs and vegetables, and from wine.⁵⁸ Their diet on these occasions can have been little more than bread and water.

The rite of circumcision, which was practised by the Egyptians generally,⁵⁹ though not universally, must have been obligatory upon the priests, if it was a necessary preliminary to initiation into the mysteries.⁶⁰ Marriage was not forbidden them, but on the contrary was encouraged, since it was in this way especially that the priestly order was maintained and continued. Polygamy, however, was strictly prohibited;⁶¹ and a general simplicity of living was enjoined, which it was not found possible to secure in all instances. Priests often held important political offices; they served in the army, and received rich gifts for good conduct; many of them accumulated considerable wealth through these secular employments, and their villas were on a scale which is scarcely compatible with ascetic, or even with simple, habits.⁶²

The attire of the priests (Fig. 138) varied considerably. Some wore, even when officiating, no other garment than the short tunic or *shenti*, which was common to all adult males in Egypt; some added to this a mat or napkin upon the left arm. Others wore over the tunic a long smock reaching from below the arms to the feet, and supported over the two shoulders by straps. But the most part had a long full robe, with large sleeves, which covered the arm to the elbow, and descended to the ankles. This outer robe was frequently of so fine a material as to be transparent, and to show through it the shape of the limbs and of the under tunic. A dress intermediate

between this and the light apparel just mentioned consisted of a loose tunic, falling in folds about the loins and legs, with a heart-shaped apron in front. Another differed chiefly from the long full robe by commencing at the waist, and being supported by a broad strap passing over the left shoulder.⁶³ Most commonly the priests officiate with bare heads; but sometimes they wear wigs, carefully curled, and descending low, in the earlier times their feet are bare, but from about the fifth or sixth dynasty they wear sandals. The priests are generally represented either in procession, when they usually bear an emblem, or in the act of pouring a libation, or as worshipping a god, or the king, when they have their two hands raised with the palms turned outwards.

The emblems borne in the processions are of various kinds, but seem to mark not so much the rank or dignity of the priest who carries them, as the worship to which they are attached. In one procession⁶⁴ we see borne the cow of Athor, the hawk of Horus, the ape of Thoth, the jackal of Anubis, the vase of Netpe, the shrine of Nehemao, and other emblems of a similar character, the priests themselves having nothing to distinguish them but such varieties of apparel as were mentioned above. It is quite possible that these varieties themselves may be connected with differences of rank; but at present we have no means of determining which of them belonged to the higher, and which to the lower orders. We can only say that the leopard-skin marked the very highest grade of the priestly office, and was peculiarly appropriate to that rank when engaged in the very highest functions.⁶⁵

It has been a matter of dispute among Egyptologists⁶⁶ whether or no the Egyptians allowed the sacerdotal office to be held by women. Herodotus distinctly states that they did not;⁶⁷ and the monuments so far bear out his assertion that "nowhere does a female appear discharging a properly sacerdotal office, nor does the hieroglyphic for priest occur with the feminine termination."⁶⁸ On the other hand, Herodotus himself speaks of "sacred women" as attached to the temple of Ammon at Thebes;⁶⁹ and the Rosetta stone contains distinct mention of "priestesses."⁷⁰ We shall best reconcile the various statements by supposing that, strictly speaking, women could not hold the priestly office, at any rate until Ptolemaic times; but that certain functions about the temples were from the first open to them, and that among the other customs introduced by the Macedonian kings were a relaxation of the old law, and an admission of females to certain really sacerdotal offices. Women could, however, from the first offer for

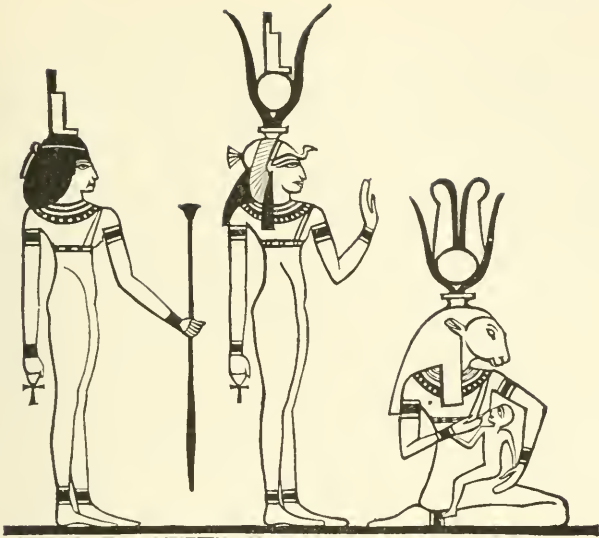


Fig. 119.—FORMS OF ISIS.—See Page 173.

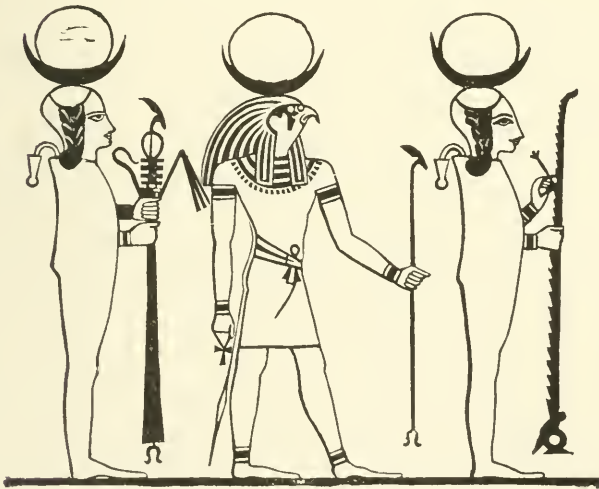


Fig. 120.—THREE FORMS OF KHONS.—See Page 174.



Fig. 131.—THREE FORMS OF THOTH.—See Page 175.

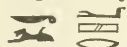


Fig. 132.—SEB.—See Page 177.

themselves in the temples,⁷¹ and they played an important part in the sacred rites accompanying funerals.⁷²

In immediate succession to the priestly order, and ranking only a little below it, must be placed the class of the soldiers. This class, which, according to the numbers that have come down to us,⁷³ must have amounted to from two to three and a half millions of persons, and so have formed, at the least, above one-fourth of the population,⁷⁴ was settled on rich lands in various parts of Egypt,⁷⁵ but chiefly in the Delta, and, except when upon active service, employed itself mainly in the cultivation of the soil. It comprised persons of very different social rank and of manifold degrees of opulence. The statement of Herodotus that each of the 410,000 soldiers, which formed the native armed force of Egypt in his day, possessed exactly twelve *arure*, or nine English acres of land,⁷⁶ is highly improbable, and can only point to a supposed original allotment, such as Diodorus says was made by Sesostris.⁷⁷ Original equality, though scarcely likely, is possible; but the extinction of some families and the expansion of others would soon lead to the same sort of inequality which we find at Sparta; the opposite results of industry and idleness, thrift and extravagance, would make themselves felt; lots would be divided and subdivided, sometimes alienated; the thrifty would add field to field, and in course of time become possessed of considerable estates; favorite officers would obtain grants of land from the monarch out of the royal domains;⁷⁸ and thus there would ultimately come to be contained within the military class a certain number of large landed proprietors, a considerable body of moderately wealthy yeomen, and a more or less numerous "proletariat." These last, it is probable, worked as day laborers on the estates of their wealthy brethren, or else rented portions of them, agriculture being the only employment open to them besides the profession of arms, since they were positively forbidden to engage in any handicraft or trade.⁷⁹

The military class was divided into two distinct bodies, called respectively Hermotybies and Calasiries. The Calasiries,



, are supposed to have been chiefly, or universally, archers.⁸⁰ According to Herodotus,⁸¹ they inhabited the nomes, or cantons, of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuïs, Onuphis, Anysis, and Myecphoris—districts which, with the single exception of Thebes, lay within the Delta. They could bring into the field, when their strength was at its greatest, 250,000 men. The Hermotybies were very much less numerous.

They inhabited six cantons only⁸²—Busiris, Sais, Papremis, Prosopitis, and Natho, regions of the Delta, together with Chemmis, which was in Upper Egypt. When at their fullest strength, they furnished to the army no more than 160,000 soldiers.

It is not to be supposed that Egypt, with its population of seven or seven and a half millions, kept this enormous military force continually under arms. The great states of Europe, with populations from three to five times as large, find the maintenance of armies numbering 400,000 or 500,000 men burdensome in the extreme. In Egypt, armies were levied and disbanded, as occasion required; the number of the militia called out varied according to the supposed strength of the enemy about to be attacked or resisted; campaigns were usually short; and, except the troops kept in garrison⁸³ and the two thousand who formed the body-guard of the king,⁸⁴ the men of the military class had the greater part of the year to themselves. No doubt, some considerable portion of this leisure time was spent in gymnastic training and various kinds of military exercise; but it can scarcely be questioned that at least as much of it was given to agricultural employments. The wealthier members of the body indulged also in the sports of the field.⁸⁵

The exact mode of training and educating persons for the military profession is not known. It is likely enough that, as Diodorus states of the companions of Sesostris,⁸⁶ they underwent a special education from boyhood, and were practiced in running and other athletic exercises, though the necessity of accomplishing a distance of twenty miles before breakfast⁸⁷ can scarcely have been a regular requirement. It is also probable that hunting expeditions formed a portion of the ordinary course, and hardened the frame by exposure to sun and cold, and the constitution by the necessity of light meals and infrequent indulgence in drink.⁸⁸ When the age for active service approached, the young soldiers were formally enrolled, and taken from their homes to some military station, where they were carefully drilled by a sergeant (Fig. 143). When pronounced fit, they were attached to existing corps or regiments, and entered upon garrison duty, or took the field and were employed against the enemy.

The bulk of an Egyptian army was always composed of infantry.⁸⁹ These were divided into heavy-armed and light-armed. The heavy-armed troops wore helmets (Fig. 139), which were either of metal⁹⁰ or of quilted linen, descending in the latter case over the back of the neck and the shoulders.⁹¹ Their bodies

were protected by cuirasses or coats of mail (Fig. 141), which were sometimes quilted like the linen helmets,⁹² but often had overlapping plates of metal sewed on outside the linen and which reached from the neck nearly to the knee. Short sleeves, in no cases falling below the elbow, guarded the upper part of the arm. The legs and feet were, for the most part, bare; but sometimes a tunic or kilt descending below the coat of mail, gave a slight protection to the thighs and knees.⁹³ Large shields (Fig. 142) were carried, which were generally circular at the top and of oblong shape, the sides being either parallel, or contracting as they descended.⁹⁴ Usually the shield was of wood or wickerwork, and was covered with an untanned bull's hide, having the hair outwards;⁹⁵ it was further generally strengthened by a metal rim of considerable breadth and by a boss of metal in the centre of the circular portion (Fig. 140). Occasionally a very much larger and more cumbrous defence was employed, the shield being nearly the height of the warrior, who was sometimes forced to rest one corner of it upon the ground.⁹⁶ In this case, instead of a circular top, the form affected was that of the pointed arch. The offensive weapons of the heavy-armed troops were the spear, the mace, the battle-axe, the sword, straight or curved, and the hatchet. Most corps had two at least of these arms; some seem to have had three, one carried in either hand, and the third worn as a side-arm.⁹⁷

The light-armed troops (Fig. 144) were in some cases bare-headed, but more commonly wore the quilted cap, sometimes surmounted with a crescent and ball.⁹⁸ The upper part of their person was naked; and sometimes they wore nothing on their body but the ordinary *shenti* or plain tunic,⁹⁹ which began at the waist and ended a little above the knees. Instances occur of an even lighter equipment, the tunic being occasionally dispensed with, and a mere cloth worn, which, after encircling the waist, was passed from front to back between the legs. Sometimes, however, their dress was a robe which reached from the waist to the ankles, and more frequently a full tunic with many folds, which descended somewhat below the knee.¹⁰⁰ A shield of moderate size and of the ordinary shape was borne by most of these troops, who carried, as their main weapons, either bows and arrows, or spears (Fig. 146), or else javelins, and for a side-arm had a curved sword, a club, or a hatchet. A portion of them, forming probably a separate corps, were slingers (Fig. 145), and carried nothing but their sling and a bag of stones hung round their neck.¹⁰¹

It is exceedingly remarkable that on the monuments there

is no representation of Egyptian cavalry. The few mounted warriors who occur are foreigners; ¹⁰² and, to judge from the monuments alone, we should say that this arm of the military service, important as most nations have considered it, was unknown to the Pharaohs. But the evidence of historical writers is directly opposed to this conclusion. Diodorus Siculus assigns to Sesostris a cavalry force of 24,000. ¹⁰³ Herodotus represents Amasis as leading his army on horseback. ¹⁰⁴ In the historical books of the Old Testament, the Egyptian horsemen obtain frequent mention; ¹⁰⁵ and as many as 60,000 are said to have accompanied Sheshonk (Shishak) when he invaded Palestine. ¹⁰⁶ The hieroglyphic texts, moreover, if translated aright, make frequent mention of Egyptian cavalry; ¹⁰⁷ and the "command of the cavalry was a very honorable and important post, generally held by one of the king's sons." ¹⁰⁸

Still, it would seem to be certain that cavalry was not an arm by which the Egyptians set much store. Perhaps they were bad riders, and found it difficult to manage a charger. ¹⁰⁹ At any rate, it is clear that they preferred to use the horses, of which they had abundance, in the chariot service, rather than to mount riders upon them.

The chariot (Fig. 148) service was, beyond a doubt, considered to be the most important of all. The king invariably went to war mounted upon a car, and seldom descended from it excepting to give the *coup de grâce* to a wounded enemy. ¹¹⁰ The chiefs of the army, all the best and bravest, followed their monarch's example, and as many as 27,000 chariots are assigned to Sesostris. ¹¹¹ This is, no doubt, an over-statement; but the twelve hundred who accompanied Shishak ¹¹² will not appear, to any one who is acquainted with the Egyptian monuments, to be an exaggeration. Chariots were drawn up in line, great care being taken to "dress the ranks," ¹¹³ and were supported by columns of infantry drawn up behind them, ¹¹⁴ a second line of each being sometimes kept in reserve. In fighting, this exactness of arrangement could not, of course, be maintained, though we sometimes see an Egyptian chariot force preserving its ranks unbroken, while it throws a similar force opposed to it into disorder. ¹¹⁵ More often, when a battle is depicted, chariots, loose horses, and footmen are mingled together in inextricable confusion. The Egyptian cars were small, and but slightly raised above the ground. Ordinarily they carried two persons only, the warrior and the charioteer. It was the business of the latter not only to manage the two steeds by which the car was drawn, but also to hold a shield in front of himself and his companion. **As this double occupation was a**

difficult thing to achieve successfully, it would seem that he sometimes fastened the reins around his own or the warrior's waist,¹¹⁶ so as to be enabled to give his whole attention to the management of the shield. Occasionally, but very rarely, a chariot has three occupants, the charioteer, and two warriors, who stand behind him, side by side.¹¹⁷

The Egyptian war-chariot (Fig. 149) had a semicircular standing board, which was either wholly of wood, or composed of a wooden frame filled up with a network of thong or rope, which by its elasticity rendered the motion of the vehicle more easy.¹¹⁸ From this rose in a graceful curve the *antyx* or rim, which first sloped a little backwards, and was then carried round in front of the driver at the height of about two feet and a half from the standing board. The space between the standing-board and the rim was generally left open at the sides, connection between the two being in this part maintained merely by three leathern straps; but in front there was always a broad upright of wood, extending from the board to the rim, and interposed between the driver and the horses. Sometimes the sides themselves were filled up, either with wood or with cloth of some kind, which was ordinarily of a bright color.¹¹⁹ The whole body of the car was painted in gay patterns, and perhaps sometimes ornamented with the precious metals.¹²⁰

The body, thus constructed, was placed upon the axle-tree and the lower part of the pole, and firmly attached to them. It was not, however, balanced evenly upon the axle-tree, but shifted towards the front, so that but little of the standing-board extended behind the wheels.¹²¹ The ends of the axle-tree were inserted into the axles of the wheels, which worked round them, being prevented from falling off by a peg or linch-pin. The pole, after passing along the bottom of the car, rose in a gentle sweep, meeting a bar or strap, which united it to the rim in front. It terminated in a yoke, to which were attached small saddles, these latter resting on the withers of the horses. Chariot wheels had in some cases four spokes only; but the regular number was six, an amount which is not exceeded.

Each war-chariot was furnished with at least one quiver and one bow-case (Fig. 150), which were placed on the side on which the warrior took up his position in the car. They hung obliquely between the body of the car and the wheel, crossing each other at right angles, and forming the most conspicuous objects in the representations which we have of chariots. Both are covered with brilliant and elaborate patterns; and the bow-case is frequently further ornamented with the figure of a lion rushing at full speed, which is carefully and delicately ex-

ecuted. Sometimes a second quiver is provided, and placed close to the bow-case, but apparently inside the body of the car. Both the quiver and the bow-case occasionally contain a javelin or javelins.

The Egyptian chariots were drawn uniformly by two horses, harnessed one on either side of the pole. The harness comprised, besides the saddles above mentioned as attached to the yoke, only a girth, a breast-band, a head-stall, and reins. The girth and breast-band were fastened to the saddle. The head-stall much resembled a modern one, excepting that the top of the head was covered by a close-fitting cap, through which the ears passed, and which was frequently crowned by a plume of feathers. The reins consisted of a bearing rein, drawn rather tight and secured to a hook at the top of the saddle, and a driving rein,¹²² which, after passing through a ring or leathern loop on either side of the saddle, was held above the back of the horse by the charioteer. Chariot horses were usually caparisoned with elegant housings.¹²³

The offensive arms of the Egyptians were somewhat peculiar. Their spears (Fig. 147) were excessively short, not much exceeding the length of five feet. Their straight swords (Fig. 147) were formidable weapons, apparently not less than from two to three feet long, and very broad at the base, tapering thence to a point.¹²⁴ But the arm more commonly used was the curved sword or falchion,¹²⁵ which was a shorter, and, to all appearance, a less effective weapon. The shapes of the battle-axe and pole-axe were unusual (Fig. 151), the former having a long blade, with a curved edge, sometimes semicircular, sometimes a mere segment of a circle, with two segments taken out of it at the back,¹²⁶ and the latter having its blade weighted by a massive ball at the base, which is thought to have been about four inches in diameter.¹²⁷ Maces (Fig. 152) generally terminated in a ball, which was no doubt of metal, but sometimes they were mere rods, which can have been of little service, unless they were of bronze or iron. They had a curious curved projection at the lower end, whereto a strap was probably attached,¹²⁸ which was then twisted round the wrist or hand, to render the hold on the weapon more sure. Clubs (Fig. 152) were also employed, sometimes of the ordinary character,¹²⁹ sometimes resembling the modern African *lissan*, which is a curved stick of hard wood, about two feet and a half in length, with a slight enlargement at the lower end.¹³⁰ Daggers (Fig. 153) were very commonly worn; their place was in the belt, into the right side of which they were thrust obliquely. The blade was short, not exceeding eight or ten inches in

length,¹³¹ and tapering gradually from end to end, terminating in an exceedingly sharp point. It was of bronze,¹³² but so skilfully tempered, that the elasticity and spring remain after three thousand years, and almost equal that of the best steel.¹³³ The handles were of wood, bone, ivory, silver, or gold, and were often delicately inlaid: that of the king often ended in the head of a hawk.¹³⁴ Each dagger had its sheath, which was of leather, sometimes plain, sometimes patterned.

Egyptian bows (Fig. 154), though not perhaps so powerful as Ethiopian,¹³⁵ were formidable weapons, and must have driven the arrow with great force. In length they were commonly from five feet to five feet and a half,¹³⁶ and were formed of a rounded piece of tough wood, which when unstrung became nearly straight, or else curved itself into a sort of double crescent.¹³⁷ Sometimes the wood was further strengthened by pieces of leather, which were inserted at intervals into the underpart of the bow. Bowstrings were made of hide, catgut, or string,¹³⁸ and appear to have been sufficiently strong.¹³⁹ The material used for arrows was either a light wood, or more commonly reed; the heads was either of metal or stone, and were occasionally barbed;¹⁴⁰ the shafts were carefully notched at the lower extremity, and winged with three feathers in the most approved modern fashion.¹⁴¹ The ordinary length of an arrow was from twenty-two to thirty-two inches. Archers (Fig. 155) shot either standing or kneeling; they drew the arrow either with the first two fingers or with the thumb and forefinger, and in war commonly brought the hand to the ear. We sometimes, but not very often, see the left forearm protected from the blow of the string by a guard.¹⁴² Two modes of stringing the bow are here shown (Fig. 156).

Each Bowman, unless when riding in a chariot, carried a quiver slung at his back; and the king generally carries one even under such circumstances,¹⁴³ though he has always one or two others attached to his car. Quivers (Fig. 157) were commonly square topped and rounded at the bottom; but sometimes the cover was modelled into the form of a lion's head.¹⁴⁴ The whole of the exterior was painted in gay patterns.

Another offensive arm frequently employed by the Egyptians was the javelin (Fig. 166), which was of a lighter kind than that used by most nations. It consisted of a long thin shaft, sometimes merely pointed, but generally armed with a head, which was either leaf-shaped, or like the head of a spear, or else four-sided, and attached to the shaft by projections at the angles.¹⁴⁵ At the lower extremity was either a tasselled head,

or a strap, which enabled the javelin-man, after throwing his weapon, to recover it.

Not very much is known concerning Egyptian tactics. The infantry was certainly divided into distinct corps, each of which had its own special arms and accoutrements; some being spearmen, some bowmen, some clubmen, some armed only with swords.¹⁴⁶ They were drilled to march in step, and are always represented as keeping step when in movement. They fought commonly in dense columns, which were sometimes drawn up ten men deep.¹⁴⁷ The chariots seem ordinarily to have covered the front of the battle, and consequently to have commenced the fight. Sometimes they had to meet a chariot force, when the charioteers charged at speed, shooting their arrows as they advanced, and seeking to throw the enemy into confusion before the two lines came into actual contact. This plan was occasionally effectual, and the enemy might break and fly before reaching the Egyptian line; ¹⁴⁸ but it was not often that such a result was achieved. Generally the two chariot forces became intermixed, and the battle was a mere *mêlée*, depending on the individual prowess and strength of the combatants. The Egyptians are ordinarily represented as greatly outnumbered by their adversaries, with whom, however, they never fear to engage, and whom, in the sculptures, they always discomfit. An important part in the battles is often assigned to the javelin-men,¹⁴⁹ whose weapons seem to inflict death at every blow.

To counteract the confusion which appears to have been the normal condition of things in every fight, it was important that the members of each corps should have a visible rallying-point. For this purpose standards (Fig. 159) were employed, and every battalion, indeed every company, possessed its own ensign, which was conspicuously different from all the rest. Most of them were of a religious character,¹⁵⁰ representing either the head or ank of a god, or a sacred animal, or some emblem employed in the religion, or the cartouche of a king's name, which was viewed as sacred, since the kings were recognized as divinities. The ensigns were not embroidered on flags, but, like the Roman eagles, consisted of solid objects; they were borne aloft at the top of a tall pole, standing usually upon a crossbar. Below the crossbar we not infrequently see two streamers floating in air. It was probably from their standards that the different corps took the names by which they were distinguished.¹⁵¹

Each company of soldiers was commanded by an officer called *menh*, whose rank was nearly that of lieutenant in our



Fig. 123. —MERULA. —See Page 178.



Fig. 124. —NETPE. —See Page 180.



Fig. 125. —AEMHETP. —See Page 179.



Fig. 126. —BAST OR PASHT. —See Page 179.

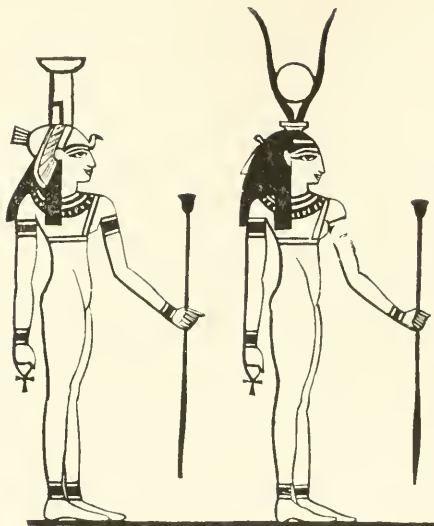


Fig. 127.—ORDINARY FORMS OF NEPHTHYS.—See Page 180.



Fig. 128.—ANUKA.—See Page 181.



Fig. 129.—FORMS OF MA.—See Page 183.



Fig. 130.—FORMS OF TAOURT.—See Page 185.



Fig. 131.—FORM OF BES.—See Page 186.

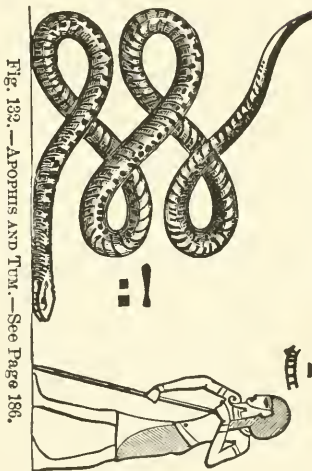


Fig. 132.—APOPHIS AND TUM.—See Page 186.



Fig. 133.—SEPULCHRAL JARS, WITH HEADS OF THE FOUR GENII.—See Page 187.

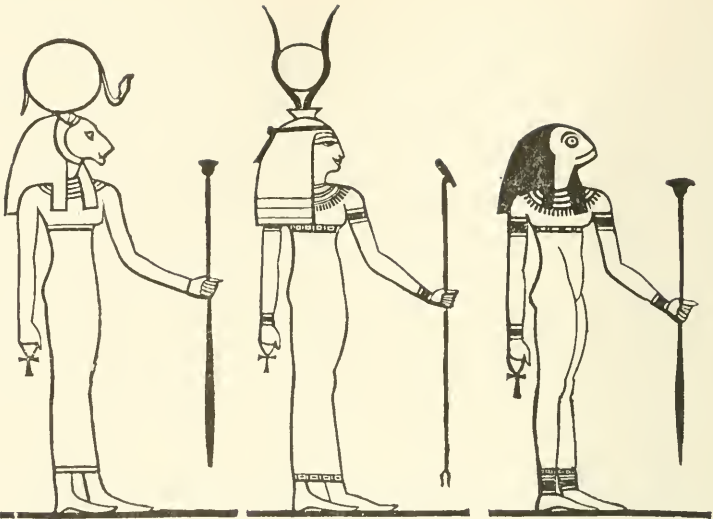


Fig. 134.—TAFNÉ.—See Page 182.

Fig. 135.—MERSEKER.— See Page 183.

Fig. 136.—FORM OF HAK.— See Page 183.

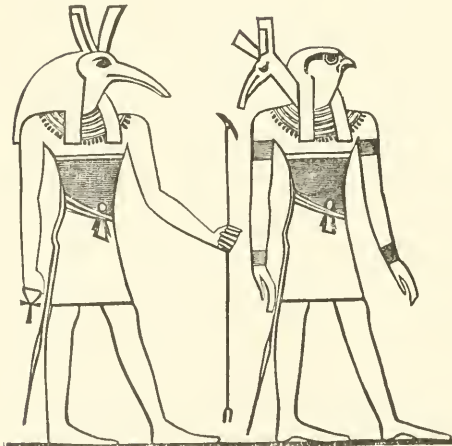


Fig. 137.—FORMS OF SET.—See Page 184.



Fig. 138.—AN EGYPTIAN PRIEST.—See Page 209.

service. Above him was the *aten*, or captain ; then the *mer*, or major ; and finally the *haut*, the colonel or general.¹⁵² The conscripts, or young soldiers, *neferu*, were distinguished from the rest of the army,¹⁵³ and probably filled the posts of least danger. The archers, *masa*, were regarded as the best troops. In the field, an army was divided into brigades, each brigade consisting of a number of regiments. We find as many as four brigades in one army.¹⁵⁴ The monarch usually led the expeditions, and acted as commander-in-chief, while important posts were frequently filled by his sons.¹⁵⁵

In the wars between civilized nations, sieges have always been among the most important of military operations. Even savages construct stockades or "kraals ;" and it requires no very high degree of intelligence to go beyond this, and enclose spaces with high walls protected by towers, which, according to their size, are denominated castles, fortresses, or fortified cities. The nations with whom the Egyptians contended, especially those of Syria (Fig. 161) and Mesopotamia, had fortified posts of all three kinds ; and it was necessary, if any permanent impression was to be made upon them, that the Egyptians should possess some means of capturing these strongholds. Accordingly the art of conducting sieges was early studied ; and a certain amount of efficiency was attained in it by the time of the Ramesides. The simplest mode which the Egyptians employed was the bold advance of a large body of troops to the walls, a constant discharge of flights of arrows against the defenders, and the application of a number of ladders to the ramparts, which were then scaled by the besiegers.¹⁵⁶ If the escalade (Fig. 163) failed, a regular siege had to be formed ; the troops surrounded the place ; covered sheds, arched at the top, and supported by wooden sides or forked poles, were advanced to the walls by a body of men posted within them, and a long pole, pointed probably with iron or bronze, was employed to dislodge the stones one by one, and so gradually effect a breach. Meanwhile, the attention of the defenders was distracted by archers, who shot at every one who showed himself above the battlements. After a breach had been effected, no doubt an assault was made, when the attack commonly prevailed over the defence, and the place, after a longer or shorter resistance, fell.

Sometimes, instead of the means above described, an attempt was made to break open the gates of a fort (Fig. 164) or city by means of hatchets, which could be employed with good effect upon the wooden doors that blocked the entrance.¹⁵⁷ Fire does not appear to have been applied, as by the Assyrians.

ians ;¹⁵⁸ but there is a paucity in the representations of sieges, which leaves many points connected with them doubtful, and which is much to be regretted.

On the whole, it must be said that the Egyptians did not show much military genius, or much fertility of resource in their conduct of sieges (Fig. 160). The monuments give no indication of their having in any case made use of the mine, notwithstanding their familiar acquaintance with the art of driving underground galleries, as evidenced in their tombs. Nor is there any indication of their having employed movable towers like the Assyrians,¹⁵⁹ or catapults and *balistæ*,¹⁶⁰ like the same people, and also the Greeks and Romans. Even their battering ram, if it may be given the name, was, as we have seen, a poor implement, being little more than a spear of unusual size.¹⁶¹ The natural result seems to have followed—the Egyptians were not very successful in their sieges. They took small places easily enough, but could seldom capture large towns. Ashdod resisted Psammetichus for twenty-nine years.¹⁶² Jerusalem was only once taken after David had fortified it, and then seems to have submitted, and not fallen by assault.¹⁶³ It may be suspected that many Syrian and Mesopotamian strongholds successfully resisted the Egyptian armies under the Thothmeses and the Ramesides, and that this is the secret of that inability to retain their Asiatic conquests, which is so marked a feature in the history of the nation.

The Egyptian troops had to contend with their enemies, not by land only, but also by sea. A certain number of the military class were, perhaps, specially trained for the sea service ;¹⁶⁴ but all soldiers were supposed capable of being sailors, and the same persons were often employed alternately in the sea and in the land services.¹⁶⁵ The galleys (Fig. 162) used were of no great size, being impelled by not more than from sixteen to twenty rowers,¹⁶⁶ and apparently not exceeding a length of thirty or forty feet. The hull was rounded, and rose at either extremity, the prow terminating usually in the head of an animal, while the stern, which was higher, tapered gradually to a point. Above the hull was a bulwark, carried from end to end of the boat, for the protection of the oarsmen. The middle portion of the boat must have been occupied by a raised deck, since the soldiers fight from it at a higher level than that occupied by the rowers. They are armed chiefly with bows and arrows, but sometimes have maces or spears in their right hands, while in their left they carry shields. The boat is guided by a man who sits at the stern on a raised seat, and manages a large paddle or steering oar, which is attached to

the side of the vessel. The vessel has a single mast, a long curved yard, and a large square sail, which in time of action is reefed by means of four ropes working through pulleys fixed in the yard. At the top of the mast is a bell-shaped receptacle, sufficiently large to contain a man; and here an expert archer or slinger seems to have been generally stationed, who played a similar part to that of our sharpshooters in the main-tops.

Naval tactics can scarcely be said to have existed. Attempts were, perhaps, sometimes made to run down an enemy's vessel by striking it with the bow, armed as that was with a metal figurehead; and we may presume that the special aim would be to deliver the blow upon the side rather than the stem of the adverse galley.¹⁶⁷ But the evidence that we possess is insufficient to enable us to come to any positive conclusions on these points. A single representation of a sea-fight is all that has come down to us, and it gives us little information. The vessels represented in it seem to be stationary; and the engagement is between the soldiers who man the galley on either side, rather than between the navies. One enemy's boat is, however, being sunk; and this, we may presume, has been disabled by its antagonist. The engagement is fought at one of the mouths of the Nile, and takes place so near the land, that the reigning Pharaoh, who is present with four of his sons, can take part in the fight by shooting down the enemy from the shore.

In the interior waters of the Nile, a different and much larger kind of craft was employed;¹⁶⁸ and there can be little doubt that on some occasions these vessels were turned to account in the wars. We find an Ethiopian invader attacking Memphis with a fleet of "boats, yachts, and barges," blockading its port, and seeking to enter the town by means of the river.¹⁶⁹ What a foreign assailant could utilize in a sudden inroad, the Egyptians themselves are tolerably sure to have been in the habit of employing, either for attack or defence.¹⁷⁰ The Nile boats must have been especially serviceable as transports, since they were at least 120 feet long,¹⁷¹ and could carry from fifty to a hundred men.

When the enemy ceased to resist, the Egyptians readily gave quarter; and the prisoners taken in an expedition are often counted by thousands.¹⁷² If they ran down an enemy's ship, they exerted themselves to rescue the men on board from the waves, and drew them into their own vessels at some peril to themselves.¹⁷³ On land, those who laid down their weapons and sued for mercy were ordinarily spared; their arms were

bound together by a cord passed round them a little above the elbows, and they were led from the field to the camp, generally in long strings (Fig. 170), each conducted by a single Egyptian.¹⁷⁴ Laggards were induced to hasten their movements by fear of the stick, which was no doubt freely applied by those who had the prisoners in charge. All captives were regarded as belonging to the king, and naturally became his slaves, and were employed by him in forced labors during the remainder of their lives;¹⁷⁵ but sometimes the monarch was pleased to reward individual captors by making over to them their own prisoners,¹⁷⁶ who in that case passed into private servitude. The ransom of prisoners seems not to be mentioned, much less any exchange, as is customary in modern warfare. Whether important prisoners, especially when regarded as guilty of rebellion, were or were not sometimes put to death by the monarch in cold blood, is a moot question, upon which different opinions will probably be always held. On the one side there are the frequent representations of kings holding their captive enemies by the hair with one hand, while in the other they brandish aloft a sword or a mace, seeming to be in the act of striking a deadly blow;¹⁷⁷ on the other side there is the belief of many that these representations are allegorical, and that the Egyptians were far too civilized to be guilty of wanton cruelties.¹⁷⁸ If it be urged against this that the Assyrians, who were not much less civilized than the Egyptians, beyond all doubt, frequently put prisoners to death in cold blood,¹⁷⁹ the reply may be made that the Assyrian monarchs distinctly acknowledge, and indeed glory in, the practice, whereas no mention of it appears in the Egyptian records. Nor do the Greek writers ever tax the Egyptian monarchs with such barbarities.¹⁸⁰ It is the *Ethiopian*, Sabaco (Shabak), who puts to death the captive Bocchoris.¹⁸¹

The treatment of the slain was less in accordance with modern notions. Mere wanton ill-usage was not indeed encouraged; but no reverence for the dead restrained the kings from commanding, or the soldiers from practising, a system of mutilation, which, though prompted by an unobjectionable motive, is shocking to modern sentiment. It was considered important that the numbers of the enemy who fell in a battle should be accurately known; and, with this object in view, the Egyptian soldiers regarded it as their duty to cut off and carry to the camp some easily recognizable portion of each fallen enemy's person. The right hand was the part ordinarily selected;¹⁸² but sometimes the tongue was preferred, and occasionally the organ of reproduction.¹⁸³ Heaps of each are seen

in the sculptures, which the royal scribes are represented as counting in the king's presence, previously to entering them upon the register. A reward appears to have been obtained by each soldier on his presentation of these proofs of his prowess,¹⁸⁴ a reward no doubt proportioned to their number. Under the Persians the bodies of slain Egyptians seem to have been left to rot upon the field of battle;¹⁸⁵ but, while their dominion lasted, the Egyptians, we may be sure, embalmed and buried their own dead, whatever became of the corpses of their adversaries.

The camps (Fig. 165) of the Egyptians were quadrangular, sometimes square, sometimes oblong.¹⁸⁶ They were not, so far as appears, entrenched, but simply defended by a palisade. The royal quarters occupied a central position, and were surrounded by a double rampart or fosse, with a considerable space between the two enclosures.¹⁸⁷ The king's tent was within the inner circuit, the outer one being allotted to his chief officers. A special portion of the camp was assigned to the horses and the baggage animals, another to the chariots and the baggage, the chariots being arranged in rows, not far from the horses. There was a certain place in the camp which served the purposes of a hospital, the sick, whether men or animals, being there collected together and carefully tended.¹⁸⁸ There was also within the camp a shrine, or centre for religious worship¹⁸⁹—a spot where sacrifice could be offered, and the gods consulted when any doubt arose as to the proper course of action.

Within the limits of Egypt, troops were chiefly moved by water, along the Nile, its various branches, and the numerous canals;¹⁹⁰ but when foreign countries—Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia—had to be attacked, the Egyptian armies were forced, like most others, to accomplish marches. In these the chariot division commonly led the way, and was followed by a portion of the infantry; after which came the monarch himself, mounted in his royal car, and accompanied by his chief officers and attendants, who, with their large fans or *flabella*,¹⁹¹ sought at once to create a current of air, and to keep off the flies from the royal person. Behind the royal *cortège* followed the rest of the troops, arranged in the various corps of archers, spearmen, clubmen, etc. The cavalry probably covered the flanks of the army, acting upon the wings, and throwing out scouts in advance to give notice of the approach of an enemy.

The signal for an attack was given, when the enemy's presence was reached, by the sound of the trumpet; and the same instrument was employed, on the march of an army, both for

starting and halting the columns.¹⁹² The Egyptian trumpet (Fig. 158) was a long tube, apparently of brass, expanded at the end into a large bell-shaped mouth. It was commonly held in a horizontal position with both hands, the upper end being pressed against the lips.¹⁹³ The drum and trumpet seem to have been used together upon a march for the enlivenment of the soldiers, and in order to regulate their movements. The drum (Fig. 168) employed was one of small diameter, but of considerable length, and was played by the hands without the intervention of a drumstick.¹⁹⁴

On his return from an expedition, the monarch always claimed to have been successful, and made a grand display of the fruits of his victories. The troops marched in jubilant procession before him and behind him, carrying often, besides their arms, branches of trees,¹⁹⁵ and sometimes bearing, in their hands or on their shoulders, the most important products of the countries visited. The chariot of the monarch was accompanied by some of his great officers, and preceded or followed closely by a train of captives (Fig. 169), with their arms bound or hands manacled, and generally united together by a long rope, the end of which was held by the Pharaoh himself, or else fastened to his car.¹⁹⁶ As he approached the various towns which lay upon his route, the Egyptians came out to meet him with acclamations, raising their hands aloft, and bringing him bouquets of flowers, green bows, and branches of palm.¹⁹⁷ Arrived in his capital, the monarch proceeded to the principal temple for the purpose of making acknowledgments to the deity to whom he attributed his victories. There, before the image of the god, he offered the choicest parts of the spoil, vases, incense, bags of money (?), rhytons, jars of ointment, and the like, and at the same time made presentation of a large number of his captives,¹⁹⁸ who were added to the sacred slaves previously possessed by the temple. The troops seem to have attended the ceremony, though they are not often represented, and to have returned thanks for their own preservation, a priest in this case interposing between the god and the worshippers, and offering on their behalf incense, meat-offerings, and libations.¹⁹⁹

The condition of the *fellahin*, or agricultural laborers, has been already indicated to some extent in what has been said, in the chapter on Egyptian Agriculture, concerning the tenure of the land and the manner in which it was cultivated.²⁰⁰ It is possible, however, that somewhat too favorable a view has been there taken. The number of peasants rich enough to rent farms and cultivate on their own account was probably

small ; and the great majority of the class had to content themselves with the position of hired laborers, and to work on the estates of others. These persons labored under overseers, who were generally severe taskmasters, and who, at their discretion, might punish the idle or refractory by blows.²⁰¹ The peasant farmer was somewhat better off ; but even his position was scarcely enviable, and Egyptian authors not unfrequently hold him up to their readers as an object of pity. "Have you ever represented to yourself," writes Amenemun to Pentaour,²⁰² "the estate of the rustic who tills the ground? Before he has put the sickle to the crop, the locusts have blasted a part of it ; then come the rats and the birds. If he is slack in housing his grain, the thieves are upon him. His horse dies of weariness as it drags the wain. Anon, the tax-gatherer arrives ; his agents are armed with clubs ; he has negroes with him, who carry whips of palm branches. They all cry, 'Give us your grain !' and he has no easy way of avoiding their extortionate demands. Next, the wretch is caught, bound, and sent off to work without wage at the canals ; his wife is taken and chained ; his children are stripped and plundered." In the "Praise of Learning" by Tuauksakhrat, a very similar description is given.²⁰³ "The little laborer having a field, he passes his life among rustics ; he is worn down for vines and pigs, to make his kitchen of what his fields have ; his clothes are heavy with their weight ; he is bound as a forced laborer ; if he goes forth into the air, he suffers, having to quit his warm fireplace ; he is bastinadoed (Fig. 171) with a stick on his legs, and seeks to save himself ; shut against him is the hall of every house, locked are all the chambers." It appears from these passages that not only was the weight of taxation felt by the small cultivator to be oppressive, and the conduct of the tax-gatherer to be brutal, but that forced labors were from time to time imposed on him, and the stick and cord employed if he resisted. Torn from his family and homestead, and compelled to work under the hot Egyptian sun at cleaning out or banking up the canals, no wages paid him, and insufficient food supplied, he doubtless shared too frequently the lot of modern forced excavators, and perished under the hardships which a cruel government imposed on him. If a tough constitution enabled him to escape this fate and return home, he might find his family dispersed, his wife carried off, and his mud cabin a heap of ruins !

Add to all this, that at the best of times he was looked upon with contempt,²⁰⁴ not only by the privileged classes, but by their servants—perhaps even by their slaves—and it will be

evident that to the cultivators of the soil, Egypt under the Pharaohs was far from being an Arcadia. On the whole the difference would seem not to have been so very great between the condition of the children of the soil in the most flourishing period of the independent monarchy and in the Egypt of to-day.

A more independent and enviable position was enjoyed by the tradesmen and artisans, who dwelt chiefly in the towns. Trade flourished under the Pharaohs, and was encouraged not only by the lavish expenditure of the Court, of the high ecclesiastics, and of the great nobles, but also by the vast demand which there was for Egyptian productions in foreign countries. Though the Egyptians themselves rarely engaged in foreign trade either by land or sea,²⁰⁵ yet their country was sought from very ancient times by a host of foreign traders, Phœnicians, Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, who brought with them the commodities of their own lands or of other more distant ones, and exchanged them for the finished productions of the Egyptian manufacturers.²⁰⁶ Syria took Egyptian chariots by hundreds ;²⁰⁷ Tyre imported "fine linen with brodered work ;"²⁰⁸ Greece, large quantities of paper ;²⁰⁹ India and Arabia, linen fabrics ;²¹⁰ Etruria, glass, porcelain, and alabaster ;²¹¹ Assyria, perhaps, ivories.²¹² In the earlier times Egyptian manufactures must have been altogether unrivalled ; and their glass, their pottery, their textile fabrics, their metal-work, must have circulated freely through the various countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. All this gave a vast stimulus to trade, and encouraged the artisans to fresh efforts after improvement, which resulted in works of continually increasing excellence. Though in taste and elegance the Greeks ultimately far surpassed the dwellers on the Nile, yet in perfection of mechanical construction and finish the latter have scarcely been outdone by any nation ; and their fine linen, their glass-work, their porcelain, their veneering and inlaying of wood, together with various other products and processes, excite admiration at the present day.²¹³

The most important trades appear to have been those of building, stone-cutting, weaving, furniture-making, chariot-making, glass-blowing, pottery, metallurgy, boat-building, and embalming. The builders worked in three materials, wood, stone, and brick, preferring stone on the whole, and using several of the choicest and hardest kinds. The skill exhibited in many of their contrivances is great ; and the mechanical excellence of their works is sufficiently evinced by the continuance of so many of them to the present day. Still,

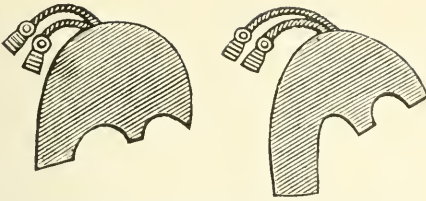


Fig. 139.—EGYPTIAN HELMETS.—See Page 212.

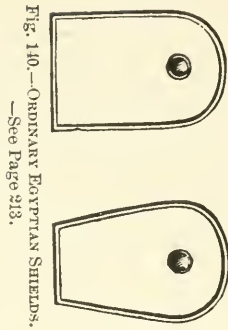


Fig. 140.—ORDINARY EGYPTIAN SHIELDS.—
—See Page 213.

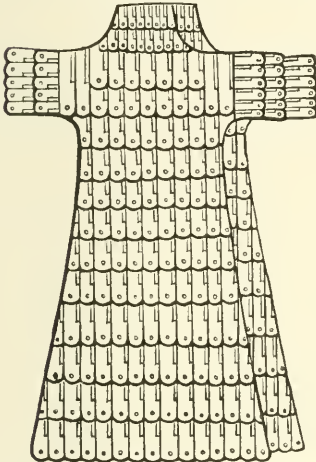


Fig. 141.—COAT OF MAIL.—See Page 213.



Fig. 142.—WARRIOR WITH SHIELD OF UNUSUAL SIZE.—See Page 213.

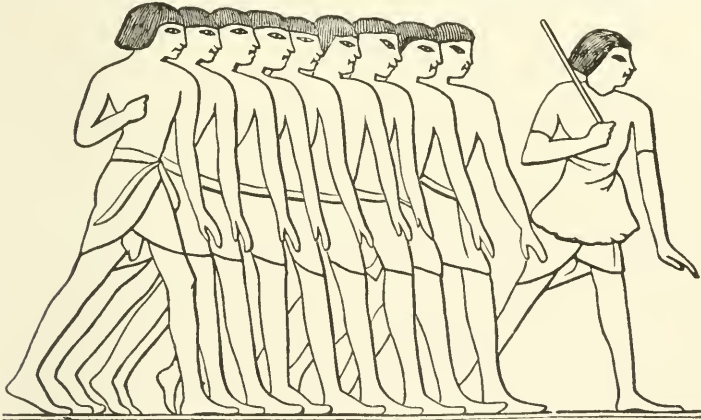


Fig. 143.—INFANTRY DRILLED BY A SERGEANT.—See Page 212.



Fig. 144.—LIGHT-ARMED TROOPS MARCHING.—See Page 213.

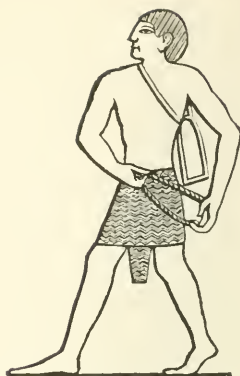


Fig. 145.—EGYPTIAN SLINGER.—See Page 213.



Fig. 146.—SPEARMEN AND ARCHERS.—See Page 213.

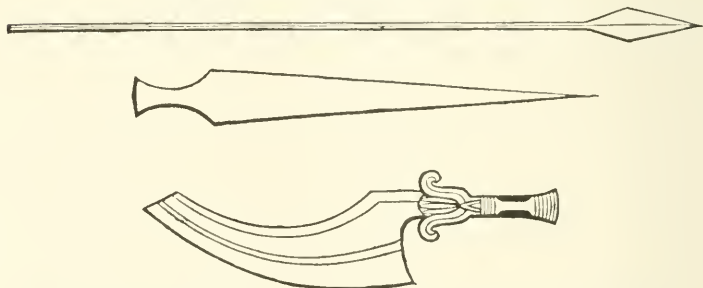


Fig. 147.—EGYPTIAN SPEAR, STRAIGHT SWORD, AND FALCHION.—See Page 216.

a certain timidity is observable in the employment of over-massive and over-numerous supports, and a certain rudeness and want of enterprise in the constant adherence to the simplest possible mode of roofing an edifice—viz., by laying wooden beams or long blocks of stone across the entire space to be covered in. What results they were able to achieve with brick and wood, we have no sufficient means of judging, since no works in these materials remain except some brick pyramids of the rudest kind; but they had certainly reason to be proud of their stone edifices, which are in many respects unsurpassed by later ages. But so much has been said on this subject in the chapter on Egyptian architecture that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it any further here.²¹⁴

Stone-cutting included the two very different occupations of quarrying and shaping blocks for the builder, and of cutting, polishing, and engraving gems. In the former branch the Egyptians remain still unrivalled. The size of their blocks, the exactness and accuracy with which the angle required was produced, the apparent ease with which they worked the stubbornest material, the perfect smoothness (Fig. 174) of the surface, and excellence of the polish put on it, have often been remarked upon, and are said to leave nothing to be desired.²¹⁵ It is doubtful whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk, such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens. In the other branch of the business the Egyptians have no doubt been surpassed by many nations: their engravings have little beauty, and they do not seem to have triumphed over the difficulty of cutting really "hard stones." Such gems as the diamond, the ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, the topaz, and the chrysoberyl, defied their skill; but they could deal with the amethyst, the carnelian, the garnet, and the jasper, with hæmatite, porphyry, lapis lazuli, green felspar, obsidian, serpentine, and steatite.²¹⁶ It was not commonly their practice to engrave gems in the ordinary way; the Egyptians preferred to shape them into certain forms, as rings, beads, eyes, hearts, sphinxes, and scarabæi,²¹⁷ and then (sometimes) to inscribe them further with figures of deities or hieroglyphics. There is little delicacy and little grace in these engravings, which are rough, shallow, and unfinished.

The cutting of blocks was ordinarily effected by the saw,²¹⁸ which was single-handed (Fig. 172), and worked by a single sawyer.²¹⁹ But sometimes the pick and chisel were employed to a certain extent, and then wedges of dry wood were inserted, which on being wetted expanded, and split off the required

block from the mass of stone in the quarry.²²⁰ It is supposed²²¹ that the tools used, being mostly of bronze, must, when employed to cut granite, basalt, or stone of similar quality, have been moistened and dipped in emery powder, and that the same substance must have lent its force to the implements whereby the engraving and shaping of gems was effected. Emery powder was not difficult to obtain, since it is produced by the islands of the Archipelago. Whether or no the Egyptians employed the lapidary's wheel appears to be doubtful. Blocks of stone, however obtained from the quarries, were finally smoothed and prepared for use by means of the chisel and mallet.²²²

Herodotus states that weaving in Egypt was the occupation of men only, not of women, and declares that the woof was always worked upwards by the Egyptians, and not downwards, as by other nations;²²³ but the native monuments show that men and women were alike employed both in spinning and weaving (Fig. 175), and that the woof was worked indifferently either up or down.²²⁴ The Egyptian loom was of the most primitive description,²²⁵ the shuttle being passed across by the hand and not thrown, and all the needful movements being effected entirely by the weaver himself, who, if a man, ordinarily sat in front of his frame.

It is wonderful what exquisite fabrics were produced by these simple means. The Egyptians worked in linen, in cotton, and in wool, producing good results in every case; but their favorite textile manufacture was that of linen, and it is in this branch that their fabrics are most remarkable.²²⁶ The fineness of some equals that of the best Indian muslin,²²⁷ while of others it is said that "in touch they are comparable to silk, and in texture to our finest cambric."²²⁸ Originally the linen was extremely white;²²⁹ but sometimes it was dyed red,²³⁰ and at other times the edges were colored with indigo, either in a single line or in several stripes.²³¹ Patterns were occasionally inwrought during the weaving,²³² while sometimes they were superadded by a process analogous to that which in modern times is called printing.²³³ Gold threads were also in some cases introduced to give additional richness to the fabric,²³⁴ which was often as transparent as lawn²³⁵ and of silky softness.

The poet who bewails the misery of the "little laborer" has a word of lamentation for the weaver likewise. "The weaver," he says,²³⁶ "inside the houses is more wretched than a woman; his knees are at the place of his heart; he has not tasted the air. Should he have done but a little in a day, of his weaving,

he is dragged as a lily in a pool. He gives bread to the porter at the door, that he may be allowed to see the light." Confinement, close rooms, a cramped position, are no doubt evils; but they are common to many handicrafts and scarcely separable from that of the hand-loom weaver. So far, then, the Egyptian workman had no special cause of complaint. If he was literally "dragged in a pool" by an angry employer when he had been idle,²³⁷ he may to some extent claim our pity, though an idle man is perhaps the better for a little punishment; but if the poet merely meant that he *looked* like a dragged lily after a few hours' hard work in so hot a climate, we need not shed many tears over his hard lot. If the work-room was insufficiently lighted, and he had to bribe the porter to keep the door open, we may admit that he had a grievance, but one not altogether intolerable.

Upholstery must in Egypt have employed a large number of persons, since the opulent class was numerous, and took a pride in having its houses handsomely furnished.²³⁸ The empty and bare interiors affected by modern Orientals were not at all to the Egyptian taste. Elegant chairs,²³⁹ with or without arms, fauteuils, sofas, ottomans, and low stools of various kinds garnished the Egyptian reception rooms, where every guest expected to find a seat awaiting him, since only the attendants and the professionals stood, and sitting on the ground, though sometimes practised, does not seem to have been fashionable.²⁴⁰ Tables, moreover, round, square, or oblong, sometimes delicately inlaid with ivory or with rare woods,²⁴¹ sometimes supported on a carved human figure,²⁴² were essential to the completeness of an apartment. Footstools also constituted a necessary part of the furniture (Fig. 176) of a sitting-room; while stands for jars or flowers, folding-stools, and boxes or cabinets for holding various objects were also common.²⁴³ For the sleeping apartments, rich beds or couches, with mattresses, pillows, and cushions, were required, together with toilet-tables, chairs, wardrobes, and wooden head-rests (Fig. 167) of a peculiar fashion.²⁴⁴ These consisted commonly of a pillar or pedestal supporting a curved, semi-elliptical piece of wood, acacia, sycamore, or tamarisk, adapted to receive the back of the head, which fitted into it. Though it is said that Egyptian houses were "on the whole, lightly furnished, and not encumbered with so many articles as are in use at the present day,"²⁴⁵ yet it is clear that to provide the objects enumerated for the very large number of wealthy persons who dwelt in the great cities, often possessing country villas besides their town residences, a numerous class of skilled artificers must have been

required, who, it is reasonable to suppose, were well paid for their labors.

Chariot-making (Fig. 177), or coach-building, as it would be called in modern times, was also an important trade, and must have occupied no small number. The kings maintained a chariot-force of at least several hundreds; ²⁴⁶ and every well-to-do Egyptian gentleman had his own private vehicle, which constituted his ordinary means of locomotion. ²⁴⁷ Four-wheeled cars were required for certain sacred ceremonies. ²⁴⁸ The export of chariots was also probably considerable, ²⁴⁹ and perhaps extended to other countries besides Syria. ²⁵⁰ Coach-makers are seen at work in the Egyptian sculptures, engaged in fashioning all the various constituent parts of the usual vehicle, the seat, the rim, the pole, the yoke, the wheels, the fittings. ²⁵¹ These were chiefly made either of wood or leather, very little metal being employed in the construction. The felloes of the wheels, however, were for the most part strengthened with bronze or brass bands, and the tire consisted always of a hoop of metal. ²⁵² If the price which foreigners paid for a chariot was three hundred Jewish shekels, ²⁵³ or about forty-five pounds of our money, the trade must have been sufficiently remunerative.

The invention of glass (Fig. 178), which the later Romans attributed to the Phœnicians of Tyre, ²⁵⁴ is with reason claimed for Egypt, ²⁵⁵ where glass-blowing appears to have been practised, at least from the time of the twelfth dynasty. ²⁵⁶ Really colorless transparent glass was not produced, the nearest approach to it being found in vases of a bottle-green color, with conical or globular bodies and long necks, which are thought to belong to about the sixth century B. C. ²⁵⁷ The earlier bottles and vases (Fig. 181) are of an opaque or semi-opaque material, with backgrounds of light or dark blue, and wavy lines of yellow, light blue, and white running in horizontal bands on the surface round the body of the vessel. No objects of any large size were produced; nor does glass appear to have been in common use at entertainments. In the main, it was reserved for the toilet and the toilet-table, being employed to contain the unguents, perfumes, stibium, and other dyes for the eyebrows and eyelids, which were in constant use among the Egyptians of both sexes; ²⁵⁸ and also for ornaments of the person, such as necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and the like. ²⁵⁹ Glass was also largely employed for the decoration of mummies by means of a net-work of beads and bugles, ²⁶⁰ which was placed outside the linen wrappings, covering the entire figure, and often terminating in a fringe below. It was likewise used for inlaying and mosaic work. ²⁶¹ together with artificial pastes,

and such substances as lapis lazuli, agate, etc. Sometimes, but rarely, small figures of gods and animals were produced in the material.²⁶²

Egyptian pottery (Fig. 179) embraced the varieties of a coarse red, black, or yellow earthenware, suitable for the wants of the common people, a finer terra-cotta, adapted not only for vases, diotæ, amphoræ, etc., but also for human and animal figures, and a beautiful porcelain or faïence, which was of many different colors, and was applied, like the terra-cotta, to a great variety of purposes. The ordinary earthenware was used for vases, bowls, plates, pans, bottles, amphoræ, cups, jugs, and the like; ²⁶³ it was not of a very good material, and was consequently made of more than the usual thickness. Three kinds are distinguished, the unglazed, the glazed, and the painted.²⁶⁴ The glaze employed is of a vitreous character, and seems to have been added after the vessels had been baked. In the painted specimens, the colors have been laid on in tempera. Almost all the various utensils found appear to have been shaped by the wheel,²⁶⁵ which must thus have been of an extreme antiquity in Egypt, while in other countries it was a comparatively recent introduction.²⁶⁶ The shapes of the common kind of vessels, though not so elegant and refined as those which prevailed in Greece and in Etruria, are comparable with any that were in use elsewhere at the time, and in many instances must be pronounced decidedly graceful and pleasing.²⁶⁷ The glazed vessels were of superior quality to the unglazed, and sometimes affected human or animal shapes.²⁶⁸ They were often ornamented with bands, and occasionally inscribed with a few hieroglyphics.²⁶⁹ The painted vases and amphoræ (Fig. 180) were either simply decorated with "annular bands of a black or purple color, running round the body or neck," or had a hatching of thin lines uniting the bands, or "the representation of a collar pendent from the shoulder of the vase, painted in blue, black, and red."²⁷⁰ But the most *recherché* and elaborate ornamentation consisted in coloring the entire vase with a ground in distemper, and then painting it with straight or festooned lines, or leaves of plants, or even animals disporting themselves among shrubs and lotus-flowers.²⁷¹

In terra-cotta the Egyptians produced chiefly vases, especially those intended to receive the intestines of the dead,²⁷² sepulchral cones,²⁷³ mummied figures,²⁷⁴ and statuettes of deities.²⁷⁵ The material used is only of middling quality, and was frequently concealed by paint.²⁷⁶ It was not much affected, excepting for sepulchral cones, in the time of the independent

monarchy, but came into more general use during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

The Egyptian porcelain (Fig. 173), or faience, as it is said to be more properly termed,²⁷⁷ was composed of white sand, slightly fused,²⁷⁵ and covered with a colored glaze or enamel, the constituents of which are somewhat doubtful.²⁷⁹ Porcelain was employed for vases of various kinds, for glazed tiles, sepulchral figures, pectoral plates, symbolic eyes, beads and bugles, scarabæi, rings, and statuettes. The vases are usually of a blue or apple-green color, and have for the most part a form resembling somewhat that of a lotus flower, consisting of round basins, or bowls, or tall cups, superimposed upon a low stand or stem.²⁸⁰ Some of them are ornamented with figures of men and animals, with water-plants, or with other objects. A few are glazed in various colors, as yellow, violet, and white. Some bear the name and titles of the reigning Pharaoh.²⁸¹

The glazed tiles seem to have been used for mural decoration only. They have been found almost exclusively at one place,²⁸² where they belonged to a palace of Rameses III., which was composed of unbaked bricks and ornamented with the tiles in question. Like those which decorated the walls of some Babylonian palaces,²⁸³ they presented in their combination a series of pictures, representing the king returning victorious from his military expeditions, with prisoners and trophies, and other similar subjects. In most instances the figures were first marked out by depressions in the tiles, which depressions were afterwards filled in with colored glass or pastes, with alabaster, terra-cotta, or glazed sandstone;²⁸⁴ but in some cases the figures are in relief upon a flat ground, and the work resembles modern Palissy ware. "Portions of the garments and the backgrounds are inlaid with colored pastes of various colors; the features and flesh of the limbs are appropriately glazed, and the hair, or headdress, especially of the negroes, of colored pastes. They are well made, and fine specimens of toreutic work in relief."²⁸⁵

Pectoral plates were borne by almost all mummies, being suspended on the neck or throat. They are usually shaped like an Egyptian doorway, with its recurved cornice,²⁸⁶ and represent, in outline or in relief, some sacred scene connected with the lower world, as the adoration of Anubis, the boat of the sun bearing the scarabæus and saluted by Isis and Nephthys, the worship of Osiris by the deceased, the human-headed hawk (Horus), or a train of goddesses. Occasionally, portions of the design are colored by inlaying with pastes.²⁸⁷

The porcelain statuettes are representations of gods or genii.

They are usually not more than from one to two inches in height ; but some have been found which a little exceed a foot. Ordinarily they are of no great merit, the forms being conventional and stiff, the spaces between the limbs "reserved,"²⁸⁸ and the workmanship indifferent ; but a few exceptions occur. "Some of these figures are of exquisite style, and rather resemble gems than porcelain in the fineness of their details." Others "have the limbs detached," and show some "freedom of position."²⁸⁹ But the forms of the Egyptian gods are for the most part so disagreeable, and the headdresses so disfiguring, that even in the best specimens of porcelain or other statuettes there is little beauty.

It will be evident to the reader that the various branches of the potter's (Fig. 182) art which have been here described must have given employment to a very large number of persons, some of whom must have possessed considerable artistic talents and advanced technical knowledge. The Egyptian glazing is often of the very finest character ; the colors used are sometimes exquisite ; and the skill displayed in suiting the glaze to the material great. A high class of artists was no doubt employed for much of the work, and these persons, we may presume, were well remunerated and lived comfortable lives. But in the lower walks of the trade no great skill was needed ; and the class which produced the ordinary coarse ware, and which is seen at work in the sepulchral chambers of Beni Hassan,²⁹⁰ was probably composed of persons who were not held in much account, and may have consisted in part of slaves.²⁹¹

Metallurgy in Egypt comprised the working in gold, in silver and lead to a small extent, in copper, in iron, and in bronze. Tin appears to have been scarcely used except as an alloy,²⁹² while zinc was wholly unknown. The Egyptians found gold in considerable quantities within the limits of their own land, chiefly in veins of quartz towards the southeastern parts of the country.²⁹³ After digging out the quartz they broke it up by hand into small pieces,²⁹⁴ which were then passed on to the mill, and ground to powder between two flat granite millstones of no great size, this work again being performed by manual labor. The quartz thus reduced to powder was washed on inclined tables, furnished with one or two cisterns, until all the earthy matter was separated and washed away, flowing down the incline with the water. The gold particles which remained were carefully collected and formed into ingots by exposure to the heat of a furnace for five days and nights in earthen crucibles, which were allowed to cool and then broken.

The ingots having been extracted were weighed, and laid by for use.

The manufacture of objects out of gold was effected by goldsmiths (Fig. 183), who, after melting down an ingot, or a portion of one, in a crucible, with the help of a blow-pipe,²⁹⁵ proceeded to work the material into shape with the forceps and tongs,²⁹⁶ and finally to fashion it with graving tools.²⁹⁷ Among the objects produced, the commonest were solid rings of a certain size and weight, which seem to have passed current as money,²⁹⁸ vases, bowls, baskets, armlets, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and other ornaments of the person, cups, goblets, rhytons, and other drinking vessels. Statuettes also were sometimes made of gold,²⁹⁹ and figures of the sacred animals were inlaid with it.³⁰⁰ The gold vases (Fig. 184) appear to have been most elaborately chased, and constructed in most elegant forms. Very few of them have escaped the ravages of time and the cupidity of man; but, if we accept the representations in tombs as probably not exceeding the reality, we must ascribe to the Egyptian goldsmiths a very refined and excellent taste. Rosellini has six pages of vases,³⁰¹ above a hundred specimens in all, taken from the sculptures and paintings, almost all graceful, some quite exquisite, which show the Egyptians to have possessed a feeling for the beautiful in toreutic art, that, without this proof of it, we should scarcely have expected. The few specimens which can be here reproduced will give a most inadequate idea of their power in this respect; and those who wish to appreciate it as it deserves should consult the "Monumenti Civili."

A good deal of taste was also shown by the Egyptian goldsmiths in their armlets, bracelets, earrings, and finger rings. Armlets were of elastic metal, the two ends, which did not quite meet, being sometimes fashioned into the heads of snakes or other animals.³⁰² Bracelets were generally solid bands of metal, plain, or else ornamented with *cloisonné* work, and sometimes enamelled and inlaid with lapis lazuli and glass pastes.³⁰³ Occasionally the form of a snake was preferred, and a bracelet composed of three or four coils, carefully chased so as to imitate the skin of the reptile.³⁰⁴ Earrings were mostly "penannular," one end being pointed, and the other shaped into the form of some animal's head. They had sometimes pendants,³⁰⁵ and occasionally were set with pearls or other jewels.³⁰⁶ Finger rings were most commonly intended to be used as signets, and consisted of a plain gold circle with a fixed, or else a revolving, bezel, bearing usually the name of the owner, and, if it revolved, some other engraved figures.

In silver the objects produced were, principally, rings used for money,³⁰⁷ vases, bracelets, plates to be employed as ornaments of mummies,³⁰⁸ figures of gods and sacred animals,³⁰⁹ and finger rings. The forms affected resembled for the most part those of the same objects in gold, but were on the whole less elaborate. It is worthy of observation that the silver is sometimes gilt.³¹⁰

Leaden objects seem scarcely to be found; and the only proof which exists of the metal being known and worked by the Egyptians is its employment as a solder in combination with tin,³¹¹ without which it will not serve the purpose. Egypt did not produce it, so far as appears; but it was sometimes taken as tribute from foreign nations in considerable quantities.³¹²

It has been much questioned whether iron was employed at all by the Egyptians until the time of the Greek conquest. The weapons, implements, and ornaments of iron which have been found on the ancient sites are so few,³¹³ while those of bronze are so numerous, and the date of the few iron objects discovered is so uncertain, that there is a strong temptation to embrace the simple theory that iron was first introduced into Egypt by the Ptolemies. Difficulties, however, stand in the way of the complete adoption of this view. A fragment of a thin plate of iron was found by Colonel Vyse imbedded in the masonry of the Great Pyramid.³¹⁴ Some iron implements and ornaments have been found in the tombs, with nothing about them indicative of their belonging to a late period. The paucity of such instances is partially, if not wholly, accounted for, by the rapid decay of iron in the nitrous earth of Egypt,³¹⁵ or when oxidized by exposure to the air. It seems moreover very improbable that the Hebrews and Canaanites should for centuries have been well acquainted with the use of iron,³¹⁶ and their neighbors of Egypt, whose civilization was far more advanced, have been ignorant of it. On these grounds the most judicious of modern Egyptologists seem to hold, that while the use of iron by the Egyptians in Pharaonic times was, at the best, rare and occasional, it was still not wholly unknown,³¹⁷ though less appreciated than we should have expected. Iron spearheads, iron sickles, iron gimlets, iron bracelets, iron keys, iron wire, were occasionally made use of; but the Egyptians, on the whole, were contented with their bronze implements and weapons, which were more easily produced, and which they found to answer every purpose.

The manufacture of bronze was by far the most extensive branch of Egyptian metallurgy. Arms, implements; house-

hold vessels such as cauldrons, bowls, ewers, jugs, buckets, basins, vases, ladles, etc.; articles of the toilet, mirrors, tweezers, razors, pins, earrings, armlets, bracelets, finger rings; artistic objects, figures of gods, of sacred animals, and of men; tools, such as saws, chisels, hatchets, adzes, drills, and brad-awls; are usually, or at any rate frequently, of this material,³¹⁸ which must have been employed by the Egyptian metallurgists to as large an extent as all the other metals put together. The bronze was very variously composed; sometimes it contained as much as fourteen parts of tin, and one of iron, to eighty-five parts of copper,³¹⁹ a very unusual proportion; more often the copper stood to the tin as eighty-eight to twelve;³²⁰ while sometimes the proportion was as high as ninety-four to six. In bronze of this last mentioned quality, a tinge of iron, amounting to about one part in a thousand, is usual.³²¹ The bronze arms included swords, daggers, battle-axes, maces, spearheads, arrowheads, and coats of mail; the implements, ploughshares, sickles, knives, forceps, nails, needles, harpoons (Fig. 185), and fishhooks.³²² Bronze was also used, as already observed,³²³ in the construction of chariots, and perhaps to some extent in furniture and housebuilding.

The process of melting bronze is not shown upon the monuments. It must have required furnaces, melting-pots, and moulds of considerable dimensions, and must have given occupation to a very large class of artisans. Among these, perhaps the most important was the armorer, who provided the offensive and defensive arms on which the safety of the country depended. It would seem that there was nothing particularly unpleasant in his occupation, since the poet, who seeks to disparage all other callings except that of the scribe, is unable to point out anything whereof the "maker of weapons" has to complain, except the fatigue and expense of his journeys,³²⁴ which can only have been accidental and occasional.

Boat-building (Fig. 186) must also have been a flourishing trade, and have employed the energies of a large number of persons. Besides their war vessels or galleys, which were rather large boats than ships, the Egyptians made use of a great variety of craft, adapted for peaceful purposes, and differing according to the exact service for which they were wanted. A sort of light canoe, formed (we are told) of the papyrus plant, and propelled either by a single paddle or by a punting-pole, furnished the ordinary means of transport from one side of the Nile to the other, and was also used by fishermen in their occupation, and by herdsmen, when it was necessary to save cattle from an excessive inundation.³²⁵ The stem

and stern of these vessels rose considerably above the water ; they must have been flat-bottomed and broad, like punts, or they could have possessed no stability. They are probably the "vessels of bulrushes," spoken of by Isaiah,³²⁶ which were common to the Egyptians with the Ethiopians.

But the ordinary Nile boat (Fig. 189) of Pharaonic times was built of wood. Planks of the acantha or *Mimosa nilotica* were cut with the hatchet, a yard or two in length, and arranged in rows one above another, very much as builders arrange their bricks.³²⁷ These planks were probably united together by glue and by wooden bolts and nails, in the same way as articles of furniture ; but they were sometimes further secured by means of a number of short poles or stakes, placed internally at right angles to the planks, and lashed to them by means of cord or string.³²⁸ On a boat of this kind (Fig. 187) a sort of house of lattice-work was sometimes raised, and cattle were embarked upon it and conveyed from place to place.³²⁹ Occasionally the house was of a more solid character, being formed of boards which were continuous and only pierced by a few windows.³³⁰ Some boats of this construction had a mast and sail ; others were without these conveniences, and depended entirely upon the rowers. These varied in number from twelve to forty-four ; their oars were of rude construction, and they appear sometimes to have rowed standing. Steering was managed either by a rudder, worked through a notch in the centre of the stern, or by two or more steering-oars on either side, each entrusted to a separate steersman. The only sail used was a square sail (Fig. 188), and the rigging was of the most simple character. Sails were often colored, and sometimes patterned, or embroidered with quaint devices.³³¹

The embalmers of dead bodies must also, like the boat-buildert, have been a numerous class, and must have driven a profitable trade, if the prices mentioned by Diodorus³³² were really those commonly exacted. According to the Sicilian historian, the expense of preparing a corpse for interment in the most approved method was a talent of silver, or something more than 240*l.* of our money ; and even for a secondary and far inferior method, a payment had to be made exceeding 80*l.* For the lowest and poorest class of persons a third method had necessarily to be employed, the cost of which was, comparatively speaking, moderate ; but even here, taking the numbers into account, the profit made must have been considerable. It has been calculated that between B.C. 2000 and A.D. 700, when embalming ceased, there may have been interred in Egypt 420,000,000 mummied corpses.³³³ This would give an

average of 155,000 yearly. If we calculate that, of these, five-sixths, or 130,000, would belong to the lower orders, while two-fifteenths, or 20,000, may have been furnished by the class which was fairly well off, and one-thirtieth, or 5,000, by the really opulent; and if we suppose the poor man to have paid, on an average, no more than one-twentieth of the price paid by those of the upper middle class, the annual sum received by the embalmers would have exceeded three millions sterling.³³⁴

The embalmers' trade was certainly ancient in Egypt,³³⁵ and by the time of the eighteenth dynasty the art had attained an extraordinary pitch of perfection.³³⁶ In the most expensive system, the brain was skilfully extracted by a curved bronze implement through the nostrils, and the skull was then washed out with certain medicaments; the nostrils were plugged up; the eyes removed and replaced by artificial ones in ivory or obsidian, and the hair sometimes also removed and placed in a separate packet, covered with linen and bitumen.³³⁷ The right side was opened by a cut with a flint knife,³³⁸ and the whole of the intestines were removed by the hand³³⁹ and placed in sepulchral urns; ³⁴⁰ the cavity was then cleansed by an injection of palm-wine, and sometimes by a subsequent infusion of pounded aromatics; ³⁴¹ after which it was filled with bruised myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and other spices. Next, the entire body was plunged in natron and kept covered with it for seventy days. Silver gloves or stalls were put on the fingers, to keep the nails in place, or else they were secured with thread; ³⁴² a plate of tin, inscribed with the symbolic eye, was laid over the incision in the right side; the arms were arranged symmetrically, either along the sides, or on the breast or groins; and the process of bandaging commenced. The bandages used were always of linen; ³⁴³ they were usually three or four inches wide and several yards in length; coarser kinds of linen were employed near the body, and finer towards the exterior. In some cases the entire length of the bandages wherein a single corpse was swathed exceeded 700, or, according to one writer, 1,000 yards.³⁴⁴ To unite the bandages together, and keep them in place, gum was employed. When the swathing was completed, either an outer linen shroud, dyed red with the *carthamus tinctorius*, and ornamented with a network of porcelain beads, was placed over the whole; or the swathed body was covered by a "cartonnage," consisting of twenty or forty layers of linen tightly pressed and glued together, so as to form a sort of pasteboard envelope, which then received a thin coating of stucco, and was painted in bright colors with hiero-

glyphics and figures of deities.³⁴⁵ This was placed within a wooden coffin shaped similarly, and in most cases similarly ornamented, which was often enclosed within another, or within several, each just capable of holding the preceding one. Finally, in the funerals of the rich, the confined body was deposited within a stone sarcophagus, which might be of granite, alabaster, basalt, breccia, or other good material, and was either rectangular, like that of Mycerinus,³⁴⁶ or in the shape of the mummied body. Some sarcophagi were plain; but many were covered with sculptures in relief or intaglio, consisting chiefly of scenes and passages from the most sacred of the Egyptian books, the "Ritual of the Dead."

When the relatives were not able, or not disposed, to incur the large outlay which this entire process required, there were various ways in which it might be cheapened.³⁴⁷ The viscera, instead of being placed together with spices in separate urns, might be simply returned into the body, accompanied by wax images of the four genii; the abdominal cavity might be merely cleansed with cedar oil,³⁴⁸ and not filled with spices; the silver finger-stalls and artificial eyes might be omitted; the bandages might be reduced in number and made of less fine linen; the ornamentation might be simpler; a single wooden coffin might suffice; and the sarcophagus might be dispensed with. In this way the cost could be reduced within moderate limits, so as perhaps not greatly to exceed that of funerals in our own upper middle class.

But some still cheaper process was necessary, unless the poor were to be debarred from the privilege of embalming their dead altogether. One cheap mode employed seems to have been the submersion of the bodies for a short time in mineral pitch;³⁴⁹ another, the merely drying and salting them. Bodies thus prepared are sometimes found swathed in bandages, but often merely wrapped in coarse cloths or rags; they are without coffins, and have been simply buried in the ground, either singly or in layers, one over the other.³⁵⁰ The cost of preparing the body for burial under either of these two systems must have been trifling.

We are assured that the class of embalmers was held in high consideration among the Egyptians, participating to some extent in the respect which was entertained for the priestly order.³⁵¹ Yet, if any credence is to be given to a tale told by Herodotus,³⁵² it must have comprised individuals capable of almost any atrocity. Probably the heads of embalming establishments were alone persons of high respectability; the actual eviscerators (*paraschistæ*) and embalmers (*taricheutæ*) being

generally of a low grade, and more or less untrustworthy. It is to be hoped, however, that the degree of brutality indicated by Herodotus was of rare occurrence.

Besides the trades and handicrafts in which so many of the Egyptians found occupation for their time and talents, a considerable portion of the population pursued employments of a more elevated and intellectual character. Sculpture,³⁵³ painting and music had their respective votaries, and engaged the services of a large number of persons who may be regarded as artists. If dancing is to be viewed as a "fine art," we may add to these the paid dancers, who were numerous, but were not held in very high estimation. There were also employments analogous to our "professions," as those of the architect, the physician, and the scribe.

The merits of Egyptian painting and sculpture have been considered in an earlier chapter, and no more need be now said on that subject; but a few words on the mechanical processes employed, and the social status of artists and sculptors, are requisite in such a review of Egyptian manners and customs as we are at present engaged in. The sculptors may be divided into those who produced complete figures "in the round," and those who carved reliefs or intaglios on plain surfaces. The complete figures were either ideal, of gods and demi-gods, or portrait-statues representing individuals. Those of the former kind, being systematic and conventional, required but little artistic ability, and could be produced mechanically by a number of workmen, who at one and the same time employed themselves on different parts of the figure.³⁵⁴ Portrait-statues required a different treatment, and must have been the creation of individual artists, who often showed themselves possessed of considerable talent. The implements employed by the Egyptian, as by all other sculptors, were two only, the chisel (Fig. 190) and the mallet, the sole peculiarity being that in Egypt the chisel was probably of bronze and not of iron.³⁵⁵ After the form had been in this way completely rendered,³⁵⁶ according to the notions of the artists, a final polish was produced by rubbing the statue with a round ball of some hard material.

Statues, even colossal ones, were completed some way from the place where they were to be set up, and had to be transported considerable distances by muscular force. Human agency seems to have been alone employed to effect the transport, gangs of laborers being engaged to drag the mass, after it had been attached by ropes to a sledge.³⁵⁷ To prevent injury to the statue by friction, pads of leather, or some other similar

substance, were introduced between the ropes and the stone at all the points of contact ; and to facilitate the movement of the mass, the ground in front of the sledge was lubricated with a copious stream of oil or melted grease.

As reliefs and intaglios were far more common than statues, the sculptors engaged in executing them must have constituted a much more numerous class. In general, owing to the existence and enforcement of conventional rules, they had little opportunity of showing originality or genius. Sacred subjects were repeated a thousand times with scarcely any variety ; domestic subjects were treated with almost equal monotony ; even in historical subjects there was much that was fixed and invariable, as the representations of marches and processions, of the reception of prisoners and of tribute, the counting of hands and tongues, the *emblematic* execution of conquered enemies ;³⁵⁸ and the like : but the various incidents of a campaign, or a royal progress, afforded occasional scope to the sculptors for novel compositions, and enabled them to vindicate their claims to a really artistic character. Compositions occur in which the monarch singly puts to flight the host of the enemy,³⁵⁹ or in which the Egyptians are engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their foes by land³⁶⁰ or sea,³⁶¹ or where the flying foe is driven from the field in utter rout ;³⁶² or, lastly, where the monarch is employed in the chase of the king of beasts,³⁶³ in all of which the conventional is discarded, the artist is thrown entirely upon himself, and qualities are called forth by the opportunity for their employment, with which, but for these specimens, we should scarcely have credited the Egyptian artists. The drawing is no doubt far from faultless ; in some of the scenes mere confusion prevails ; in others there is an unartistic exaggeration of the size of the royal person ; in most there is a want of unity, of grouping, and of picturesque effect ; but still ability is shown ; talent, skill, even genius, make themselves apparent ; and we see that, as in other countries, so even in Egypt there was a reserve of artistic power which favorable circumstances might at any time call forth, and which was capable of producing very remarkable and in some respects very admirable results.

Egyptian painting was far inferior to Egyptian sculpture ; and it may be questioned whether the Egyptian painter ought to be regarded as an artist in the true sense of the word. It was his principal business to add brilliancy to walls and ceilings, either by coloring them in patterns, or by painting in a conventional way the reliefs and hieroglyphics with which they had been adorned by the sculptor. Still, occasionally, he

seems to have been called upon to produce pictures in the modern sense, as, for instance, portraits,³⁶⁴ and figures of men or animals. Of the portraits we have no specimens;³⁶⁵ but it is not likely that they had much merit. Outlines of men and animals occur in unfinished tombs, boldly and clearly drawn, as a guide to the chisel of the sculptor.³⁶⁶ We have also some representations of painters at work upon animal forms,³⁶⁷ from which it would appear that they must have possessed great steadiness of hand and power over the pencil. The painter seems to have held his pot of color in his left hand, while with his right, which he did not support in any way, he painted the animal. A similar absence of support is observable when painters are employed in coloring statues.³⁶⁸ When the artist was engaged in any complicated work, instead of a single paint-pot, he made use of a palette. This was ordinarily a rectangular piece of wood, porcelain, or alabaster, containing a number of round depressions or "wells," for holding the various colors. Palettes are found with as many as eleven or twelve of these cavities,³⁶⁹ which indicate the employment of at least eleven or twelve different tints.³⁷⁰ The cakes of paint, which filled the cavities, were moistened at the time of use, with a mixture of water and gum arabic.³⁷¹ The painter used slabs and mullers for grinding his colors.³⁷²

The materials that exist for determining the social status of artists are but scanty; and different opinions may no doubt be formed with respect to it. But there is some reason for believing that the status was higher than that of the same class of persons in most ancient countries. Iritisen, a statuary in the time of the eleventh dynasty, had a funeral monument prepared for himself, which is pronounced to be "one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture."³⁷³ He is represented upon it "holding in the left hand the long baton used by elders and *noblemen*, and in his right the *pat* or sceptre."³⁷⁴ In the inscription he calls himself the "true servant" of the king Mentu-hotep, "he who is in the inmost recess of his (i.e., the king's) heart, and makes his pleasure all the day long."³⁷⁵ He also declares that he is "an artist, wise in his art—a man *standing above all men* by his learning."³⁷⁶ Altogether, the monument is one from which we may reasonably conclude that Iritisen occupied a position not much below that of a noble, and enjoyed the personal acquaintance of the monarch in whose reign he flourished.

Musicians seem scarcely to have attained to the same level. Music was used, in the main, as a light entertainment, enhancing the pleasures of the banquet, and was in the hands of

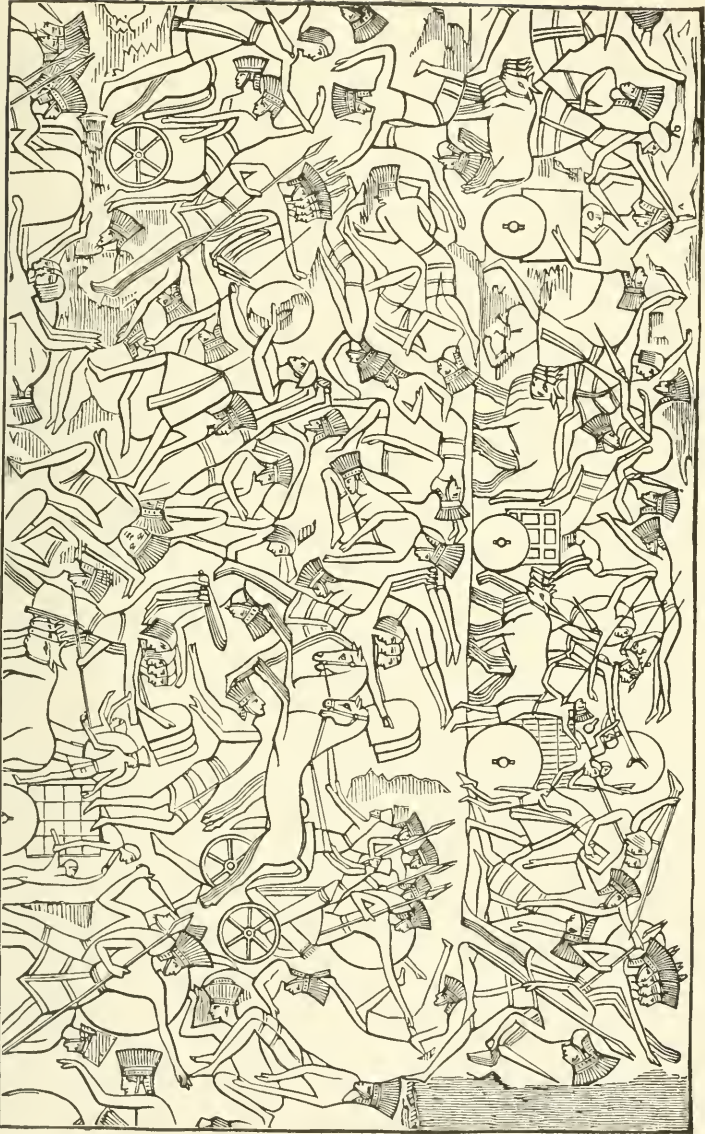


Fig. 148.—CHARIOTS IN BATTLE.—See Page 214.

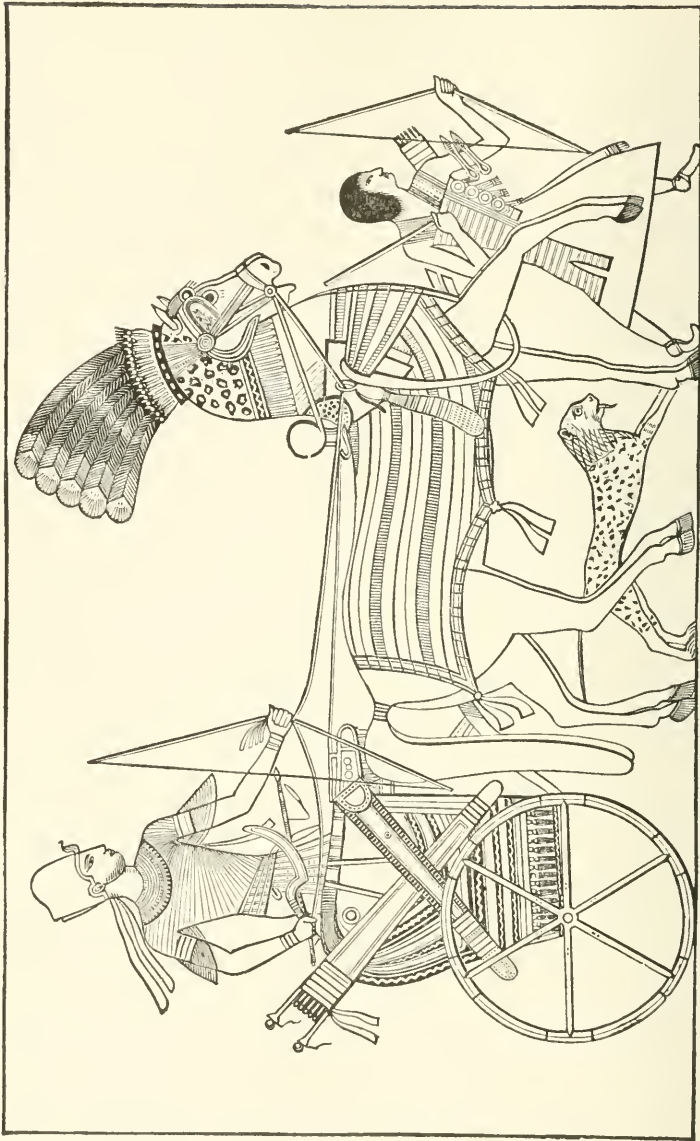


Fig. 149.—EGYPTIAN WAR-CHARIOT, WARRIOR, AND HORSES.—See Page 215.

a professional class which did not bear the best of characters. The religious ceremonies into which music entered were mostly of an equivocal character.³⁷⁷ There may perhaps have been some higher and more serious employment of it, as in funeral lamentations,³⁷⁸ in religious processions,³⁷⁹ and in state ceremonies; but on the whole it seems to have borne the character which it bears in most parts of the East at the present day—the character of an art ministering to the lower elements of human nature, and tending to corrupt men rather than to elevate them.³⁸⁰ Still, as an amusement or entertainment, music was much cultivated in Egypt, even from the earliest times; a great variety of instruments was invented; several forms of most instruments were tried; and both playing and singing in concert were studied and practised. Of instruments, we find employed, besides cymbals and castanets, the flute, the single and double pipe, the lyre, the harp, the tambourine, the sistrum, the drum, the guitar, and the cylindrical maces. Flutes were long, and had a small number of holes,³⁸¹ placed very near the lower extremity. Pipes, on the other hand, were short, not exceeding a length of fifteen inches;³⁸² they had ordinarily either three or four holes, and were furnished with a narrow mouthpiece of reed or straw. Lyres and harps varied greatly, both in the number of their strings and in their shapes. Lyres had from five to eighteen strings, and were played either by the hand or with the plectrum;³⁸³ the two arms of the frame were sometimes of equal, but more usually of unequal lengths, to allow of a variety in the length of the strings. The sounding-board at the base was ordinarily square, but sometimes its sides were curved, and occasionally there was a second smaller sounding-board projecting from the main one, whereto the strings were attached. Harps had any number of strings from four to twenty-two,³⁸⁴ which were made of catgut,³⁸⁵ and were always of different lengths. Some harps were above six feet high,³⁸⁶ and when played stood upon the ground, having an even broad base: others had to be held against the body, or rested upon a stool or other support,³⁸⁷ and had a height of from two to four feet. The frame of most was curved like a bow, but with an enlargement towards the lower extremity, which served as a sounding-board. Some harps, however, were triangular, and consisted of a single straight piece of wood and a crossbar, placed at a right or an acute angle.³⁸⁸ The subject has been so abundantly illustrated by Sir G. Wilkinson, that it seems unnecessary to give representations here.

Tambourines were of two kinds, round and oblong square.

They seem to have been composed merely of a membrane stretched upon a framework of wood, and not to have been accompanied by metal rings or balls in the frame.³⁸⁹ Drums were also of two kinds: one, like the drum of the soldiers,³⁹⁰ was a long barrel-shaped instrument of small diameter, not unlike the "tomtom" of the Indians. The other resembled the *darabooka* drum of modern Egypt, which consists of a sheet of parchment strained over a piece of pottery shaped like the rose of a watering-pot.³⁹¹ Both kinds of drums were played by the hand, and not beaten with drumsticks.

Egyptian guitars had several peculiarities. The body of the instrument was unusually small,³⁹² though not perhaps so small as that which characterized the guitar of the Assyrians.³⁹³ The neck or handle was at once long and narrow; the strings were three only,³⁹⁴ and were disengaged from the instrument by means of a bridge at the upper end and by attachment at the lower end to a projection from the body. They seem not to have been tightened by pegs, but to have been passed through holes in the neck and then tied as tightly as was necessary.³⁹⁵ The mode of playing was nearly the same as in modern times, the left hand being employed in shortening or lengthening the strings, and the right in striking the notes. These, however, were produced, not by the actual fingers, but by the plectrum or short pointed rod. The performer on the guitar usually played it standing, and sometimes danced to his own melody.³⁹⁶

The sistrum (Fig. 191), or rattle, seems to have been a sacred instrument, used only in religious ceremonies. It was generally of bronze, and consisted of an open loop of that metal, crossed by three or four moveable bars,³⁹⁷ which sometimes carried two or three rings apiece;³⁹⁸ the whole when shaken producing a loud jingling sound, which, according to Plutarch, was supposed to frighten away Set or Typhon. The religious purpose of the instrument is often indicated by its being surmounted with the figure of a cat or lion—the sacred animals of Pasht or Sekhet—or else supported on the head of Athor. It was played only by females, and was often highly ornamented.

Cylindrical maces were also no doubt of bronze. They consisted of a straight or slightly curved handle,³⁹⁹ surmounted by a ball, which was often shaped into the resemblance of a human or animal head. The performer held one in each hand, and played them by bringing the two heads into collision with greater or less force, producing thus a loud clash or clang. Such music was sufficient to mark time, and was sometimes employed without other accompaniment to guide the dance.

The "triple symphony," as musicians call it, was well known in Egypt; and mixed bands of vocal and instrumental performers appear in the sculptures almost as frequently as bands of either kind separately.⁴⁰⁰ In one ancient tomb near the Pyramids, belonging probably to the times of the first six dynasties, we see a band composed of two harpers, four singers, a piper, and a flute-player.⁴⁰¹ In another sculpture, two singers are accompanied by a flute-player and two harpers.⁴⁰² In a third, three sing, while one plays the harp, one the lyre, and one the double pipe.⁴⁰³ Instrumental bands (Fig. 192) consist of any number of performers from two to six; but the number of different instruments played together does not exceed five.⁴⁰⁴ Where the performers are more numerous, the same instrument is played by two or more of them.⁴⁰⁵ Most commonly all the members of a single band are of one sex; but occasionally the two sexes are intermixed.⁴⁰⁶

Dancing and music are constantly united together in the sculptures; and the musicians and dancers must, it would seem, have been very closely connected indeed, and socially have ranked almost, if not quite, upon a par. Musicians, sometimes, as already observed,⁴⁰⁷ danced as they played; and where this was not the case, dancers generally formed a part of the *troupe*, and intermixed themselves with the instrumental performers. Dancing was professed both by men and women; but women were preferred; and in the entertainments of the rich the guests were generally amused by the graceful movements of trained females,⁴⁰⁸ who went through the steps and figures, which they had been taught, for a certain sum of money. If we may trust the paintings, many of these professionals were absolutely without clothes,⁴⁰⁹ or wore only a narrow girdle, embroidered with beads, about their hips. At the best, their dresses were of so light and thin a texture as to be perfectly transparent, and to reveal rather than veil the form about which they floated. It is scarcely probable that the class which was content thus to outrage decency could have borne a better character, or enjoyed a higher social status than the *almehs* of modern Egypt or the *nautch* girls of India.

Of learned professions in Egypt, the most important was that of the scribe. Though writing was an ordinary accomplishment of the educated classes,⁴¹⁰ and scribes were not therefore so absolutely necessary as they are in most Eastern countries, yet still there were a large number of occupations for which professional penmanship was a pre-requisite, and others which demanded the learning that a scribe naturally acquired

in the exercise of his trade. The Egyptian religion necessitated the multiplication of copies of the "Ritual of the Dead," and the employment of numerous clerks in the registration of the sacred treasures, and the management of the sacred estates. The civil administration depended largely upon a system of registration and of official reports, which were perpetually being made to the court by the superintendents in all departments of the public service.⁴¹¹ Most private persons of large means kept bailiffs or secretaries, who made up their accounts, paid their laborers, and otherwise acted as managers of their property. There was thus a large number of lucrative posts which could only be properly filled by persons such as the scribes were, ready with the pen, familiar with the different kinds of writing, good at figures, and at the same time not of so high a class as to be discontented with a life of dull routine, if not of drudgery. The occupation of scribe was regarded as one befitting men from the middle ranks of society, who might otherwise have been blacksmiths, carpenters, small farmers, or the like.⁴¹² It would seem that there were schools⁴¹³ in the larger towns open to all who desired education. In these reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, together with "letters" in a more extended sense; and industry at such places of instruction was certain to be rewarded by opening to the more advanced students a variety of situations and employments. Some of these may have been of a humble character, and not over well paid;⁴¹⁴ but among them were many which to an Egyptian of the middle class seemed very desirable. The posts under government occupied by scribes included some of great importance, as those of ambassador,⁴¹⁵ superintendent of store-houses,⁴¹⁶ registrar of the docks,⁴¹⁷ clerk of the closet,⁴¹⁸ keeper of the royal library,⁴¹⁹ "scribe of the double house of life."⁴²⁰ It is indicative of the high rank and position of government scribes, that in the court conspiracy which threatened the life of the third Rameses as many as six of them were implicated, while two served upon the tribunal before which the criminals were arraigned.⁴²¹ If persons failed to obtain government appointments, they might still hope to have their services engaged by the rich corporations which had the management of the temples, or by private individuals of good means. Hence the scribe readily persuaded himself that his occupation was above all others—the only one which had nothing superior to it, but was the first and best of all human employments.⁴²²

The great number of persons who practised medicine in Egypt is mentioned by Herodotus,⁴²³ who further notices the

remarkable fact that, besides general practitioners, there were many who devoted themselves to special branches of medical science, some being oculists, some dentists, some skilled in treating diseases of the brain, some those of the intestines, and so on. Accoucheurs also we know to have formed a separate class, and to have been chiefly, if not exclusively, women.⁴²⁴ The consideration in which physicians were held is indicated by the tradition which ascribed the composition of the earliest medical works to one of the kings,⁴²⁵ as well as by the reputation for advanced knowledge which the Egyptian practitioners early obtained in foreign countries.⁴²⁶ According to a modern authority,⁴²⁷ they constituted a special subdivision of the sacerdotal order; but this statement is open to question, though no doubt some of the priests were required to study medicine.⁴²⁸

A third learned profession was that of the architect, which in some respects took precedence over any other. The chief court architect was a functionary of the highest importance, ranking among the very most exalted officials. Considering the character of the duties intrusted to him, this was only natural, since the kings generally set more store upon their buildings than upon any other matter. "At the time when the construction of the Pyramids and other tombs," says Brugsch,⁴²⁹ "demanded artists of the first order, we find the place of architect intrusted to the highest dignitaries of the court of the Pharaohs. The royal architects, the *Murket*, as they were called, recruited their ranks not unfrequently from the class of princes; and the inscriptions engraved upon the walls of their tombs inform us that, almost without exception, they married either the daughters or the granddaughters of the reigning sovereigns, who did not refuse the *Murket* this honor." Semnofer, for instance, an architect under the third or fourth dynasty, was married to a lady named Amon-Zephes, the granddaughter of a Pharaoh; Khufuhotep, belonging to about the same period, had for wife a person of the same exalted position; Mer-ab, architect under Khufu, or Cheops, was an actual son of that monarch; Pirson, who lived a little later, married Khenshut, of the blood royal; and Ti, though of low birth himself, married Nofer-hotep, a princess. This last-named architect united in his own person a host of offices and dignities: he was the king's secretary in all his palaces, the secretary who published the king's decrees, the president of the royal Board of Works, and a priest of several divinities. His magnificent tomb is still to be seen at Saccarah in the neighborhood of the Pyramids, a little to the north of the Serapeum, and attracts the general attention of travellers.⁴³⁰

Though a position of such eminence as this could belong only to one man at a time, it is evident that the lustre attaching to the head of their profession would be more or less reflected upon its members. Schools of architects had to be formed in order to secure a succession of competent persons, and the chief architect of the king was only the most successful out of many aspirants, who were educationally and socially upon a par. Actual builders, of course, constituted a lower class, and are compassionated in the poem above quoted, as exposed by their trade both to disease and accident.⁴³¹ But architects ran no such risks; and the profession must be regarded as having enjoyed in Egypt a rank and a consideration rarely accorded to it elsewhere. According to Diodorus, the Egyptians themselves said that their architects were more worthy of admiration than their kings.⁴³² Such a speech could hardly have been made while the independent monarchy lasted and kings were viewed as actual gods; but it was a natural reflection on the part of those who, living under foreign domination, looked back to the time when Egypt had made herself a name among the nations by her conquests, and still more by her great works.

At the opposite extremity of the social scale were a number of contemned and ill-paid employments, which required the services of considerable numbers, whose lives must have been sufficiently hard ones. Dyers, washermen, barbers, gardeners, sandal-makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, couriers, boatmen, fowlers, fishermen, are commiserated by the scribe, Tuau-fakhrat,⁴³³ as well as farmers, laborers, stonecutters, builders, armorers, and weavers; and though he does not often point out any sufferings peculiar to those of his own countrymen who were engaged in these occupations, we may accept his evidence as showing that, in Egypt, while they involved hard work, they obtained but small remuneration. The very existence, however, of so many employments is an indication that labor was in request; and we cannot doubt that industrious persons could support themselves and their families without much difficulty, even by these inferior trades. The Egyptians, even of the lowest class, were certainly not crushed down by penury or want; they maintained a light heart under the hardships, whatever they may have been, of their lot, and contrived to amuse themselves and to find a good deal of pleasure in existence.⁴³⁴

If the boatman, for instance, led a laborious life, "doing beyond the power of his hands to do,"⁴³⁵ he had yet spirit enough to enter into rivalry with his brother boatmen, and to

engage in rude contests (Fig. 193), which must have often caused him a broken head or a ducking.⁴³⁶ If the fowler and the fisherman had sometimes hard work to make a living, yet they had the excitement which attaches to every kind of sport, and from time to time were rewarded for their patient toil by "takes" of extraordinary magnitude. The drag-nets and clap-nets (Fig. 194) which they used to entrap their prey are frequently represented as crowded with fish⁴³⁷ or birds, as many as twenty-five of the latter being enclosed on some occasions.⁴³⁸ The fish were often of large size, so that a man could only just carry one ;⁴³⁹ and though these monsters were perhaps not in very great request, they would have sufficed to furnish three or four meals to a large family. Fish were constantly dried and salted,⁴⁴⁰ so that the superabundance of one season supplied the deficiency of another ; and even birds appear to have been subjected to a similar process, and preserved in jars,⁴⁴¹ when there was no immediate sale for them.

An occupation held in especial disrepute was that of the swineherd. According to Herodotus,⁴⁴² persons of this class were absolutely prohibited from entering an Egyptian temple, and under no circumstances would a man of any other class either give his daughter in marriage to a swineherd, or take a wife from among them. This prejudice was connected with the notion of the pig being an unclean animal,⁴⁴³ which was common to the Egyptians with the Jews, the Mohammedans, and the Indians. If it existed to the extent asserted, the swineherds, the Pariahs of Egypt, must have approached nearly to the character of a caste, as intermarrying wholly among themselves, and despised by every other section of the population.

But if Egyptian civilization had thus its victims, it had also its favorites. There stood in Egypt, outside the entire number of those who either belonged to a profession or exercised a trade or calling, that upper class of which we have more than once spoken,⁴⁴⁴ owners of a large portion of the soil, and so possessed of hereditary wealth, not very anxious for official employment, though filling commonly most of the highest posts in the administration,⁴⁴⁵ connected in many instances more or less closely with the royal family,⁴⁴⁶ and bearing the rank of *suten-rech* or "princes"—a class small, compared with most others, but still tolerably numerous—one which seemed born to enjoy existence and "consume the fruits" of other men's toil and industry.⁴⁴⁷ Such persons, as has been said,⁴⁴⁸ "led a charmed life." Possessed of a villa in the country, and also commonly of a town house in the capital, the Egyptian

lord divided his time between the two, now attracted by the splendors of the court, now by the simple charms of rural freedom and retirement. In either case he dwelt in a large house, amply and elegantly furnished—the floor strewn with bright-colored carpets⁴⁴⁹—the rooms generally provided with abundant sofas and chairs, couches, tables, faldstools, ottomans, stands for flowers,, footstools, vases, etc.⁴⁵⁰—household numerous and well trained, presided over by a major-domo or steward, who relieved the great man of the trouble of domestic management.⁴⁵¹ Attached to his household in some way, if not actual members of it, were “adepts in the various trades conducive to his ease and comfort”⁴⁵²—the glass-blower, the worker in gold, the potter, the tailor, the baker, the sandal-maker. With a prudent self-restraint not often seen among orientals, he limited himself to a single wife, whom he made the partner of his cares and joys, and treated with respect and affection. No eunuchs troubled the repose of his establishment with their plots and quarrels. His household was composed in about equal proportions of male and female servants; his wife had her waiting-maid or tire-woman, his children their nurse or nurses; he himself had his valet, who was also his barber. The kitchen department was intrusted to three or four cooks and scullions,⁴⁵³ who were invariably men, no women (it would seem) being thought competent for such important duties. One, two, or more grooms had the charge of his stable, which in the early times sheltered no nobler animal than the ass,⁴⁵⁴ but under the New Empire was provided with a number of horses. A chariot, in which he might take an airing, pay visits, or drive a friend, was also indispensable⁴⁵⁵ in and after the time of the eighteenth dynasty; and the greater lords had no doubt several of such vehicles, with coach houses for their accommodation. Litters (Fig. 195) were perhaps used only for the aged and infirm, who were conveyed in them on the shoulders of attendants.⁴⁵⁶

Egyptian men of all ranks shaved their heads and their entire faces, except sometimes a portion of the chin, from which a short square beard was allowed to depend.⁴⁵⁷ The barber was in attendance on the great lord every morning, to remove any hair that had grown, and trim his beard, if he wore one. The lord's wig was also under his superintendence. This consisted of numerous small curls, together sometimes with locks and plaits, fastened carefully to a reticulated groundwork, which allowed the heat of the head free escape.⁴⁵⁸ The dress, even of the highest class, was simple. It consisted, primarily, of the *shenti*, or kilt, a short garment, folded or fluted, which

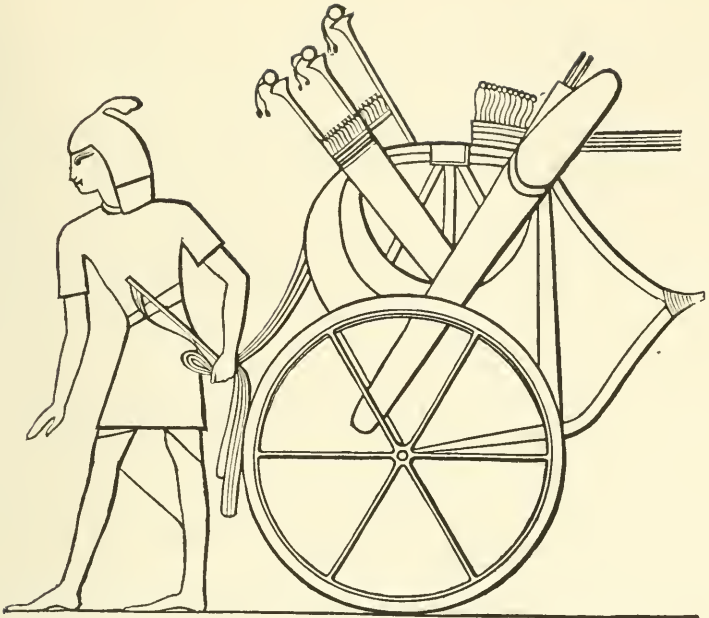


Fig. 150.—WAR-CHARIOT, WITH BOW-CASE, QUIVERS, AND JAVELINS.—See Page 215.

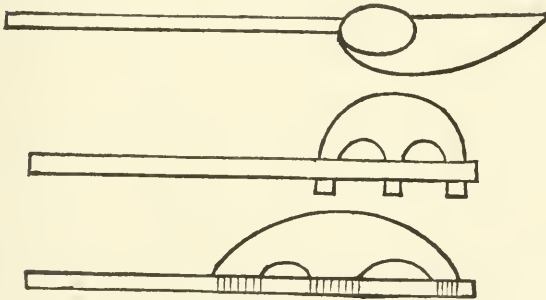


Fig. 151.—EGYPTIAN BATTLE-AXES AND POLE-AXE.—See Page 216.

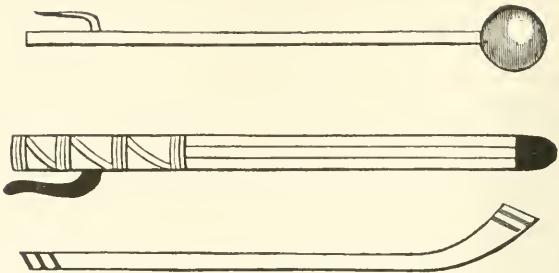


Fig. 152.—EGYPTIAN CLUBS AND MACES.—See Page 216.

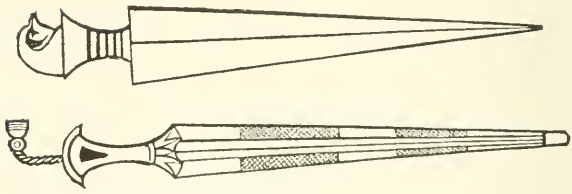


Fig. 153.—EGYPTIAN DAGGERS.—See Page 216

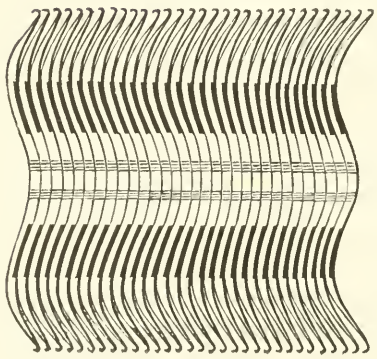


Fig. 154.—EGYPTIAN BOWS.—See Page 217.



Fig. 155.—ARCHER TAKING AIM.— See Page 217.

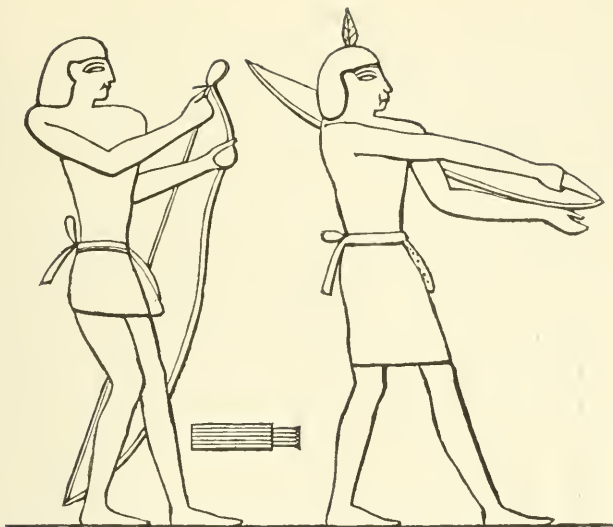


Fig. 156.—ARCHERS STRINGING THEIR BOWS.—See Page 217.

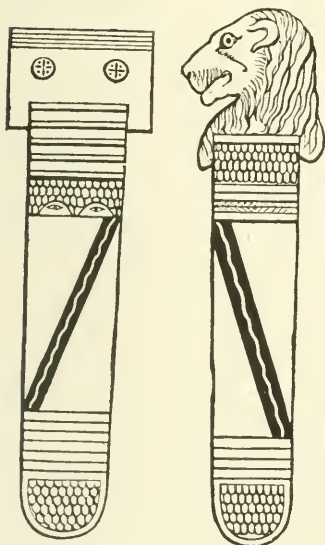


Fig. 157.—EGYPTIAN QUIVERS.—See Page 217.



Fig. 158.—EGYPTIAN TRUMPETERS.—See Page 224.

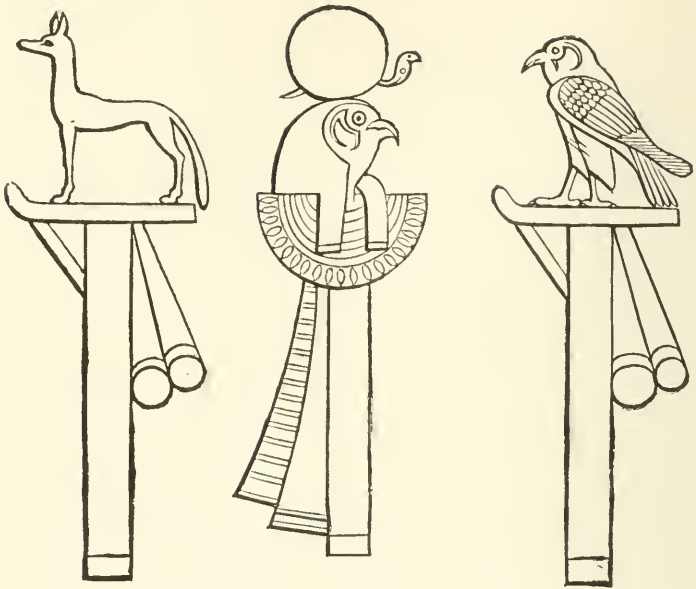


Fig. 159.—EGYPTIAN STANDARDS.—See Page 218.

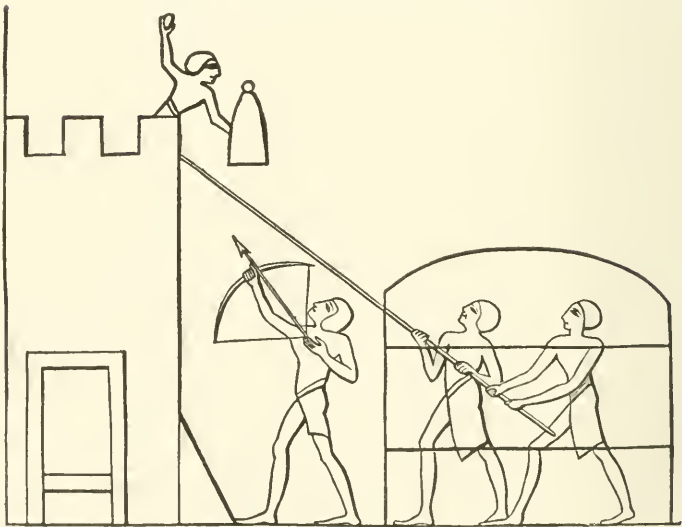


Fig. 160.—SIEGE OF A FORT.—See Page 230

was worn round the loins, and fastened in front with a girdle. The material might be linen or woolen, according to the state of the weather, or the wearer's inclination. Over this the great lord invariably wore an ample robe of fine linen, reaching from the shoulders to the ankles, and provided with full sleeves, which descended nearly, if not quite, to the elbows. A second girdle, which may have been of leather, confined the outer dress about the waist. The arms and lower parts of the legs were left bare; and in the earliest times the feet were also bare, sandals (Fig. 196) being unknown; but they came into fashion at the beginning of the fifth dynasty,⁴⁵⁹ and thenceforward were ordinarily worn by the rich, whether men or women. They were either of leather lined with cloth, or of a sort of basket-work composed of palm-leaves or the storks of the papyrus.⁴⁶⁰ The shape varied at different periods. Having dressed himself with the assistance of his valet, the Egyptian lord put on his ornaments, which consisted commonly of a collar of beads or a chain of gold round the neck, armlets and bracelets of gold, inlaid with lapis lazuli and turquoise, round the arms, anklets of the same character round the ankles, and rings upon the fingers of both hands.⁴⁶¹ Thus attired, the lord took his *bâton* or stick,⁴⁶² and, quitting his dressing-room, made his appearance in the *salon* or eating apartment.

Meanwhile his spouse had performed her own toilet, which was naturally somewhat more elaborate than her husband's. Egyptian ladies wore their own hair, which grew in great abundance,⁴⁶³ and must have occupied the tirewoman for a considerable period. A double-toothed comb was used for combing it,⁴⁶⁴ and it may also have been brushed, though hairbrushes have not been discovered. Ultimately, it was separated into numerous distinct tresses, and plaited by threes into thirty or forty fine plaits, which were then gathered into three masses, one behind the head and the others at either side of the face, or else were allowed to fall in a single continuous ring round the head and shoulders. After it had been thus arranged, the hair was confined by a fillet, or by a headdress made to imitate the wings, back, and tail, and even sometimes the head, of a vulture.⁴⁶⁵ On their bodies some females wore only a single garment,⁴⁶⁶ which was a petticoat, either tied at the neck or supported by straps over the shoulders, and reaching from the neck or breast to the ankles; but those of the upper class had, first, over this, a colored sash passed twice round the waist and tied in front, and, secondly, a large loose robe, made of the finest linen, with full open sleeves, reaching to the elbow.⁴⁶⁷ They wore sandals from the same date as the men, and had

similar ornaments, with the addition of earrings. These often manifested an elegant taste, being in the form of serpents or terminating in the heads of animals or of goddesses.⁴⁶⁸ The application of *kohl* or stibium to the eyes seems to have formed an ordinary part the toilet.⁴⁶⁹

It is unfortunately impossible to follow throughout the day the husband and wife, with whose portraits we are attempting to present our readers. We do not know the hours kept by the upper classes in Egypt, nor the arrangements which prevailed respecting their meals,⁴⁷⁰ nor the mode in which a lady of rank employed herself from the time when her morning toilet was completed until the hour of dinner. We may conjecture that she looked after her servants, superintended the teaching of her children, amused herself in her garden,⁴⁷¹ or visited and received visits from her acquaintance; but the evidence on these various points is scanty, and scarcely sufficient to justify general conclusions. It is somewhat different with respect to the men. The sculptures show us that much of the Egyptian gentleman's day was spent in sports of various kinds; that he indulged in fishing and fowling, as well as in the chase of various wild beasts, some of which were sought as delicacies for the table, while others seem to have been attacked merely to gratify that destructive instinct which urges men to take delight in field sports.

Ponds commonly existed within the pleasure-grounds attached to an Egyptian country house,⁴⁷² and were often of considerable dimensions. Formal in shape, to suit the general character of the grounds, they were well stocked with a variety of fish, and often furnished the Egyptian noble with a morning's amusement. The sport was of a kind which in these days would not be considered exciting. Reclined upon a mat, or seated on a chair,⁴⁷³ under the shade of a tree, and with a short rod in his hand, apparently of one joint only, the lord threw his double or single line into the preserved pool, and let his bait sink to the bottom. When he felt the bite of a fish, he jerked his line out of the water,⁴⁷⁴ and by this movement, if the fish was securely hooked, he probably landed it; if not, he only lost his labor. Hooks were large and strong, lines coarse, fish evidently not shy; there was no fear of the tackle breaking; and if a few fish were scared by the clumsy method, there were plenty of others to take their place in a few minutes.

A less unskilful mode of pursuing the sport was by means of the fish-spear (Fig. 197). Embarking upon his pond, or the stream that fed it, in a boat of bulrushes, armed with the proper weapon, and accompanied by a young son, and by his

wife or a sister,⁴⁷⁵ the lord would direct his gaze into the water, and when he saw a fish passing, strike at him with the barbed implement. If the fish were near at hand, he would not let go of the weapon, but if otherwise, he would throw it, retaining in his grasp a string attached to its upper extremity.⁴⁷⁶ This enabled him to recover the spear, even if it sank, or was carried down by the fish ; and, when his aim had been true, it enabled him to get possession of his prize. Some spears had double heads, both of them barbed ; and good fortune, or superior skill, occasionally secured two fish at once.

The fowling practised by the Egyptian gentleman was very peculiar. He despised nets, made no use of hawks or falcons, and did not even, except on rare occasions, have recourse to the bow. He placed his whole dependence on a missile, which has been called a "throw-stick"⁴⁷⁷—a thin curved piece of heavy wood, from a foot and a quarter to two feet in length, and about an inch and a half broad. Gliding silently in a light boat along some piece of water, with a decoy bird stationed at the head of his vessel, trained perhaps to utter its note, he approached the favorite haunt of the wild fowl, which was generally a thicket of tall reeds and lotuses.⁴⁷⁸ Having come as close to the game as possible, with his throw-stick in one hand and a second decoy bird, or even several, in the other, he watched for the moment when the wild fowl rose in a cloud above the tops of the water-plants and then flung his weapon in among them. Supplied by a relative or an attendant with another, and again another, he made throw after throw, not ceasing till the last bird was out of reach, or his stock of throw-sticks exhausted. We sometimes see as many as four sticks in the air, and another upon the point of being delivered.⁴⁷⁹ Skilled sportsmen seem to have aimed especially at the birds' necks, since, if the neck was struck, the bird was pretty sure to fall. This sport appears to have been an especial favorite with Egyptians of the upper class.

The chase of wild beasts involved more exertion than either fishing or fowling, and required the sportsman to go further afield. The only tolerable hunting-grounds lay in the desert regions on either side of the Nile valley ; and the wealthy Egyptians who made up their minds to indulge in this pastime, had to penetrate into these dreary tracts, and probably to quit their homes for a time, and camp out in the desert. The chief objects of pursuit upon these occasions were the gazelle, the ibex, the oryx, and perhaps some other kinds of antelopes. The sportsman set out in his chariot, well provided with arrows and javelins, accompanied by a number of dogs,

and attended by a crowd of menials, huntsmen, beaters, men to set the nets, provision and water carriers, and the like. A large space was commonly enclosed by the beaters, and all the game within it driven in a certain direction by them and the hounds, while the sportsman and his friends, stationed at suitable points, shot their arrows at such beasts as came within the range of the weapon, or sought to capture them by means of a long thong or cord ending in a running noose. Nets were also set at certain narrow points in the wadys or dry water-courses, down which the herd, when pressed, was almost sure to pass, and men were placed to watch them, and slaughter each animal as soon as he was entangled, before he could break his way through the obstacle and make his escape. When the district in which the hunt took place was well supplied with beasts, and the space enclosed by the beaters was large, a curiously mixed scene presented itself towards the close of the day.⁴⁸⁰ All the wild animals of the region, roused from their several lairs, were brought together within a narrow space,—hyænas, jackals, foxes, porcupines, even ostriches, held on their way, side by side with gazelles, hares, ibexes, and antelopes of various descriptions,—the hounds also being intermixed among them, and the hunter in his car driving at speed through the thickest of the *mêlêe*, discharging his arrows right and left, and bringing down the choicest game. Attendants continually supplied fresh arrows; and the work of slaughter probably went on till night put an end to it, or till the whole of the game was killed or had made its escape.

Occasionally, instead of antelopes, wild cattle were the object of pursuit. In this case, too, dogs were used, though scarcely with much effect.⁴⁸¹ The cattle were, most likely, either stalked or laid in wait for, and, when sufficiently near, were either lassoed,⁴⁸² or else shot with arrows, the place aimed at being the junction between the neck and the head. When the lasso was employed, it was commonly thrown over one of the horns.

According to one representation,⁴⁸³ the lion was made use of in the chase of some animals, being trained to the work, as the *cheeta* or hunting-leopard is in Persia and India. That the Egyptians tamed lions appears from several of the sculptures,⁴⁸⁴ and is also attested by at least one ancient writer;⁴⁸⁵ but the employment of them in the chase rests upon a single painting in one of the tombs at Beni Hissar.

Lions themselves, when in the wild state, were sometimes hunted by the monarchs;⁴⁸⁶ but it is doubtful whether any Egyptian subject, however exalted his rank, ever engaged in

the exciting occupation. The lion was scarcely to be found within the limits of Egypt during any period of the monarchy ; and though occasionally to be seen in the deserts upon the Egyptian borders,⁴⁸⁷ yet could scarcely be reckoned on as likely to cross his path by a private sportsman. The kings who were ambitious of the honor of having contended with the king of beasts, could make hunting expeditions beyond their borders, and have a whole province ransacked for the game of which they were in search. Even they, however, seem very rarely to have aspired so high ; and there is but one representation of a lion-hunt in the Egyptian sculptures.

A similarly exceptional character attached to the chase of the elephant by the Egyptians. One monarch on one occasion only, when engaged in an expedition which took him deep into Asia, "hunted a hundred and twenty elephants on account of their tusks."⁴⁸⁸ Here a subject had the good fortune to save his royal master from an attack made upon him by the leading or "rogue" elephant of the herd, and to capture the brute after inflicting a wound upon its trunk.

The pursuit of the hippopotamus and the crocodile was, on the contrary, a favorite and established practice with Egyptian sportsmen. The hippopotamus was hunted as injurious to the crops,⁴⁸⁹ on which it both fed and trampled by night, while at the same time it was valued for its hide, which was regarded as the best possible material for shields, helmets, and javelins.⁴⁹⁰ It appears to have been thought better to attack it in the water than upon the land, perhaps because its struggles to escape would then be, comparatively speaking, harmless. Spears, with strings attached to them, were thrown at it ; and when these had taken effect, it was drawn to the surface and its head entangled in a strong noose by which it could be dragged ashore ;⁴⁹¹ or, if this attempt failed, it was allowed to exhaust itself by repeated rushes and plunges in the stream, the hunters "playing" it the while by reels attached to the strings that held their spears, and waiting till it was spent by fatigue and loss of blood, when they wound up their reels, and brought their booty to land.⁴⁹²

There were two modes of chasing the crocodile (Fig. 198). Sometimes it was speared,⁴⁹³ like the hippopotamus, and was then probably killed in much the same way ; but another method was also adopted, which is thus described by Herodotus :⁴⁹⁴—"They bait a hook with a chine of pork, and let the meat be carried out into the middle of the stream, while the hunter on the bank holds a live pig, which he belabors. The crocodile, hearing its cries, makes for the sound, and encounters

the pork, which he instantly swallows down. The men on the shore haul, and when they have got him to land, the first thing the hunter does is to plaster his eyes with mud. This once accomplished, the animal is dispatched with ease ; otherwise, he gives much trouble." Very similar modes to both of these are still in use on the Nile.⁴⁹⁵

It is of course not to be supposed that the Egyptian of high rank was so enamored of the chase as to devote to it all the time that he spent in the country. There would be days on which he inspected his farm,⁴⁹⁶ his cattle-stalls, his live stock, his granaries, his wine-presses, his olive-presses, moving from place to place, probably, on his favorite ass, and putting questions to his laborers. There would be others on which he received his steward, went through his accounts, and gave such directions as he thought necessary ; others again on which his religious duties occupied him, or on which he received the general homage of his subordinates.⁴⁹⁷ His life would be in many ways varied. As a local magnate, he might be called upon from time to time to take part in the public business of his nome. He might have civil employment thrust upon him, since no one could refuse an office or a commission assigned him by the king. He might even find himself called upon to conduct a military expedition. But, apart from these extraordinary distractions, he would have occupations enough and to spare. Amid alternations of business and pleasure, of domestic repose and violent exercise, of town and country life, of state and simplicity, he would scarcely find his time hang heavy on his hands, or become a victim to *ennui*. An extensive literature was open to him, if he cared to read ;⁴⁹⁸ a solemn and mysterious religion, full of awe-inspiring thoughts and stretching on to things beyond the grave, claimed his attention ; he had abundant duties, abundant enjoyments. Though not so happy as to be politically free, there was small danger of his suffering oppression. He might look forward to a tranquil and respected old age ; and even in the grave he would enjoy the attentions and religious veneration of those whom he left behind him.⁴⁹⁹

Among the duties continually devolving on him, the most important were those of charity and of hospitality. It was absolutely incumbent upon him, if he would pass the dread ordeal in the nether world, that during this life he should be careful "to give bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, oil to the wounded, and burial to the dead."⁵⁰⁰ It was also incumbent on him, in the general opinion of those with whom he lived, that he should show towards

men of his own class a free and open-handed hospitality. For this purpose it was necessary that, both in the town and in the country, he should provide his friends with frequent grand entertainments. With a description of one of these we may terminate our account of the manners and customs of the higher classes of society in ancient Egypt, and with that account we may be content to bring to an end the present too extended chapter.

The preparations for an entertainment had to commence some days previously. Game had to be procured, professionals engaged, extra attendants hired, a stock of fresh flowers and perhaps of unguents laid in. Great activity prevailed in the kitchen; ⁵⁰¹ confectionery was prepared, spices pounded, macaroui made, ⁵⁰² cooking utensils scoured, the larder stored with provisions. The reception-rooms were then arranged for guests, chairs being placed in rows or groups, extra carpets and mats strewn about, flowers put into the vases, and the house generally decorated. When the guests began to arrive, they were first of all received in the vestibule by attendants, who presented them with bouquets, ⁵⁰³ placed garlands of lotus upon their heads, and sometimes collars of lotus round their necks, anointed their hair with unguents, and offered them wine or other beverages. At this time the visitors commonly sat on the floor, probably for the convenience of those who had to anoint and adorn them. Having received these attentions, the guests, ladies and gentlemen intermixed, passed on to the main apartment, where they were greeted by their host and hostess, and begged to take their seats on the chairs and fauteuils which had been arranged for them. Here more refreshments were handed round, more flowers offered, while the guests, generally in pairs, but sometimes in groups, conversed one with another. ⁵⁰⁴ Music was now commonly introduced, sometimes accompanied by dancing, the performers in both arts being professionals, and the dancing-girls being nearly, if not quite, naked. ⁵⁰⁵ Sometimes, at the same party, there would be two bands, ⁵⁰⁶ who, we may suppose, played alternately. Pet animals, dogs, gazelles, or monkeys, ⁵⁰⁷ might be present, and the young children of the house in some instances gave animation to the scene, and enlivened the entertainment with their prattle. As it was not customary for children under ten or twelve years of age to wear any clothes, ⁵⁰⁸ the nudity of the dancing-girls might seem less strange and less indelicate.

It is possible that on some occasions the music, dancing, and light refreshments constituted the whole of the entertainment, and that the guests after a while took their departure

without any formal meal being served; but more often the proceedings above described were the mere prelude to the real piece, and the more important part followed. Round tables, loaded with a great variety of delicacies, as joints of meat, geese, ducks, and waterfowl of different kinds, cakes, pastry, fruit, and the like, are seen interspersed among the guests,⁵⁰⁹ to whom no doubt the dishes were handed in succession, and who must have helped themselves, as Orientals commonly do, with their hands. Knives and forks, spoons for eating with,⁵¹⁰ even plates, were an unknown luxury; the guest took what his hands could manage, and after eating either dipped them in water, or wiped them with a napkin brought him by an attendant.⁵¹¹ The dishes offered him would include probably two or three kinds of fish; meat, generally beef, boiled, roasted, and dressed in various ways; venison and other game; geese, ducks, or water-fowl; vegetables in profusion, as especially lentils, endives, and cucumbers; pastry, cakes, and fruits of twenty kinds, particularly grapes and figs.⁵¹² To quench his thirst, he would be supplied with frequent draughts of wine or beer,⁵¹³ the wine probably diluted with water.

Herodotus tell us⁵¹⁴ that it was customary, when the feast was over, for an attendant to bring in a wooden mummied form, from a foot and a half to three feet long, painted to resemble a corpse, and to show it to each guest in turn, with the words:—"Gaze here, and drink and be merry; for when you die, such will you be." If the expressions used are rightly reported, we must suppose the figure brought in when the eating was ended and the drinking began, with the object of stimulating the guests to greater conviviality; but if this were so, the custom had probably lost its original significance when Herodotus visited Egypt, since it *must* (one would think) have been intended at the first to encourage seriousness, and check undue indulgence, by sobering thoughts concerning death and judgment to come.⁵¹⁵ The Egyptians were too much inclined to the pleasures of the table, and certainly required no stimulus to drinking. Both gentlemen and ladies not unfrequently indulged to excess.⁵¹⁶ The custom mentioned by Herodotus and alluded to also by Plutarch,⁵¹⁷ can only have proceeded from the priests, who doubtless wished, as guardians of the public morality, to check the intemperance which they were unable to prevent altogether.

After the banquet was entirely ended, music and singing were generally resumed,⁵¹⁸ and sometimes tumblers or jugglers, both male and female, were introduced, and feats of agility were gone through with much dexterity and grace.⁵¹⁹ The

women played with three balls at a time, keeping two constantly in the air ; or made somersaults back wards ; or sprang off the ground to the height of several feet. The men wrestled, or pirouetted,⁵²⁰ or stood on their heads,⁵²¹ or walked up each other's backs, or performed other tricks, and feats of strength. Occasionally, games seem to have been played. As the kings themselves in their leisure hours did not disdain to play draughts with their favorites,⁵²² so it may be presumed that the Egyptian lord and his guests would sometimes relieve the tedium of a long evening by the same or some similar amusement. Chess does not appear to have been known ; but a game resembling draughts, one like the modern *morra*, and several which cannot be identified, certainly were ;⁵²³ and, though there is more evidence of their being in favor with the lower than with the higher orders, yet it can scarcely be supposed that the royal example was not imitated by many among the nobles.

In conclusion it may be observed that Egyptian society under the Pharaohs, if in many respects it was not so advanced in cultivation and refinement as that of Athens in the time of Pericles, was in some points both more moral and more civilized. Neither the sculptures nor the literary remains give any indication of the existence in Egypt of that degrading vice which in Greece tainted all male society from the highest grade to the lowest, and constituted "a great national disease," or "moral pestilence."⁵²⁴ Nor did courtesans, though occasionally they attained to a certain degree of celebrity among the Egyptians,⁵²⁵ ever exercise that influence which they did in Greece over art, literature, and even politics. The relations of the sexes were decidedly on a better footing in Egypt than at Athens, or most other Greek towns. Not only was polygamy unknown to the inhabitants of the Nile valley, and even licensed concubinage confined to the kings,⁵²⁶ but woman took her proper rank as the friend and companion of man, was never secluded in a harem, but constantly made her appearance alike in private company and in the ceremonies of religion, possessed equal rights with man in the eye of the law, was attached to temples in a quasi-sacerdotal character, and might even ascend the throne and administer the government of the country.⁵²⁷ Women were free to attend the markets and shops ;⁵²⁸ to visit and receive company, both male and female ; to join in the most sacred religious services ;⁵²⁹ to follow the dead to the grave ; and to perform their part in the sepulchral sacrifices.⁵³⁰

Again the consideration shown to age in Egypt was remarka-

ble, and, though perhaps a remnant of antique manners, must be regarded as a point in which their customs were more advanced than those of most ancient peoples. "Their young men, when they met their elders in the streets," we are told,⁵³¹ "made way for them and stepped aside; and if an old man came in where young men were present, the latter rose from their seats out of respect to him."

In arrangements with respect to education they seem also to have attained a point not often reached by the nations of antiquity. If the schools wherein scribes obtained their instruction were really open to all,⁵³² and the career of scribe might be pursued by any one, whatever his birth, then it must be said that Egypt, notwithstanding the general rigidity of her institutions, provided an open career for talent, such as scarcely existed elsewhere in the old world, and such as few modern communities can be said even yet to furnish. It was always possible under despotic governments that the capricious favor of the sovereign should raise to a high, or even to the highest position, the lowest person in the kingdom. But, in Egypt alone of all ancient States, does a system seem to have been established, whereby persons of all ranks, even the lowest, were invited to compete for the royal favor, and, by distinguishing themselves in the public schools, to establish a claim for employment in the public service. That employment once obtained, their future depended on themselves. Merit secured promotion; and it would seem that the efficient scribe had only to show himself superior to his fellows, in order to rise to the highest position but one in the empire.

NOTES TO HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

¹ Baker's *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. xxvii.

² See Herod. ii, 18; Strab. xvii, 1, § 4. Compare the *Mémoire* of M. Jomard in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, p. 89.

³ The term "Egypt," which was not known to the Egyptians themselves, appears to have been first used by the Greeks as a name for the Nile (Hom. *Od.* iv, 477, xiv, 257; Strab. i, 2, § 22), and thence to have extended itself to the country. Its derivation is uncertain.

⁴ See Jomard in the *Description de l'Égypte*, l. s. c.; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 61; Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 419; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 36, etc.

⁵ See 1 Kings viii, 65; 2 Kings xxiv, 7; Is. xxvii, 12. "The torrent of Egypt" would be a better translation than, "the river;" since in the Hebrew it is הַנְּחַל, not הַנָּחַר.

⁶ The ruins of Berenice are placed by the French savants in lat. 23° 48', by Mr. Donne (*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, sub voc. Berenice) in lat. 23° 56'. This latter view is now generally taken.

⁷ Very exaggerated estimates of the size of Egypt have been formed by some writers. Heeren says (*Handbuch*, p. 47) that it equals two-thirds of Germany, which would give it an area of above 160,000 square miles. A school geography which has come into my hands (Anderson's) goes beyond this, making the area 177,800 square miles. The real area is certainly not over,—it is perhaps somewhat under,—100,000 square miles.

⁸ From the old apex of the Delta, nearly opposite Heliopolis, to the Sebennytic mouth is 110 miles (Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 8); from Thebes to the apex is 456 miles; from Elephantine to Thebes 124 miles (ib. p. 10); total, 690 miles. The distance from Elephantine to the Mediterranean at Rosetta is given by Mr. Kenrick (*Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 34, note) as 739 miles; but this is, I think, an overestimate.

⁹ By measurement of the large French map published in the *Description de l'Égypte*, on which there has been scarcely any improvement in more recent times, I find the distance from the present apex of the Delta to

Canopus, to Pelusium, to the Damietta and Rosetta mouths, in every case a mile or two over, or the same distance under 100 miles. The plain is narrowest between the Lake Menzaleh and the Libyan hills, about lat. 30° 35', and again between Lake Bourlos and the Arabian hills in the vicinity of Tel Basta (Bubastis). The width in these places is about 65 miles.

¹⁰ Here, again, I have had recourse to measurement, and though my estimate exceeds that of some writers, I believe it is not excessive. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1877) estimates the area of the Delta in the time of Herodotus at 8,000 sq. miles (p. 120). M. Jomard assigns to Lower Egypt an area of 1,500 French leagues (*Description*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, p. 92), or above 11,000 English sq. miles. He appears, however, to include in this estimate the area of the four great lakes, Mareotis, Edkou, Bourlos, and Menzaleh, which must cover a space of from 2,000 to 3,000 sq. miles.

¹¹ So Mr. Donne, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 36. Dr. Russell, in his *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, gave the average width of the valley as nine miles (p. 31). But this is certainly too much. See M. Girard's "Essai" in the *Description*, "Histoire Naturelle," vol. ii, p. 344.

¹² Dr. Russell (l. s. c.) estimated the cultivable area at ten millions of acres.

¹³ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, p. 90.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ That of M. Girard (*Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 351: "Ainsi l'Égypte entière, depuis la dernière cataracte jusqu'à la pointe de Bourlos, comprend en latitude une intervalle de sept degrés et demi, et une superficie d'environ 2,100,000 hectares de terrains cultivables.")

¹⁶ Donne, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, l. s. c.

¹⁷ Jomard, *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, p. 92.

¹⁸ See the essay on Lake Mæris in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 329, E.T.

¹⁹ Allowing the Nile a course of 690 miles through Egyptian territory, and an average width of a mile, its waters would cover 690 square miles. Add to this 150 square miles for the superficies of Lake Mæris, and the amount is 840 square miles.

²⁰ The estimate of M. Jomard exceeds this. He speaks (l.s.c.) of the sands covering 558 square leagues, or between two and three millions of acres.

²¹ See the passage quoted at the head of this chapter. Herodotus imagined that the Nile Valley as far as Syene had been originally a narrow inlet of the Mediterranean Sea, which the alluvial deposit had gradually filled up. An examination of the tract in question has disproved this by showing that there are no marine remains between the sandstone or limestone which forms the original bed of the valley and the deposit from the river (see Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 5, and compare the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 361).

²² Compare Sir S. Baker's remarks in his *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. Introduction, p. xxvii: "Egypt has been an extraordinary instance of the actual formation of a country by alluvial deposit: it has been created by a single river."

²³ See Hecatæus, *Frag.* 278, 279, 295, 296; Herod. ii, 5-34; Diod. Sic. i, 10, 19, 32-38; Kenriek, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 5-60; Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 32-53; Sharpe, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 4-7, etc.

²⁴ The main doubt has recently been with respect to the basins of the Nile and Congo. It was thought, till 1875, that Lake Tanganyika might drain into the Albert Nyanza. Lieut. Cameron's travels have shown that this is not the case, and that the Luabala and L. Tanganyika belong to the upper waters of the Congo.

²⁵ The extent of the Upper Nile basin towards the west is unknown. Schweinfurth traced it as far as long. 26°, but it is conjecture alone that extends it to long. 23°, as Sir S. Baker does (see his map, vol. i, opp. p. xxi). There is also a doubt whether the Victoria Nyanza does not communicate with a series of lakes towards the east.

²⁶ According to Sir S. Baker the Albert Nyanza extends westward nearly to long. 28° (see his large map). He places the western shore of the Victoria in long. 31° 35' nearly, and the eastern in long. 36°.

²⁷ Speke in 1858 made the elevation 3,740 feet, while his observations in 1862 gave the result of 3,308 feet (so Livingstone in 1873). The mean of these would be 3,524 feet. Lieut. Cameron, however, in 1875 argues for an elevation of not more than 2,000 feet! (See *Geographical Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 222.)

²⁸ Baker (*Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, p. 153) made the elevation 2,720 feet. So Livingstone (*Last Journals*, map). But Sir H. Rawlinson on the whole is

inclined to regard the Albert as not more than 500 feet below the Victoria Nyanza (MS. note communicated to me in 1876).

²⁹ It has been already noticed that Sir S. Baker extends conjecturally the basin of the Albert N. to long. 23° (see above, note ²⁶).

³⁰ See Baker's *Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, pp. 94-103.

³¹ The issue of the Nile from the Albert Nyanza, which until 1876 had only been seen from a distance of about 100 miles, not actually visited by a European (Baker, vol. ii, pp. 134-5), was experimentally proved by Col. Gordon in that year.

³² See Baker's large map. Lieut. Julian Baker places Afuddo, which is very near the first cataract, in lat. 3° 34' (*Geograph. Journal* for 1874, p. 76).

³³ *Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, p. 283.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 286.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 287. In fifteen miles, between Afuddo and the Asua, the fall is 222 feet, or nearly fifteen feet a mile (*Athenæum*, No. 2551, p. 372).

³⁶ Col. Gordon's steamers have ascended all the rapids but one, and have shown the Nile to be navigable from the Mediterranean to the Albert Nyanza, except for the space of about three miles.

³⁷ Asua is the form used by Sir S. Baker (*Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, pp. 287, 308, etc.), Ashua that preferred by his nephew, Lieut. Baker (*Geographical Journal* for 1874, p. 46). This river below its junction with the Atabbi, was 130 yards broad, and knee-deep in March 1871 (*ibid.*). It is said to be "important from April 15 to November 15; dry after that date" (*Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, p. 308).

³⁸ *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, pp. 33-84.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 48.

⁴¹ *Geograph. Journal* for 1876, p. 38. In this part of its course, where the water is most dispersed, the Nile is often obstructed by great masses of floating vegetation, which even form dams across the river. Channels have to be cut through these obstructions in order that boats may pass up or down stream. (Lieut. Baker in *Geograph. Journal* for 1874, pp. 38-40; *Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, pp. 329-332.)

⁴² *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 44.

⁴³ Sir S. Baker makes the latitude of Khartoum 15° 29', but the mean result of a number of observations taken recently is 15° 36' 6" (See the *Geographical Journal* for 1874, p. 71).

⁴⁴ So Bruce (*Travels*, vol. v, p. 308). I am not aware that there have been any more recent observations.

⁴⁵ Humboldt (*Central Asien*, p. 93) gives the elevation as 955 toises, or 6,106 English feet.

⁴⁶ The courses of the Blue Nile and its affluents were in part explored by

Sir S. Baker in 1861-2. He descended the Dinder from about lat. 14° nearly to its junction with the Blue Nile, and then the Blue Nile itself to Khartoum (see his *Nile Tributaries*, pp. 357-375).

⁴⁷ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. p. 7.
⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 8; *Nile Tributaries*, pp. 373 et seq. (4th edition).

⁴⁹ *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. p. 33.

⁵⁰ *Nile Tributaries*, Preface, p. viii.

⁵¹ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. p. 6.

⁵² See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 8 (3d edit.).

⁵³ Three main cataracts are commonly reckoned between Abu Hamed and Korosko; but Belzoni notes five between Korosko and Koke (see his map, opp. p. 485), and there are at least two others between Koke and Abu Hamed.

⁵⁴ This was the route taken by Bruce in 1772, by Burckhardt in 1814, and by Baker in 1861. It is now almost invariably followed.

⁵⁵ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. p. 4; *Nile Tributaries*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ See Girard in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 343:

"L'Égypte semble commencer en quelque sorte à ou finit le sol granitique." Compare Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 452; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 33-5, etc.

⁵⁷ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 344.

⁵⁸ See the map attached to Belzoni's *Travels*, and compare the still more exact one of the *Description* ("Antiquities," vol. ii, *at. fn.*), which leaves nothing to be desired.

⁵⁹ *Description*, "H. N.," l.s.c. Compare Wilkinson, *Topography*, pp. 438-447. Champollion observes that the river here "makes a second entrance into Egypt."

⁶⁰ Especially Edfou (Apollinopolis Magna) and Esne (Latopolis), both of which are on the left bank (*Description*, l.s.c.; *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 425 and 435). Kenrick (vol. i, p. 37) wrongly places Edfou on the right bank.

⁶¹ Strictly speaking, the sandstone ends and the limestone begins before Gibelein. The exact point of the change is opposite El Qenan, about fourteen miles above Esne (*Topography*, p. 429).

⁶² *Description*, p. 345 and Map.

⁶³ At Darout-el-Sherif, in lat. 27° 34' (*Description*, p. 345). Mr. Kenrick regards this canal as branching off more than a hundred miles higher up the stream, at Chenoboscion, near Diospolis Parva (*Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 45). But the French savants distinguish between the Bahr Yousuf and the branch stream, which extends from Chenoboscion to Syout (Lycopolis), a little north of which it terminates.

⁶⁴ Zouyieh is the form used by Belzoni, Zaony that of the French sa-

vants. This place is probably the Iseum of the Greeks and Romans.

⁶⁵ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 345: "Ces terres, pouvant être facilement arrosées, sont les plus productives de l'Égypte moyenne."

⁶⁶ Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 8, note², 3d edition.

⁶⁷ Herod. ii, 17. To these three main branches Herodotus adds two minor ones, the Saitic and Mendesian branching from the Sebennyitic, and two artificial branches or canals.

⁶⁸ If we add to this the flow through the Albert Nyanza, and the course of the Somerset from the Ripon falls, we shall have a total length of about 300 miles more, or 2,800 miles.

⁶⁹ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 49; vol. ii, p. 308. The upper portion of the streams forming the Bahr-el-Ghazal has been explored by Herr Schweinfurth, and is carefully laid down in his large map (see *Heart of Africa*, vol. i, opp. p. 1).

⁷⁰ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, p. 308.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² See above, p. 7.

⁷³ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. ii, p. 309.

⁷⁴ See Baker's small map, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, opp. p. xxi. (repeated in his *Nile Tributaries* and his *Ismailia*).

⁷⁵ *Geograph. Journal* for 1874, p. 38.

⁷⁶ Baker's *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 47.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 8. Compare *Nile Tributaries*, pp. 22-3.

⁷⁸ *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 9; *Nile Tributaries*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 5. The courses of the Blue Nile and Atbara, together with their tributaries, are well given by Sir S. Baker in the map accompanying his *Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, opp. p. i.

⁸¹ The French savants made the average rise 7,419 metres (*Description* "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 352), which is 23,721 English feet. Sir G. Wilkinson says the rise at Old Cairo is sixteen cubits, or twenty-four feet. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 297, 3d ed.)

⁸² *Description*, l.s.c.

⁸³ Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, l.s.c.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ See the description of an unusual rise in Belzoni's *Operations and Discoveries*, pp. 299-303. Extraordinary inundations in ancient times were equally disastrous (Plin. *H. N.* v, 9).

⁸⁶ Herod. ii, 13.

⁸⁷ The visit of Herodotus to Egypt was probably during the Athenian occupation, which was from B.C. 460 to B.C. 455. Nine hundred years before this would be B.C. 1360-1355.

⁸⁸ Herod. l.s.c. The views of Herodotus were adopted by Dr. Shaw in the last century, who argued that "in process of time the whole country might be raised to such a height that

the river would not be able to overflow its banks, and Egypt, consequently, from being the most fertile, would, for want of the annual inundation, become one of the most barren parts of the universe" (*Travels*, vol. ii, p. 235).

⁸⁹ Herodotus tells us that sixteen cubits, or twenty-four feet, was the normal rise in his day (B.C. 460-450). A statue of the Nile at Rome, surrounded by sixteen diminutive figures, indicates that the rise was sixteen cubits in the time of the Roman Empire. Sixteen cubits is assigned by Abd-allatif, the Arabian historian, as the medium between excess and defect (ab. A.D. 1200); and twenty-four feet is said to be the usual rise of the river at Cairo in our own day (Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 297, 3d edit.).

⁹⁰ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 366: "En effet, si les depots de limon exhausent le sol de l'Égypte, la meme cause exhausse aussi le fond du Nil, de sorte que la profondeur de ce fleuve au-dessous de la plaine doit rester a peu pres la meme."

⁹¹ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 80; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 15, note 4.

⁹² See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 298.

⁹³ Especially in the plains of Dongola, about lat. 19°.

⁹⁴ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

⁹⁵ See Agatharcides ap. Diod. Sic. i, 14; Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* p. 366, C; Abd-allatif, quoted by Shaw, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 215; Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 46, etc.

⁹⁶ The first inundation is beyond all question caused by the Abyssinian rivers; but the flooding would scarcely continue so long as it does, if it were not for the White Nile, which is highest in November.

⁹⁷ Baker found the first rains commence in Abyssinia "in the middle of May" (*Victoria Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 9). The last shower fell on September 15 (*Nile Tributaries*, p. 142).

⁹⁸ Albert Nyanza, vol. ii, p. 307.

⁹⁹ This expression is not to be taken quite strictly. The White Nile rises at Ismailia, near Gondokoro, a little more than four feet (*Geograph. Journal* for 1874, p. 44); at Towilkia, in lat. 9° 25', as much as 14 feet 3 inches (ibid. p. 42); at Khartoum, certainly more than 5 feet (Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 34). But its rise is slight compared with that of the Blue Nile and the Atbara.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 7; *Nile Tributaries*, p. 373.

¹⁰² Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 29, note 4.

¹⁰⁴ The analysis made by the French savants showed the Nile deposits to contain nearly one-half argillaceous earth (alumen), about one-fifth carbonate of lime, one-tenth water, and the remainder carbon, carbonate of magnesia, oxide of iron, and silica. The oxide of iron gives it its reddish hue.

¹⁰⁵ The ancient Egyptians themselves made a twofold division, viz. into the Upper and the Lower country, the latter corresponding to the Delta. Hence the Hebrews designated Egypt by a dual form, Mizraim, or the two Mizrs. Herodotus makes a similar distinction (ii, 7, 8). The Ptolemies seem to have introduced a threefold division: that into Lower Egypt, or the Delta; Middle Egypt, or the Heptanomis; and Upper Egypt, or the Thebaid (Strab. xvii. 1, § 3; Plin. *H. N.* v. 9, § 9; Ptol. *Geogr.* iv. 5). The Romans maintained this division, but subdivided the Delta and the Thebaid, and called the Heptanomis Arcadia. After the Arab conquest Upper Egypt became known as the Saïd, Middle Egypt as the Vostani, and Lower Egypt as the Bahari, or "maritime country."

¹⁰⁶ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 344; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 451-2; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ *Description*, l.s.c.; Kenrick, p. 41.

¹⁰⁸ That is, from twelve to fifteen miles (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 11, note 1).

¹⁰⁹ *Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 346. Compare Herod. ii, 8, and Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 103.

¹¹⁰ Occasionally, as the first cataract at Silsilis, and at Gibelein, the hills close in and leave little or no ground between the cliffs and the river. (See above, p. 8, and compare the *Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 436.)

¹¹¹ *Description*, pp. 345, 395, etc.

¹¹² The western chain is continuous; the eastern one is penetrated by a valley in lat. 30° 32', along which was carried anciently the line of the canal which united the Nile with the Red Sea.

¹¹³ See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 7, note 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 9, note 6.

¹¹⁵ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 553; Wilkinson, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 401.

¹¹⁶ On these changes see the *Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, pp. 367-70, and compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 26, note 1.

¹¹⁷ Herod. ii, 17.

¹¹⁸ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 348. Along this strip runs the line of the Alexandrian canal.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 6, note 4.

¹²⁰ *Description*, pp. 348-51.

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 349.
¹²² See the French map, and compare that given by Dr. Brugsch in his pamphlet on the Exodus of the Israelites.
¹²³ Herod. ii, 92, 140; Thucyd. i, 109, etc. Compare Brugsch, *L'Exode et les Monuments Egyptiens*, p. 11.
¹²⁴ Brugsch supposes the Israelites to have marched along this sand-bank.
¹²⁵ *Description de l'Egypte*. "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, pp. 372-3, 398-404, etc.
¹²⁶ Ibid. "Antiquités," vol. ii, p. 91; "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 436.
¹²⁷ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 6, note 4; and compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 7.
¹²⁸ Herod. ii, 149; Strab. xvii, 1-3; Plin. *H. N.* v, 9, § 9; Diod. Sic. i, 52; Pomp. Mel. i, 9.
¹²⁹ See the "Mémoire sur le lac Mæris," in the *Descript. de l'Egypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pp. 79-114.
¹³⁰ Linant's account is given in a Mémoire which was published at Alexandria in 1843 by the "Société Egyptienne." It is entitled "*Mémoire sur le lac Mæris, présenté et lu à la Société Egyptienne le 5 juillet 1842, par Linant de Bellefonds, etc.*"
¹³¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. ii, p. 335 (translated by Cottrell).
¹³² Bunsen says the lake is "about 33 miles long, and has an average width of about four miles" (ibid. p. 337). Dean Blakesley (*Herodotus*, vol. i, p. 304) extends the length to 35 or 36 miles. Other estimates will be found in Jomard's *Mémoire*, pp. 83-4. ¹³³ Bunsen, p. 325.
¹³⁴ An account of the system employed will be given in the chapter on the Agriculture of the Egyptians.
¹³⁵ Herod. ii, 149. The Birket-el-Keiron is said still to produce excellent fish. (*Description*, "Etat Moderne," vol. ii, p. 213.)
¹³⁶ Strab. xvii. 1: ἀλωλογώτατος τῶν ἀπάντων ὁ Ἀρσινοίτης νόμος κατὰ τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆν.
¹³⁷ Mr. Kenrick says: "The Red Sea is nowhere more than 150 miles from the valley of the Nile" (*Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 61); but this is untrue. Sir G. Wilkinson estimates the distance in lat. 24° at 175 miles. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 11, note 9.) The French map in the *Description* shows the same.
¹³⁸ See Belzoni's *Travels*, pp. 305-7. Compare the *Description*. "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, pp. 449-57 and pp. 611-21; and see also Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 419-20; and Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 61-66.
¹³⁹ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 437: "La chaîne orientale présente, dans sa partie septentrionale, des escarpements semblables à de longues murailles formées d'assises horizontales. Le nom de *Gebel el-Mokattam* (montagne taillée) qu'elle porte dans le pays, lui a été donné sans doute à cause de ces formes escarpées."

¹⁴⁰ Kenrick, p. 62.
¹⁴¹ Russegger, *Geognostische Karte*, quoted by Kenrick, vol. i, p. 62, note 2.
¹⁴² *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 345.
¹⁴³ This is well marked in Belzoni's map. The *Description* also gives it very clearly in the general "Carte de l'Egypte," at the end of the "Antiquités," vol. ii.
¹⁴⁴ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." l.s.c.; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 412; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 62.
¹⁴⁵ This was traversed by Belzoni (*Travels*, pp. 304-330). It is noticed by Mr. Kenrick (l.s.c.) and represented in the "Carte de l'Egypte" of the *Description*.
¹⁴⁶ Belzoni, *Travels*, pp. 305, 307, 308, etc. The trees mentioned are the sont and sycamore.
¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 395 and Pl. 36.
¹⁴⁸ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 413. ¹⁴⁹ Ibid.
¹⁵⁰ Belzoni, *Travels*, pp. 309, 314, 330, etc.
¹⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 313-15. Compare Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 420; and Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 418-19.
¹⁵² The chief authorities for this description are the French savants General Andréossy and M. Gratian le Père, whose Memoirs on the valley will be found in the *Description*, "Etat Moderne," vol. i, pp. 279-298, and vol. ii, pp. 476-480.
¹⁵³ *Description*, "Etat Moderne," vol. i, p. 251.
¹⁵⁴ Gen. Andréossy argues from this, with considerable force, that the water must be really derived from the Nile, and filter through the thirty miles of intervening soil, since the copious flow of the springs is exactly coincident with the time of the inundation.
¹⁵⁵ Gen. Andréossy says "the carbonate" (p. 282); but Wilkinson (in my *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 146, note 4) "the subcarbonate." I am not chemist enough to know which is right.
¹⁵⁶ The salt from one of the lakes is said to be of a red color, and to have an odor like that of a rose (Andréossy, l.s.c.)
¹⁵⁷ A few palms grow in places, and there are numerous tamarisk bushes. Otherwise, the vegetation consists merely of the "flags, sedge, and rushes, which thickly fringe the margins of the lakes" (ibid. p. 285).
¹⁵⁸ Andréossy, p. 208; Russell, p. 61, and map.
¹⁵⁹ Russell, l.s.c.
¹⁶⁰ The supposed connection has depended very much on the name *Bahr-bela-ma*, or "river without water," which, however, is really applied by the Arab to any waterless ravine. There is a Bahr-bela-ma in the Fayoum, which has no issue from it (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 340-2); another between the

Fayoum and the oasis of Ammon (Belzoni, *Travels*, p. 401); and a third near the Natron Valley (*Description*, "Etat Moderne," vol. i, p. 286).

¹⁶¹ See the remarks of Mr. Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 70.

¹⁶² Compare Herod. ix, 126. The warlike qualities of the modern Abyssinians are undeniable.

¹⁶³ Herod. iii, 25. Compare Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 171; Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 4; *Nile Tributaries*, p. 4; etc.

¹⁶⁴ Herod. iv, 197.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 181. The oases are more numerous than Herodotus imagined; but still they bear only a small proportion to the arid territory. (See Barth's Maps in the fifth volume of his *Travels*, opp. p. 1 and opp. p. 457).

¹⁶⁶ The Maxyes seem to have been the most powerful of the tribes (Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 427). They are mentioned by Herodotus (iv, 191), and others (Hecat. Fr. 304; Justin, xviii, 6; Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*), and take a leading part in the great Libyan attack on Egypt, which will be described in a later chapter.

¹⁶⁷ In the infancy of nations sea-barriers were of great importance, and could with difficulty be surmounted, owing to the dangers of navigation. The Red Sea, with its rock-bound coast, its want of harbors, and its liability to sudden storms, was peculiarly dreaded.

¹⁶⁸ The Pharaohs frequently, perhaps generally, conveyed their armies into Syria by sea; but their enemies, the Hyksos, the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, traversed the desert when they made their invasions. The early Arab conquerors and the Crusaders marched through the desert frequently, as in more recent times did Napoleon and Ibrahim Pasha.

¹⁶⁹ The nation, called Hyksos by Manetho, probably a Semitic race.

¹⁷⁰ This spur is known as Amanus in the north, then as Casius and Bargylus; towards the south as Libanus or Lebanon ("the White Mountain").

¹⁷¹ This range bears various names. Towards the south it is known as Anti-libanus, or the range over against Lebanon.

¹⁷² See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv, p. 291 (1st ed.).

¹⁷³ This is the native name of the more southern part of the Cœlesyrian valley (see Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 620; and compare Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 1405).

¹⁷⁴ See Hor. *Od.* ii, 7, 8; *Sal.* i, 2, 1; Propert. *Eleg.* ii, 23, 21; iii, 4, 30; Juven. *Sat.* iii, 62-66, etc.

CHAPTER II.

¹ See above, pp. 34-5.

² Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 53-4.

³ *Supra*, p. 20.

⁴ Herod. ii, 20. Compare Diod. Sic. i, 39, and Aristot. *Meteor.* ii, 6.

⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus* vol. ii, p. 26, note 1 (2d edition); André-dossy in the *Description de l'Égypte*—"Etat Moderne," vol. i, p. 267.

⁶ See Anderson's *Geography*, p. 152. The Egyptians themselves spoke of three seasons,—spring summer, and winter (Diod. Sic. i, 11).

⁷ The lowest temperature registered at Cairo during the French occupation was 2° of Réaumur, or 36½° of Fahrenheit which was reached on one night during January, 1799; 37½° was registered on one other night. The average temperature at night was about 46°. (See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 332).

⁸ *De situ Orbis*, i, 9.

⁹ Herod. iii, 10. (τίτε ὑσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι φακάδι). Mons. Courteille in the *Description* ("Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 321) echoes Herodotus.

¹⁰ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 15.

¹² Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 419-20; Belzoni, *Researches*, pp. 305, 307, 311, etc.

¹³ Russell, p. 55.

¹⁴ See Herod. iii, 26.

¹⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 427, 3d edition.

¹⁶ Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 190; Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, p. 17.

¹⁷ Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, p. 387.

¹⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 179.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 180.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 181.

²² See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. i, p. 53; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 179. See also the plate in the *Description*, "Hist. Nat." Planches, vol. iii, pl. 1. Compare Theophrast. *H. P.* ii, 7; p. 68.

²³ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

²⁴ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 145.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Planches, vol. iii, pl. 2.

²⁶ Sir G. Wilkinson found a single bunch, which he gathered from a wild palm, to have on it between 6,000 and 7,000 dates. The tree was one of a cluster, each of which bore from 5 to 22 bunches. It may be concluded that each tree produced from 30,000 to 100,000 dates (see Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 177, note).

²⁷ A single *feddan* (about 1¼ acre (is sometimes planted with as many as 400 trees. (*Ibid.* p. 178, note).

²⁸ Strab. xvii, 1, § 51.

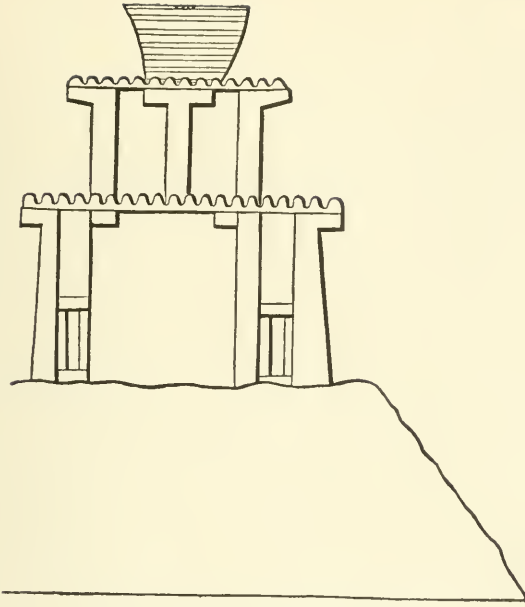


Fig. 161.—A SYRIAN FORT.—See Page 219.

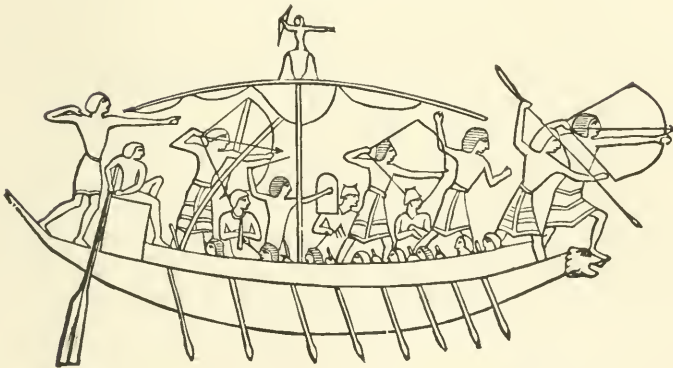


Fig. 162.—EGYPTIAN WAR-GALLEY.—See Page 230.

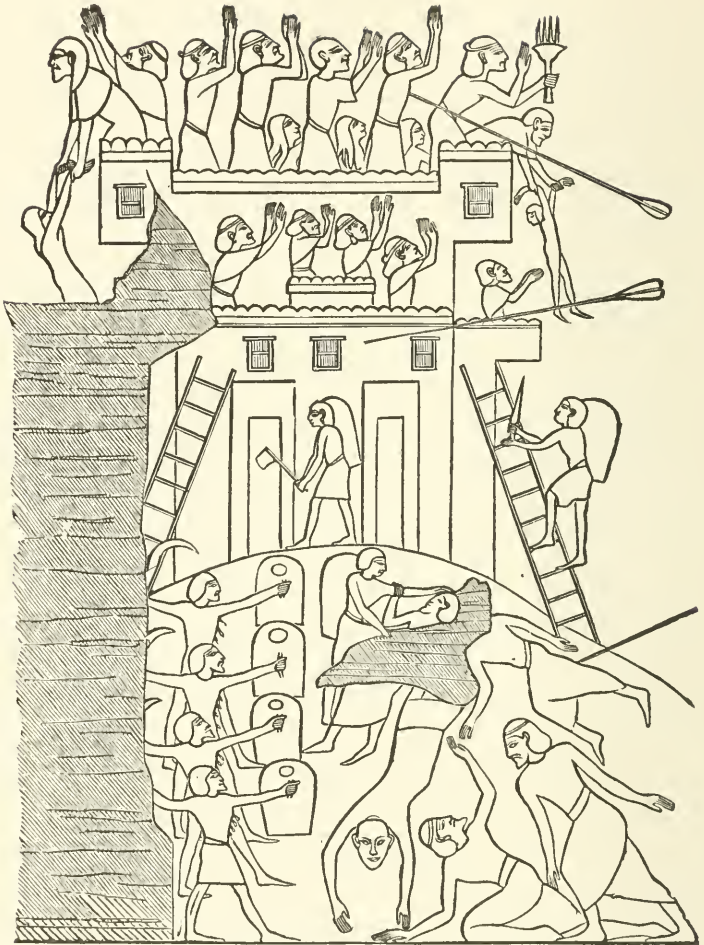


Fig. 163.—ESCALADING A FORT.—See Page 219.

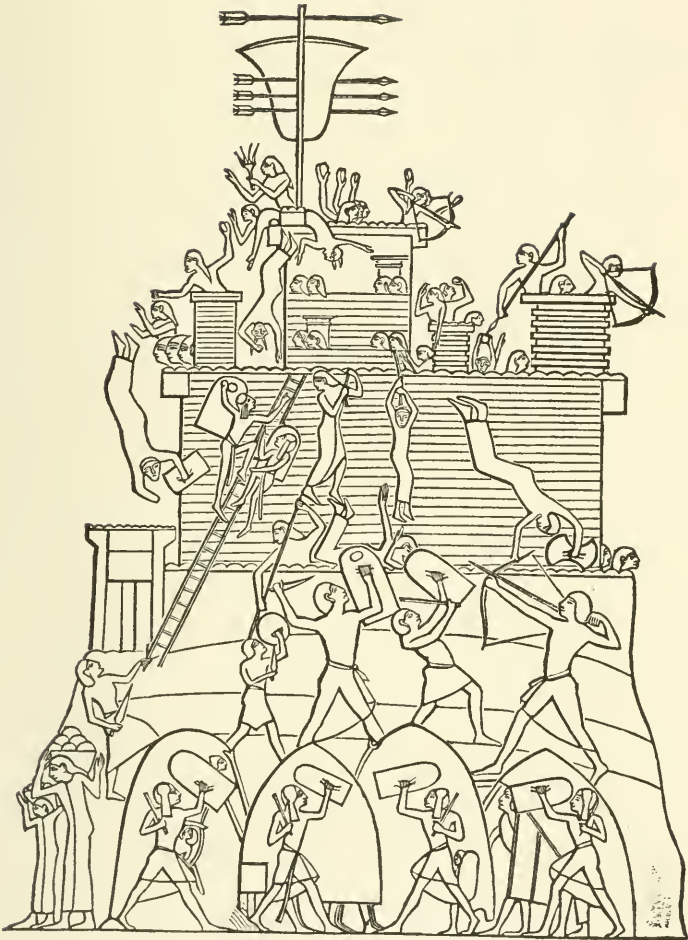


Fig. 164.—ATTACK ON A FORT.—See Page 219.

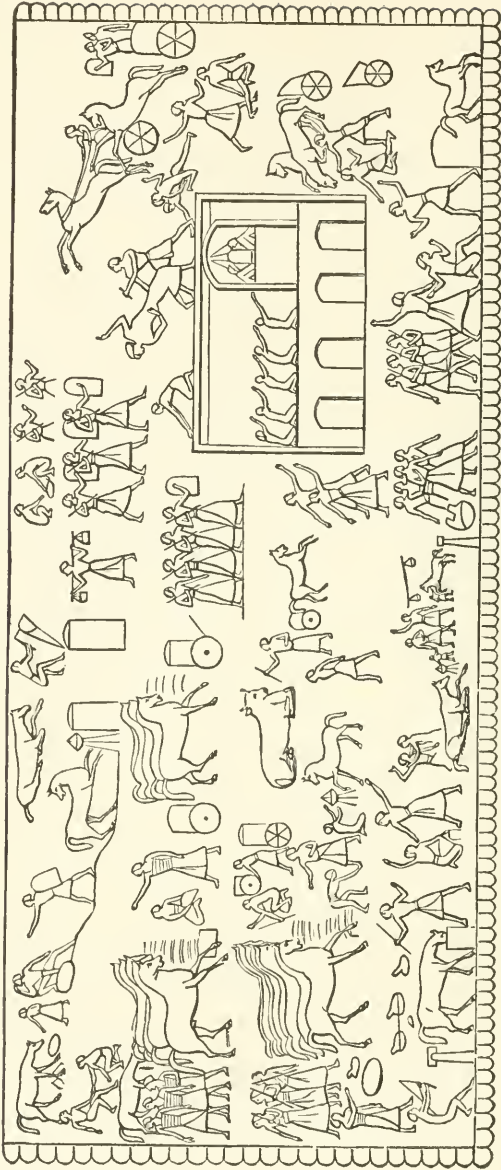


Fig. 165.—PART OF THE INTERIOR OF AN EGYPTIAN CAMP.—See Page 223.

²⁹ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 318; Wilkinson, l.s.c.

³⁰ Wilkinson says: "No portion of this tree is without its peculiar use. The trunk serves for beams, either entire or split in half; of the *gereet*, or branches, are made wicker baskets, bedsteads, coops, and ceilings of rooms, answering every purpose for which laths or any thin wood-work are required; the leaves are converted into mats, brooms, and baskets; of the fibrous tegument at the base of the branches, strong ropes are made; and even the bases of the *gereet* are beaten flat and formed into brooms. Nor are the stalks of the branches without their use: their fibres, separated by the mallet, serve for making ropes, and for the *leaf*, which is so serviceable in the bath. Besides the brandy, the *lowbgeh*, and the date-wine, a vinegar is also extracted from the fruit; and the large proportion of saccharine matter contained in the dates might, if required, be applied to useful purposes." (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 178.)

³¹ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 475.

³² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 205.

³³ Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, p. 208, note.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Compare Russell, l.s.c.

³⁵ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 191.

³⁶ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 193.

³⁷ Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 5; "Ex myxis in Ægypto et vina fiunt."

³⁸ The pods of the *sont* are also valued, as they answer well for tanning (Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 210). This is a use to which they were applied anciently (Plin. *H. N.* l.s.c. and xxiv, 12).

³⁹ Herod. ii, 96; Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 9.

⁴⁰ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 154, note¹ (3d edition).

⁴¹ *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 286.

⁴² See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 359.

⁴³ Tristram (quoted in the *Speaker's Commentary*, l.s.c.).

⁴⁴ *Description*, l.s.c.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson says it has not now found in the valley below Ethiopia (*Topography of Thebes*, p. 209); but it was seen growing near Cairo at the time of the French Expedition (*Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 333). The ancients regarded it as undoubtedly Egyptian (Theophrast. *H. P.* iii, 3; iv, 2; Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 9).

⁴⁶ Belzoni. *Researches*, pp. 320-1; Wilkinson, *Topog. of Thebes*, p. 209.

⁴⁷ *Description de l'Égypte*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 222.

⁴⁸ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

⁴⁹ Abd-allatif says (*Relation de l'Égypte*, traduite par M. de Sacy, p. 17): "Son fruit ressemble à la datte."

⁵⁰ Wilkinson, ut supra.

⁵¹ *Description*, p. 223.

⁵² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 153.

⁵³ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 210.

⁵⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xv, 7.

⁵⁵ Strab. xvii, 2, § 5.

⁵⁶ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. ii, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 265.

⁵⁸ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p. 281.

⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 208.

⁶⁰ See Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 5; and Martial, *Epig.* xiii, 28.

⁶¹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 150; Cowan in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvii, pp. 246-8.

⁶² Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 12.

⁶³ Herod. ii, 92.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, l.s.c.

⁶⁵ Plin. *H. N.* vi, 22; vii, 16; xiii, 11; Theophrast. *H. P.* iv, 9; Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* § 18; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iv, 136; Isaiah, xviii, 2.

⁶⁶ Herod. ii, 96.

⁶⁷ Theophrastus, l.s.c.; Plin. l.s.c.

⁶⁸ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 148.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Herod. ii, 92. Theophrastus represents the cakes as formed of the seeds only (*Hist. Plant.* iv, 10).

⁷¹ Herod. l.s.c.

⁷² Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 205, note.

⁷³ *Description de l'Égypte*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 307.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 306.

⁷⁵ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 183.

⁷⁶ *Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 309.

⁷⁷ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 149.

⁷⁸ The *Nelumbo* is the *κύαμος Αἰγύπτου* of Theophrastus (*H. P.* iv, 10); Diodorus Siculus (i, 9, 30); Strabo (xvii, 2, § 4); and Dioscorides (ii, 128); and the *fabā Ægyptia* of Pliny (*H. N.* xvii, 12), which he also calls by its Greek name of *cyamos*. Its fruit is thought by some to be the "bean" which Pythagoras forbade his followers to eat.

⁷⁹ The *Nelumbo* is represented as an Egyptian type on the large statue of the Nile-God in the Vatican. It appears in the mosaic of Palestrina with a similar import (*Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions* for 1790), and is employed to express the same idea on various Roman coins. (See Spanheim, *De præstantia et usu numismatum*, vol. i, p. 302. Lond. 1706; Zoega, *Numism. Ægypt.* p. 193, Pl. 12, No. 253; Morrell, *Theosaur. Num.* vol. ii, p. 391, Pl. 14, No. 5).

⁸⁰ *Description*, l.s.c.

⁸¹ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 206, note.

⁸² *Description*, l.s.c. Wilkinson says "about twenty-five."

⁸³ Herod. ii, 92; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 10.

⁸⁴ The subject of Egyptian vegetables has been carefully elaborated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Topography of Thebes*, pp. 211-266; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 54-77); to whose works the reader is referred for further information.

⁸⁵ Eleven varieties of the melon and eight of the cucumber are mentioned. (Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 262.)

⁸⁶ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 206, note ⁶.

⁸⁷ See Plin. *H. N.* xix, 8; xx, 17, 20.

⁸⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 69.

⁸⁹ On the cultivation of these three kinds of grain see Exod. ix, 31, 32; and compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 61, 97, etc.

⁹⁰ These are: 1. the *Towálee*, or long-eared wheat; 2. the *Dthukr Yousefee*, which is large-eared, and has a black beard; 3. *The Naygeh*, small-eared, with black beard and husk; 4. the *Zerra el Nebli*, which is red, and without any beard; 5. the *Moghuz*, which has a short, broad ear; and 6, the *Tubbánee*, or white wheat, the kind most commonly cultivated. (See Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, p. 261, note.)

⁹¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 85.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁹³ Wilkinson, *Topography*, l.s.c.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Compare the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 286; note on Ex. ix. 31.

⁹⁵ Wilkinson, *Topography*, pp. 263-4.

⁹⁶ Herod. ii, 37.

⁹⁷ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 61, 62, 97; *Topography*, p. 217.

⁹⁸ Plin. *H. N.* xviii, 12.

⁹⁹ Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 218

¹⁰⁰ Plin. l.s.c.

¹⁰¹ The Coptic name is Θαρρεος "tharmos" (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 53).

¹⁰² As the *Trifolium Alexandrinum*, which gives ordinarily three crops, and sometimes four. (Wilkinson, l.s.c.)

¹⁰³ Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 218.

¹⁰⁴ *Supra*, p. 56-7.

¹⁰⁵ Pliny calls it "cibis fedum, lucernis utile" (*H. N.* xv. 7).

¹⁰⁶ Herod. ii, 94; Plin. *H. N.* l s.c.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 55; *Topography of Thebes*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁸ Plin. *H. N.* xv, 7; xix, 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* xv, 7, etc.

¹¹⁰ Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 219.

¹¹¹ Herod. ii, 94; Strab. xvii, 2, § 5.

¹¹² Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 1.

¹¹³ The "metopion" contained various other ingredients, but the Egyptian oil of bitter almonds predominated. (See Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 1—"metopion—oleum hoc est amygdalis amaris expressum in Ægypto, cui addidere omphaeium," etc.; and compare xv, 7: "Amygdalimum, quod aliqui

metopium vocant." Compare Dioscorid. i, 39.)

¹¹⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xiii, 1; xv, 7.

¹¹⁵ Plin. *H. N.* xii, 24.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* xiii, 1. Compare xv, 7 and xxiii, 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* xxi, 11, 22. The "sampsuchus" was a plant which grew in Cyprus and Mitylene (*ibid.* xiii, 1.)

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* xa, 7; xxii, 24.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* xv, 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* xiii, 3: "Terrarum omnium Ægyptus adcommodatissima nunguentis."

¹²¹ Especially the "telinon" (Athen. *Deipn.* v, p. 195; Plin. xiii, 1), and the "Mendesium" (Plin. l s.c.)

¹²² Herod. ii, 81, with Wilkinson's note. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 132, note ⁸.)

¹²³ Herod. ii, 63.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 86. Wilkinson confirms the statement of Herodotus.

¹²⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv, p. 27, note ⁸.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* vol. ii, pp. 271-2.

¹²⁷ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 138-9; vol. iv, p. 98, etc.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 70.

¹²⁹ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 262.

¹³⁰ Plin. *H. N.* xix, 1.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 63 and 142. Pliny says: "Vestes inde" (*i. e. e gossipio*) "sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissime" (l.s.c.)

¹³³ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 143.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 132; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 62.

¹³⁵ Belzoni, *Researches*, p. 175.

¹³⁶ See *Odyss*, iv, 228-30:

Ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα, πόρεν, Θῶνος
παράκοιτις,
Αἰγυπτῶν, τῇ πλείστα ἠέρι ζεῖδιωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλά, μεμιγμένα, πολ-
λά δὲ λυγρά.

¹³⁷ "An indigenous plant" (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 62).

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Plin. *H. N.* xix, 8; xx, 16.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* xxiii, 5.

¹⁴¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 64.

¹⁴² Plin. *H. N.* xxiv, 15.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁴⁴ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 70.

¹⁴⁵ Plin. *H. N.* xx, 17.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* xx, 8.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* xx, 20.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xxi, 32.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 74.

¹⁵¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxvii, 7, ad fin.

¹⁵² Dioscorid. *Mat. Med.* i. 18.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* i, 118.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* i, 124.

- 155 Ibid. i, 28.
 156 Plin. *H. N.* xxvii, 12.
 157 Ibid. xxiv, 18.
 158 Dioscorid. *Mat. Med.* i, 116.
 159 Ibid. i 115.
 160 Ibid. i, 133.
 161 Ibid. i, 143, 144.
 162 Ibid. i, 154.
 163 Ibid. i, 155.
 164 Ibid. i, 158. 165 Ibid. i, 187.
 166 See Herod. ii, 71; and compare
 Diod. Sic. i, 35; and Wilkinson, *Ancient
 Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 75.
 167 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 v, p. 178.
 168 Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, p.
 82; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 74.
 169 Wilkinson, l.s.c.
 170 Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* iv, 2.
 171 Herod. ii, 69, 148; Ælian, x, 24.
 172 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 78; *Topography*, p. 409. Compare
 the remarks of M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire in
 the *Description*, "H. N." vol. ii, p. 144.
 173 Wilkinson, l.s.c.
 174 Herod. ii, 68; Diod. Sic. i, 35. Wil-
 kinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 80.
 175 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 29.
 176 Ibid. Athenæus says that a lion was
 hunted and killed by the Emperor Had-
 rian near Alexandria (*Deipn.* v. 6); and
 Amenemhat I. of the 12th dynasty, speaks
 of hunting the lion and the crocodile
 (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14).
 177 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 16.
 178 Ibid. iii, 24; v, 145, 149, etc.
 179 Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*,
 p. 243, note.
 180 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 v, p. 159.
 181 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 v, p. 159.
 182 Ibid. vol. iii, p. 2.
 183 Herod. ii, 67; Aristot. *Hist. An.* viii,
 28; Plin. *H. N.* viii, 22. Compare Wilkin-
 son, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 27.
 184 Plin. *H. N.* l.s.c.
 185 Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 27; vol. v. pp.
 145-6.
 186 *Description de l'Égypte*, "H. N."
 vol. ii, p. 138.
 187 Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 30; vol. v, p.
 151.
 188 *Description*, p. 141.
 189 Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 152, M. St.
 Hilaire makes the length twenty French
 inches (*Description*, p. 139), which is less
 than two feet.
 190 *Description*, p. 143; Wilkinson, vol.
 v, p. 150.
 191 Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 30; vol. v, p.
 155. Compare Strab. xvii, 1. § 39; Plin.
H. N. viii, 24; Ælian, *Nat. An.* vi, 38.
 192 *Description*, p. 141; Wilkinson, vol.
 ii, p. 31; vol. v, p. 153. Hence the name
 of "Pharaoh's Cat," by which the ichneu-
 mon is known to the modern Arabs.
 193 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 v, p. 152.
 194 According to Diodorus (i, 35) the
 ichneumon broke the eggs of the croco-
 dile, not to eat them, but to benefit man-
 kind. It also destroyed the full-grown
 crocodile by a wonderful contrivance.
 Covering itself with a coat of mud, it
 watched till the crocodile was asleep,
 with its mouth gaping; when suddenly it
 sprang into the creature's jaws, glided
 down its throat, and gnawed through its
 stomach, so making its escape (i, 87).
 Strabo told a similar tale (xvii, 1, § 39),
 while Pliny and Ælian stated that, before
 attacking the asp, it covered itself with a
 coat of mud. The modern Arabs have a
 story that, if bitten by the asp, the ich-
 neumon runs to a certain plant, eats
 some, and puts some on the wound,
 thereby rendering the poison harmless!
 (See Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 30.)
 195 Thucyd. i, 21: 'Ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέ-
 θεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτα γωγότερον τῆ ἀκροασεῖ,
 ἢ ἀληθέστερον.
 196 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 28.
 197 Ibid. vol. v, p. 175.
 198 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, pp. 9, 14, 19, etc.
 199 Herod. ii, 67.
 200 Wilkinson in the author's *Herod-
 otus*, vol. ii, p. 114, note 4.
 201 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 21; vol. v, p. 183.
 202 Ibid.
 203 Herod. ii, 47; Horapollo, ii, 37;
 Ælian, *N. A.* x, 16.
 204 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, pp. 17-22.
 205 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, pp. 24-6.
 206 Ibid. p. 25.
 207 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 24.
 208 Ibid. p. 25. The *defassa* is thought
 to be the real animal intended, where the
 artist seems to be representing wild
 cattle. (See Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 18,
 19.)
 209 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol.
 iii, p. 31.
 210 Ibid. vol. iii, p. 21; vol. v. p. 174.
 211 It is probable that Herodotus may
 intend the monitor of the Nile by his
 ἐννῆρις since the otter, which is what
 ἐννῆρις ordinarily means, was certainly
 not a native of Egypt. (See Wilkinson,
 vol. v, p. 137.)
 212 Three feet three inches, according
 to M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire (*Description*,
 "H. N." vol. i, p. 122).
 213 Herodotus (iv, 192) speaks of the
 land monitor as three cubits (4 feet 6
 inches) long. But this is an excessive
 estimate. The largest seen by Sir G.
 Wilkinson measured about four feet.
 (See his note in the author's *Herodotus*,
 vol. iii, p. 167, note 5.)
 214 Wilkinson, l.s.c. Compare *De-
 scription*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 125.
 215 See Herod. iv, 192.
 216 Wilkinson, in the author's *Herod-
 otus*, vol. ii, p. 178, note.

- ²¹⁷ The identity of the Egyptian *sûs*, "mare," with the Hebrew מִצִּיב is generally admitted.
- ²¹⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 35; iv, p. 20.
- ²¹⁹ See 1 Kings, x, 28, 30.
- ²²⁰ Gen. xii, 16, Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 34.
- ²²¹ Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 118.
- ²²² See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 445.
- ²²³ Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 199.
- ²²⁴ Herod. ii, 41.
- ²²⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 18, 19, 22, etc.
- ²²⁶ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 33; vol. v, pp. 190-193.
- ²²⁷ Diod. Sic. i, 87. The milk of the sheep was also used for food, and cheese was made of it (*ibid.*).
- ²²⁸ Diod. Sic. l.s.c. Compare *Hon. Od.* iv, 86.
- ²²⁹ Herod. ii, 47.
- ²³⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 14.
- ²³¹ *Ibid.* ii, 164.
- ²³² Diodorus tells us that the cats were valued on account of their destroying asps and other reptiles (i, 87). It is said that at the present day they do attack and kill asps and also scorpions (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 155). Cicero says that no one ever heard tell of an Egyptian killing a cat (*De Nat. Deor.* i, 29).
- ²³³ Herod. ii, 66. Compare *Ælian, Nat. An.* vii, 27.
- ²³⁴ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 42; vol. v, p. 166.
- ²³⁵ Herod. ii, l.s.c.; Diod. Sic. i, 83.
- ²³⁶ Numerous embalmed cats have been found at Thebes and other places, both in Upper and Lower Egypt (Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 167). They are carefully wrapped in linen bandages, with the face and ears painted outside, and are deposited in wooden coffins or mummy cases.
- ²³⁷ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 33.
- ²³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 13.
- ²³⁹ See the plate at the end of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 32.
- ²⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 33.
- ²⁴² *Ibid.* p. 32; No. 7.
- ²⁴³ These are given by M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire as the *Aquila heliaca*, or "eagle of Thebes," which is large and of a blackish color; the *fulva*, or common brown eagle; the *melanætos*, a small black variety; and the *halæætos*, or "sea eagle." (*Description*, "H. N." vol. i, pp. 82-87.)
- ²⁴⁴ These are: 1. *Falco tinnunculus*, the "ceenchris" of Pliny (*H. N.* x, 52; xxix, 6); and *cresserille* of Buffon; 2. *F. smarvillus* (the *émérillon* of Buffon); and 3. *F. communis*, probably the "sacred hawk" of Herodotus (ii, 65).
- ²⁴⁵ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 51-2; vol. v, pp. 120-122.
- ²⁴⁶ *Description*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 89.
- ²⁴⁷ Belon, *Nature des Oyseaux*, vol. ii, p. 27.
- ²⁴⁸ *Description*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 80.
- ²⁴⁹ *Travels*, vol. v, p. 155, and plate opposite.
- ²⁵⁰ *Description*, pp. 76-7; Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 51.
- ²⁵¹ Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 204. The Arabic *rokhama* is no doubt identical with the Hebrew מִצִּיב wrongly translated in the Authorized Version by "gier-eagle" (*Lev.* xi, 18).
- ²⁵² Hasselquist, *Voyage dans le Levant*, p. 195.
- ²⁵³ Herod. ii, 76.
- ²⁵⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 125, note 6.
- ²⁵⁵ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 466. Compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 125, note 6; and *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 220.
- ²⁵⁶ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 171; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, pp. 226-7.
- ²⁵⁷ Herod. ii, 72.
- ²⁵⁸ See Wilkinson's note on Herodotus, ii, 72.
- ²⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 368; vol. iii, p. 47.
- ²⁶⁰ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 469.
- ²⁶¹ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, pp. 469, 470.
- ²⁶² *Charadrius ædicnemus*, known to the Arabs as the *Kervan*, or *Karawan*. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 255.)
- ²⁶³ Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 468.
- ²⁶⁴ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 225.
- ²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 41; vol. v, p. 262, etc.
- ²⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 226.
- ²⁶⁷ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 80. Compare Wilkinson's note in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 97.
- ²⁶⁸ Herod. ii, 68; *Ælian, Nat. An.* viii, 25. The idea once started, that the bird was the crocodile's friend, led on to statements for which there was no foundation at all in fact, as that the bird hopped into the crocodile's mouth when he was asleep, and ate the leeches that were annoying him! (See Herod. l.s.c.)
- ²⁶⁹ Herodotus reckons the annual supply taken in one of the Nile canals—that joining the river to the Lake Meris—as equal in value to about 60,000*l.* of our money (ii, 149). Diodorus (i, 52) and Strabo (xvii, 2 § 4) also notice the excellence of the Nile fisheries.
- ²⁷⁰ Strabo (l.s.c.) enumerates no fewer than fourteen sorts which had peculiar characteristics. See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv, pp. 86-7, note 1, 1st edition.
- ²⁷¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 58; vol. v, p. 249; *Description de l'Égypte*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 270.
- ²⁷² Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 251.
- ²⁷³ Herod. ii, 72; Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* § 18.
- ²⁷⁴ Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 252.

- 275 Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 101, 2d edition.
- 276 So De Pauw, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 136.
- 277 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 60.
- 278 Russell, p. 471.
- 279 Hasselquist, *Voyage dans le Levant*, p. 223.
- 280 Russell, p. 470.
- 281 *Ibid.* p. 471.
- 282 Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 58.
- 283 *Ibid.* pp. 58-9; vol. v, p. 251.
- 284 Russell, p. 471.
- 285 Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 58-9.
- 286 See above, p. 34, and 37.
- 287 *Description de l'Égypte*, "H. N." vol. i, pp. 115-120. (Compare "Planches," vol. i, pl. i.)
- 288 *Ibid.* p. 126.
- 289 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xix, p. 31.
- 290 *Description*, "Hist. Nat." vol. i, pp. 125-6.
- 291 See Mr. Houghton's account of this animal in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii, pp. 126-7; and compare the *Description*, "H. N." vol. i, pp. 132-3, and "Planches," vol. i, pl. v, fig. 5.
- 292 Hasselquist, *Voyage dans le Levant*, p. 220.
- 293 *Description*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 134; Forskål, *Descript. Animal.* 13; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 124.
- 294 So Mr. Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, pp. 126-7).
- 295 *Description*, p. 130.
- 296 Mr. Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 127.
- 297 *Description*, pp. 155-6.
- 298 Herod. ii, 74.
- 299 *Description*, l.s.c.
- 300 Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 104, note 2, 2d edition.
- 301 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 246.
- 302 Houghton in *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 127.
- 303 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 241. The French savants made the length a little short of five feet (*Description*, "H. N." vol. i, p. 157); but Sir G. Wilkinson had one in his possession which measured exactly six feet.
- 304 Wilkinson, p. 242.
- 306 Bruce, *Travels*, vol. vii, pp. 302-3; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 106.
- 306 See the observations of M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire in the *Description*, *Hist. Nat.*" vol. i, p. 134.
- 307 Democrit. ap. Plin. *H. N.* xxviii, 8; Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* i, 10, §8; *Hist. Anim.* ii, 11, § 1, Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* iv, 33; Ovid, *Met.* xv, 411; Solin. *Polyhist.* § 43; Leo African. *Descr. Afric.* ix, p. 298, etc.
- 308 See the *Description*, "H. N." vol. i, pp. 127, 167.
- 309 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xix, p. 37. The author had a chameleon in his own house for some months, about the years 1846-7, and was convinced that the changes of color were emotional.
- 310 Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 1161; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 126.
- 311 See the representation in the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 65, 1st edition.
- 312 Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 155. (Compare p. 166).
- 313 Russell, *Ancient and Modern Egypt*, p. 464.
- 314 Four species are said to be peculiar to Egypt, viz. *Truxalis nasuta*, *Tr. variabilis*, *Tr. procera*, and *Tr. miniata*. (Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 129.)
- 315 Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 132.
- 316 See *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1748, pp. 331 and 414.
- 317 Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 149. The ibis also (ib. p. 221), and no doubt other Egyptian birds, help to destroy the locusts.
- 318 *Ibid.* p. 155.
- 319 *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 322. Compare *Topography of Thebes*, p. 319, and the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 9 and 170.
- 320 *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 322-3; *Topography*, p. 442.
- 321 There are porphyry quarries at Gebel e' Dokhan, nearly opposite Manfaloot (*Topography*, p. 363); and blocks of porphyry strew the surface of the Western Desert in some places (*ibid.* p. 451). There is also porphyry near Syéné.
- 322 Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. xlvi; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 457-8.
- 323 *Topography*, p. 459.
- 324 Herodotus gives an indication of the actual practice when he tells us that *boatmen* conveyed a monolithic chamber from Elephantiné to Saïs in the Delta (ii, 175). That it took three years to convey the block, he was no doubt told, but the fact may well be doubted.
- 325 The granite of Syéné is found in abundance at Thebes and Memphis. Its conveyance to Saïs rests on the testimony of Herodotus.
- 326 Their existence is testified by Agatharcides (*De Rub. Mar.* p. 23), Diodorus (iii, 12), and others; and the fact that they were worked under the Pharaohs is thought to be sufficiently indicated by the remains which still exist in the Eastern Desert about Wady Foakhir and Wady Allaga. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 228-9.)
- 327 Diod. Sic. i, 49.
- 328 Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 234.
- 329 *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 246. This mine "lies in the Eastern Desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, at a place called Hammâmi."
- 330 Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 47; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 292 and 350, note 19.
- 331 Iron may also have been imported from the countries on the Upper Nile, where it is abundant.
- 332 *Description de l'Égypte*, "État Moderne," vol. i, p. 282; Russell, *Ancient*

and *Modern Egypt*, p. 60; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 121, note⁴.

³³³ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 428 and 433.

³³⁴ Herod. ii, 86-88; Diod. Sic. i, 91.

³³⁵ *Description*, "État Moderne," vol. i, p. 282.

³³⁶ Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 364.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 319.

³³⁹ Russell, p. 450.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 61.

³⁴¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 45; *Topography*, p. 421; Russell, p. 451.

³⁴² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 231; *Topography*, p. 420.

³⁴³ Russell, pp. 450-5; Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 419.

CHAPTER III.

¹ See Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 329; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, première partie, pp. 5-6; Donne in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 38; Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 501.

² See Brugsch, p. 6; "La langue des Égyptiens . . . n'offre aucune analogie avec les langues des peuples d'Afrique."

³ Dr. Birch observes, with more refinement than most previous writers, that "on the earliest monuments the Egyptians appear as a red or dusky race, with features *neither entirely Caucasian nor Nigritic*; more resembling at the earliest age the European" (*i. e.* the Caucasian), "at the middle period of the empire the Nigritic races, or the offspring of a mixed population, and at the most flourishing period of the empire the sallow tint and refined type of the Semitic families of mankind." (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. ix.)

⁴ See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. v, pp. 745-787; *Philosophy of History*, vol. iii, pp. 185-9.

⁵ Especially Heeren, *African Nations*, vol. ii, pp. 101-109, E.T.; *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 57, E.T.

⁶ Diod. Sic. iii, 11.

⁷ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, première partie, p. 7.

⁸ Niebuhr remarks on the difficulty of distinguishing the bulk of the modern Egyptians from Arabs (*Vorträge über alle Geschichte*, vol. i, p. 57), but notes that the pure Copts are clearly distinct and different.

⁹ See Donne in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 38.

¹⁰ Herod. ii, 146. It has been argued that the term used (*μελάχροος*) means no more than "swarthy;" but its literal rendering is "black-skinned," and there

is nothing to show that Herodotus did not intend it literally.

¹¹ As Herodotus represents (ii, 104).

¹² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 146, note⁴, and p. 49, note⁶.

¹³ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 368-70.

¹⁴ Gen. x, 13, 14.

¹⁵ "Misraim" is a dual form, and means "the two Misrs," or "Egyptyts." The names of the "sons of Mizraim" are all plural in form, and it is generally allowed, represent tribes or races.

¹⁶ See Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 330.

¹⁷ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 12. The distinction between the north and south country is constant in the Egyptian inscriptions. The kings term themselves "lords of the thrones of the two countries," or "kings of the upper and lower countries." (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 11, 14, 16, etc.; vol. vi, pp. 19, 23, 87, etc.) They wear two crowns, one the crown of Upper, the other that of Lower Egypt.

¹⁸ Some idea of the extent and variety of Egyptian literature may be obtained by the ordinary student from the specimens contained in the unpretending but most valuable series published by Messrs. Bagster under the title of *Records of the Past*, vols. ii, iv, and vi. He may also with advantage cast his eye over the "List of Further Texts," arranged by M. Renouf, and given in vol. vi, pp. 162-5 of the same work.

¹⁹ The Greeks themselves always spoke with respect of the Egyptian progress in the sciences, and Greeks of high culture constantly visited Egypt with a view of improving themselves. It has been questioned whether the Egyptians had much to teach them (Cornwall Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, pp. 277-287); but the Greeks themselves were probably the best judges on such a point. Among those who sought improvement in Egypt are said to have been Hecateus, Thales, Solon, Pythagoras, Herodotus, (Enopides, Democritus, Plato, and Eudoxus.

²⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. xvi.

²¹ See especially Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. vi, pls. 24 A, 33, 40, 43 A, 55, etc.

²² As the wooden statue in the museum of Boulaq, described by Dr. Birch (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 43), and the animal forms on several bas-reliefs (see Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 9, 13, 22; vol. iv, p. 139, etc.).

²³ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 17.

²⁴ See Gen. xxxix, 16; Herod. ii, 60, 111, 121, § 5, 126; Diod. Sic. i, 59; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 140; vol. vi, pp. 153-6, etc.

²⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 113.

²⁶ See Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p.

15: "Rien de plus gai, de plus amusant, de plus naïf que ce bon peuple égyptien, qui aimait la vie, et qui se réjouissait profondément de son existence. . . . On s'adonnait aux plaisirs de toute espèce, on chantait, on buvait, on dansait, on aimait les excursions à la campagne, etc. Conforme à ce penchant pour le plaisir les gais propos, la plaisanterie un peu libre, les bons-mots, la raillerie et le goût moqueur étaient en vogue, et les badinages entraient jusque dans les tombeaux."²⁷

²⁷ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. xvi; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 41.

²⁸ Brugsch, p. 18.

²⁹ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 42; Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto*, vol. ii, p. 249, etc. Compare Exod. v, 14.

³⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 16, 102, etc.

³¹ Birch, p. 50: "I have passed 110 years of my life by the gift of the king."

³² Isaiah xxxvi, 6; 2 Kings xviii, 21. Compare Ezekiel xxix, 6, 7: "And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the Lord, because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel. When they took hold of thee by thy hand, thou didst break and rend all their shoulder; and when they leaned upon thee, thou brakest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand."³³

³³ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. xvi.

³⁴ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. xv.

³⁵ See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 271-277, where many of the games are represented.

³⁶ The "Book of Egyptian Wisdom," written by Prince Phthaothis in his 100th year (Birch, pp. 49, 50), shows an excellent perception of moral truth, and has not unaptly been compared with the Proverbs of Solomon.

³⁷ Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii, 16. The number given in this place is 7,500,000; but it is exclusive of the Alexandrians, who are elsewhere reckoned at 300,000. (Diod. Sic. xvii, 52.)

³⁸ Diod. Sic. i, 31.

³⁹ Mr. Donne. (See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 38.)

⁴⁰ Mr. Kenrick. (See his *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 181.)

⁴¹ Herod. ii, 163-6. Diodorus made the number 624,000 in the reign of Sesostris (i, 54); and the Egyptian priests told Germanicus that it had amounted to 700,000 (Tacit. *Ann.* ii, 60). ⁴² Herod. ii, 164.

⁴³ The slave class was large and very important. See Brugsch (*Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 16), who says: "Les esclaves, pour la plupart sortis du nombre des prisonniers de guerre, formaient un élément très-important de la population."

⁴⁴ As Lancashire, Surrey, Stafford-

shire, Warwickshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

⁴⁵ Herod. iv, 168-97.

⁴⁶ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 83; vol. iv, p. 42, etc.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 44.

⁴⁹ See Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. ix; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ Birch, l.s.c.

⁵¹ "Leur costume était d'une simplicité toute primitive." (Brugsch, l.s.c.) Compare the representation in the author's *Herod.* vol. ii, p. 170.

⁵² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 41, note 8.

⁵³ See Ezek. xxix, 10; Herod. ii, 29.

⁵⁴ Donne in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. 1, p. 57.

⁵⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, l.s.c.

⁵⁶ Herod. iii, 21, 30.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* iii, p. 20, 114. Compare Isaiah xlv, 14.

⁵⁸ Both Pierret and Brugsch suggest the root 𐤎 , "people," as that from which *Amu* is derived (Pierret in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 83; Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 8). Brugsch, however, adds that possibly the root may be the Coptic *ame*, which is in the plural *ame'ou*, and means "a herdsman."

⁵⁹ Brugsch, l.s.c.

⁶⁰ Birch, *Egypt*, p. 129.

⁶¹ Brugsch, p. 9.

⁶² According to Manetho, *nyk* meant "king," and *sôs*, "shepherd" (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i, § 14). It is generally believed that *Shasu* is the same word as *sôs*. (See Birch, *Egypt*, p. 75; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 351; Lennant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 360, etc.)

⁶³ They are sometimes spoken of with great contempt, as in the tablet of Aahmes (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 8), where the writer says, "I brought as tribute from the land of the Shasu very many prisoners—I do not reckon them."

⁶⁴ The Arabians have always been divided into a multitude of tribes, and have never been united, except under Mohammed and his immediate successors. The Hittites seem to have had a number of kings (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 363, note 2; 1 Kings x, 29; 2 Kings vii, 6). The Syrians formed several states, Aram-Beth-Rehob, Aram-Damascus, Aram-Maachal, Aram-Zobah, etc.

⁶⁵ The early Egyptian and early Babylonian chronology are both of them uncertain; but individually I incline to place the commencement of monarchy in Egypt about B. c. 2450, and its commencement in Babylonia about B. c. 2300. At any rate, it can scarcely be supposed that the monarchy mentioned in Gen. x, 10 was much later than that of which we hear in Gen. xii, 15-20.

CHAPTER IV.

¹ See Champollion, *Grammaire Egyptienne*, Paris, 1836; *Dictionnaire Egyptienne*, Paris, 1841; Lepsius, *Lettre à M. Rosellini sur le système Hiéroglyphique*, Rome, 1837; Birch, *Egyptian Grammar and Dictionary* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v; Brugsch, *Scriptura Egyptiorum demotica*, Berlin, 1848; *Grammaire démocratique*, Berlin, 1856; *Hiéroglyphisch-démotisches Wörterbuch*, Leipsic, 1868; De Rougé, *Grammaire Egypt*, Paris, 1867, etc.

² Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 501.

³ See Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War*, p. 88.

⁴ There appears to have been three varieties of Coptic, the Memphitic, the Thebaic (or Sahidic), and the Bashmure, but they do not greatly differ. (See *Dictionary of Languages*, p. 53; and compare the article on "Versions" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.)

⁵ Lepsius *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, p. 17; Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, pp. 498-506; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 590.

⁶ Lenormant, p. 505.

⁷ The "Great Harris Papyrus," which has been translated by Dr. Birch and Professor Eisenlohr in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 21-70, vol. viii, pp. 5-52, is in hieratic, and belongs to the time of Rameses III, a king of the 19th dynasty. Some of the hieratic papyri at Berlin are ascribed to the 12th or 13th (ibid. vol. vi, pp. 131-4). Dr. Birch speaks of works on medicine in the hieratic character as "attributed to the kings of the old Empire" (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 25).

⁸ Lenormant, l. s. c.

⁹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 258.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 259.


¹¹ The monarchical government of the beehive was early noticed, and led, no doubt, to this symbolism, which is believed to have been adopted in Babylonia no less than in Egypt. (See Oppert, *Voyage en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii, p. 68.)

¹² The Egyptians, it is said, thought there were no male cultures, so that each culture was a mother. (Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 504.)

¹³ The Egyptians regarded suicide as the worst of all crimes.


¹⁴ See the so-called "Egyptian altar" at Turin, where this determinative follows the names of fourteen deities, of all, in fact, but Horus and Nepthis. (*Transactions of Bibl. Archaeology Society*, vol. i, opp. p. 112.)

¹⁵ Wilkinson in the Author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 262; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 597.


¹⁶ Some determinatives were merely grammatical. The papyrus roll  was added as a tacit sign to substantives,

adjectives, and verbs. Two human legs walking marked activity of any kind.

¹⁷ Some signs stand for words of two syllables, as the flag on the flag-staff



for *neter*, "a god," the guitar  for *nefer*, "good," etc.

¹⁸ Dr. Birch argues (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 599) that every hieroglyphic character represents a syllable, each consonant having a vowel sound inherent in it: practically, however, he represents the alphabetic hieroglyphs by single let-


ters. Thus he reads  not as *hu-bu-su*, but as *hebs*.



¹⁹ Lepsius, *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, p. 44; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 262.




²⁰ Dr. Birch regards this as "a vase of fire" (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 599).

²¹ I follow here Dr. Eisenlohr's rendering of the hieroglyphs  and 



(*Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Society*, vol. i, pp. 358 and 367). Dr. Birch renders

 by TH (ibid. vol. iv, p. 172.) And

 is generally rendered by the same in the name of Kambath or Kenbuth, for "Cambyses." But the Persian letter to which the  corresponds in this word is

a J undoubtedly. M. Lenormant considers all three forms   and 

to represent the sound TS (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 501). So Birch with regard to

 and  in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v,

p. 603.

²² Birch regards this form as merely another representation of T.

²³ *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, pp. 48-56, and Planche A, part ii, at the end of the work.

²⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 260; Lepsius, *Lettre à M. Rosellini*, p. 49.



²⁵ Dr. Birch gives this sign the sound of *nen* (*Dictionary of Hieroglyphics* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 453). But Dr. Eisenlohr prefers to render it by *an* (*Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Society*, vol. i, p. 360, line 1).


²⁶ Dr. Birch (*Dictionary*, p. 420) notes one other word (*kamut*, "to place" or "carve") where the crocodile's tail is used.


²⁷ The fount of hieroglyphic type employed in the present work contains about eight hundred forms; but there are many other forms besides, which occur so rarely that they have hitherto not been expressed in type.

²⁸ There are occasional exceptions to this rule (Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 595); but they are so rare as scarcely to deserve mention.

²⁹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 238.











³⁰ A later form of the masculine article is  *pi*, and a still later one,  *pe*.

³¹ The *t* is sometimes expressed in the later times by .

³² The *n* was expressed in later times by ; and a full form *naiu* was sometimes used.

³³ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 263. Dr. Birch, however, allows a dual. (See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 619.)

³⁴ Compare the Hebrew suffixes:—

1st pers. sing. 	2d (masc.) 
(fem.) 	3d (masc.) 
(fem.) 	
1st pers. plur. 	2d (masc.) 
(fem.) 	3d (masc.) 
(fem.) 	

The 2d pers. sing. masc. and 1st pers. pl. are identical: the rest show a connection.

³⁵ Instead of *-nenu* we sometimes find *-nu*, as in the declension of *au*, to be, which is:—


<i>aua</i> , I am	} <i>anuu</i> , we are
<i>auk</i> , thou art (<i>m.</i>)	
<i>aut</i> , thou art (<i>f.</i>)	} <i>autenu</i> , ye are
<i>auf</i> , he is	
<i>aus</i> , she is	} <i>ausenu</i> , they are

³⁶ The *r* is no doubt the preposition *er*, "for" or "to" and *au-a-r-ar*="I am for making," or "I am to make," i.e. "I will make." (See Birch, p. 661.)

³⁷ See an article on Egyptian prepositions, by Mr. Le Page Renouf, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. ii, p. 301 *et seq.*


³⁸ Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 675.

³⁹ See above, page 63.

⁴⁰ In Roman times *ha* was replaced by *her* , which is also used in the sense of "with."

⁴¹ Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 710-713.

⁴² Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 714.

⁴³ This is the case with  *rupu*, "or," but not with any other conjunction. (Compare the Latin use of *vo* and *que*.)

CHAPTER V.

¹ Dr. Birch appears to me to speak somewhat too favorably when he says of the historical texts: "The narrative is clear; and the metaphors, sparingly introduced, are at once simple and intelligible: *the text marches to the cadence of an harmonious syntax.*" (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, preface, p. iii.) But I differ with great diffidence from so high an authority.

² Compare the remarks of M. Ludwig Stern in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 127.

³ What, for instance, can be made of the following, which is given as a translation of one of the "Magical Texts" (*Records*, vol. vi, p. 121)?—

"The burning brazier,
The great fire basin.
Prepared by him who affrights.
The overthrown: he that is headless,
The place of death, the place
Of life; the great rock
Throwing fire against Set and his companions."

⁴ Birch in the *Records*, vol. ii, preface, p. ii.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Cornewall Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 340.

⁷ See Herod. ii, 3, 77; Plat. *Tim.* 25; Diod. Sic. i, 44; Manetho ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i, 12, 26; Apollodor. ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 171, etc.

⁸ Sir G. C. Lewis (*Astronomy*, pp. 262-275) rejects all these testimonies unhesitatingly, on the ground that "the later Greeks (is Herodotus a late Greek?) were wanting in that national spirit which leads moderns to contend for the claims of their own countrymen to inventions and discoveries," and to priority in the various walks of literature; but he does not attempt to explain how the Greeks came to be destitute of a feeling which is so natural and (unless they are an exception) so absolutely universal. He seems really to assume that his favorite Greeks *must* have been the originators of all science, learning, and literature, and to be determined, on account of this foregone conclusion, to reject all statements—even those made by themselves—to the contrary.

⁹ Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, preface, p. ix.

¹⁰ *Records of the Past*, vols. ii, iv, vi, and viii.

¹¹ See the *Recherches sur les Monuments des six premières Dynasties of the*

late Vicomte Em. de Rougé; the *Histoire d'Égypte* and *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens* of Dr. Brugsch; the *Denkmäler* of Lepsius; the *Mélanges Égyptologiques* and other works of M. Chabas; the *Monuments divers* of M. Mariette; and numerous articles in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, the *Revue Archéologique*, and the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* during recent years.

¹¹ Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, preface, p. ix.

¹² See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, pp. 506-20; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, Introduction, p. xiii; and *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 162-5.

¹³ Lenormant, p. 506: "Le premier rang appartient aux livres religieux."

¹⁴ Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 125-326; Lenormant, l.s.c.

¹⁵ Birch's *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, l.s.c.; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 164, etc.

¹⁶ Bunsen, p. 133.

¹⁷ *Ritual*, ch. lxiv, *ad finem* (Bunsen, p. 209).

¹⁸ Lenormant, l.s.c.

¹⁹ Champollion was the first to make this division (Bunsen, p. 137). It is the one preferred by M. Lenormant (*Manuel*, vol. i, pp. 507-515).

²⁰ Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 138-56.

²¹ Lenormant, pp. 507-9.

²² Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 139, 172, etc.

²³ What, for instance, can be more obscure than such passages as these, which are fair specimens of the document?—

"I am Yesterday. I know the morning. Let him explain it. Yesterday is Osiris, the Morning the Sun; the day on which are strangled the deriders of the universal Lord, when his son Horus has been invested; or the day is the victory of his arms, when the chest of Osiris has been confronted by his father the Sun." (ch. xvii, p. 172.)

"Tum has built thy house; the two Lion-gods have founded thy abode. Ptah going round thee, divine Horus purifies thee, the god Set does so in turn. The Osiris has come from the earth. He has taken his legs; he is Tum. He is from his city. Behind thee is a white lion to claw the head. The Osiris has turned back (or, Osiris has turned thee back) to guard thee. It is invisible to the guardians, said by the Osiris. It is Isis whom thou hast seen. He has stroked his locks for him. He has directed his face to the mouth of his road, or its horn. He is conceived by Isis, engendered by Nephthys." (Ibid. p. 179.)

²⁴ See the rubrics at the end of chapters xviii, xix, and xx; and compare Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 509.

²⁵ *Ritual*, ch. cxvi, *ad fin.* (Bunsen, p. 248.)

²⁶ Ibid. ch. cxxv, (Bunsen, p. 252).

²⁷ I have followed chiefly the translation of Lenormant, but have adopted some idiomatic phrases from Dr. Birch (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 253-6).

²⁸ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 514; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 256.

²⁹ Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 260-309.

³⁰ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 516. It is remarkable that the "Ritual of the Dead" like the *Ertang* of Manes (*Seventh Monarchy*, p. 97), is accompanied by pictures, which form an essential portion of it, and are reproduced in the various copies.

³¹ *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 119-26.

³² Ibid. vol. iv, pp. 121-28.

³³ Ibid. vol. vi, pp. 105-12.

³⁴ Ibid. vol. iv, pp. 123-4.

³⁵ Here occurs the name of the deceased person, with whom the copy of the book is buried. It is believed that the book was deposited exclusively with the mummies of priests or priestesses of Ammon-Ra. A dead person is always termed by the Egyptians an "Osiris."

³⁶ See above, p. 27, 28.

³⁷ "On," or "An," is the city called by the Greeks, "Heliopolis," or "the City of the Sun." (See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 206.)

³⁸ Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 230; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 517; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 120.

³⁹ A complete translation of this composition will be found in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 67-78). A version of certain parts of the poem was published by Mr. Goodwin in 1858 (*Cambridge Essays*, pp. 240-2). The translation in the text follows these authorities.

⁴⁰ Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 30.

⁴¹ The poem is entitled "The Speech of Ammon-Ra, Lord of the Seats of the Upper and Lower World."

⁴² See Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, ii, 40; Stern in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* for 1873, p. 58; and *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 129-30.

⁴³ *Records*, vol. vi, p. 127.

⁴⁴ The Egyptians distinguished the Rising from the Setting Sun, calling the former Ra, and the latter Tum.

⁴⁵ The "Tour" was partially translated by Mr. Goodwin in 1858 (*Cambridge Essays*, pp. 266-9). In 1866 a full translation in French was published by M. Chabas under the title of *Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie et Phénicie*. M. Drach, of the British Museum, contributed an English translation to the *Records of the Past* in 1873 (vol. i, pp. 109-16).

⁴⁶ Khatuma is perhaps Edom (אֲרָרָם); *Hudum* in Assyrian.

⁴⁷ Tsur seems to be the same word as the Hebrew *tsur* (צֶרֶת), which the Greek rendered by *Typos* (*Tyre*). The word means "rock," and was probably applied to any fort situated on a rocky eminence.

⁴⁸ Qodesh may be one of the many Sy-

rian towns called Kadesh = "holy," whence the modern Arabic name for Jerusalem, Al-Kods.

⁴⁹ On the Shasu, see above, p. 116.

⁵⁰ Perhaps Mount Lebanon, or else Hermon.

⁵¹ The "Tale of the Two Brothers," was first noticed by M. de Rougé in the *Revue Archéologique* vol. ix, p. 385 et seq.). A considerable portion of it was translated by Mr. Goodwin in 1858 (*Cambridge Essays*, pp. 223-38). In 1860 Dr. Birch published the text. M. Le Page Renouf translated a part in 1863 (*Atlantis*, vol. iv). Complete translations have since been made by Dr. Brugsch in 1864 (German); by M. Maspero in 1867 (French), and by M. Renouf in 1873 (English). This last translation will be found in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 139-52. The "Possessed Princess" was first translated by Dr. Birch in 1853 (*Transactions of Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iv, p. 217 et seq.). This translation was reviewed and another given by Dr. Rougé in the *Revue Asiatique*, 1856-8, who accompanied his translation with a representation of the text. Dr. Brugsch published a German translation in his *Geschichte Aegyptens*, in 1859. Finally, Dr. Birch has republished his translation, with a few corrections, in the *Records of the Past* (vol. iv, pp. 55-60). The story of the "Doomed Prince" has, so far as I know, been translated only by Mr. Goodwin, whose version first appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (vol. iii, pp. 349-56), whence it has been transferred, almost without alteration, to the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 155-60.

⁵² *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 142 (line 230 of the story).

⁵³ It is not quite clear whether Saneha's prayer is addressed to the King of Egypt or to Heaven: but on the whole I incline to think that the king is intended, and that Saneha, though he does not expressly say so, adopted the very prosaic expedient of sending to his Majesty Osirtasen I. a petition for pardon and restoration. The prayer of the petition seems to be contained in lines 226-232:—

Grant me to return home—

Permit me to show myself.

Have I not suffered anxiety?

What more is there to boast?

Let me be buried in the land of my birth:

Let me have a fortunate lot hereafter;

Grant me pardon.

⁵⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 144 (line 311 of the tale).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 150 (line 511 of the tale).

⁵⁶ The MS. is imperfect at the beginning, and opens in the middle of a sentence. We gather from a later passage that Saneha was quitting Egypt because he had fallen into disgrace at court.

⁵⁷ The Sakti were enemies of Egypt towards the east, probably a tribe of Arabs.

⁵⁸ According to Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i, pp. 150, 260), Kamur was a town of Lower Egypt, situated in the Heliopolite canton.

⁵⁹ See the account of them given by Mr. Goodwin in the *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, pp. 246-265.

⁶⁰ See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 519; and Brugsch, *Études sur un Papyrus Médical de Berlin*, Leipzig, 1853.

⁶¹ Lenormant, l.s.c.

⁶² See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 115-26; and note especially the receipt (p. 125) with the statement appended of its effect on those who use it: "Thou art protected against the accidents of life; thou art protected against a violent death; thou art protected against fire; thou escapest in heaven, and thou art not ruined upon earth."

CHAPTER VI.

¹ See above, ch. ii, pp.

² *Ibid.* pp. 49-67.

³ Gen. xii, 10; xli, 57; xlii, 1-3. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 43; and Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 63.

⁴ Herod. iii, 91.

⁵ The Alexandrian corn-fleet enjoyed the protection of a convoy of war-galleys; it was met at Puteoli by a deputation of senators, and the appearance of its topsails above the horizon was the signal for the proclamation of a general holiday (see Merivale, *Roman Empire*, vol. iv, p. 392).

⁶ Tacitus says: "Augustus, inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permisso ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Ægyptum; ne fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset" (*Ann.* ii, 59). Again, it is noted that the danger which would result to Rome from the revolt of Egypt caused the rule to be made that its governor should be, not a senator, but a knight, Pliny says: "Percrebuerat antiquitus Urbem nostram, nisi opibus Ægypti, ali sustentarique non posse" (*Paneg.* 331).

⁷ See Diod. Sic. i, 74.

⁸ Diod. Sic. i, 73. Though the kings had once been owners of all the land except that of the priests (Gen. xlvii, 20-26), they must subsequently have made grants to individuals by which they parted with their property. Diodorus and Herodotus agree as to the triple ownership of the land,—by the king, by the priests, and by members of the military class (Diod. S. l.s.c.; Herod. ii, 168); and the monuments show a large class of rich private proprietors who are not priests.

⁹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xviii.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 44. "In private the Egyptian lord led a charmed life,—his estate was cultivated by slaves."

¹¹ Diod. Sic. i, 74.

¹² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 35.

¹³ The royal lands were, in the time of Joseph, let for one-fifth of the produce, —a moderate rate, and one not uncommon in the East. (See the author's *Seventh Monarchy*, pp. 441-2.) But it is uncertain whether this continued. Diodoros seems to speak of a money rent.

¹⁴ There is no positive evidence of this; but it is the impression of those most familiar with the monuments. (See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 34.)

¹⁵ On the oppressiveness of this system, which still prevails in parts of Turkey, see the author's *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 441, note 2.

¹⁶ Wilkinson, vol. iv, p. 106, and pl. 18, fig. 1. Some land at the edge of the desert must have reappeared about the same time as the river banks.

¹⁷ Herod. ii, 14.

¹⁸ Herodotus says, "by pigs" (l.s.c.); and though this has been objected to, it has been regarded as not improbable by some good modern authorities (see Larcher's note on Herod. ii, 14 in his *Histoire d'Herodote*; and Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 46). Goats are represented upon the monuments as treading in the grain. According to Wilkinson, sheep, oxen, and even asses were occasionally employed for the purpose (ib. p. 39).

¹⁹ Rosellini believed that metal ploughshares were represented on the monuments (*Mon. Civ.* vol. i, p. 299). Wilkinson questions this.

²⁰ St. Hilaire says that even at the present day the plough used in Egypt is "seldom furnished with an iron share" (*Egypt and the Suez Canal*, p. 100).

²¹ For representations of these see Fellows's *Asia Minor*, p. 71; *Lycia*, p. 174; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, opp. p. 137; Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 29; and compare the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 567.

²² An exception occurs in a tomb near the Pyramids, where the stilt is flat, and the handles which rise from it curve in a direction opposite to the usual one. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 18; and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, part ii, pls. 51 and 56.)

²³ Occasionally a cow, when ploughing, was accompanied by her calf, which disported itself in the vicinity of the mother, but was muzzled to prevent its sucking. (See Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxxii, 2.)

²⁴ A full description of the arrangement employed will be found in Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 42-3).

²⁵ Three are represented as thus employed in a tomb at Thebes (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 46).

²⁶ The Roman *scarificatio* (Plin. *H. N.* xviii, 17) was a light ploughing; but the term seems equally applicable to the still lighter "scratching" of the soil by the hoe.

²⁷ Several hoes have been found in tombs. Sir G. Wilkinson says that in no instance had he seen a hoe with a metal blade (*A. E.* vol. iv, p. 45).

²⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 45; Kenrick, vol. i, p. 185.

²⁹ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 567.

³⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 136; vol. iv, p. 48.

³¹ Herod. ii, 36. Though Herodotus was in error in supposing that all the Egyptians "made their bread of the olyra," yet no doubt his error had a foundation in fact. The *doora* bread was eaten by the great mass of the Egyptians. (See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 58.)

³² Kenrick, vol. i, p. 186.

³³ The Egyptians thought that the "Nile God" protected the newly-sown fields from the birds. See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 108, note 1.

³⁴ As in Italy. See *Virg. Georg.* i, 155-58.

³⁵ Gen. xli, 49. According to Pliny (*H. N.* xviii, 7), the return on the corn sown was a hundredfold. The grain, however, was light (ib.).

³⁶ It is, at any rate, always represented as bearded on the monuments.

³⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 85.

³⁸ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 64.

³⁹ The statement of Herodotus, that pigs not only trod in the grain on moist soils, but also trod it out upon the threshing-floors (ii, 14), is discredited by the fact that the treading-out of the corn is always represented on the monuments as accomplished either by oxen or by asses (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 92).

⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 86, 89, and 90.

⁴¹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 64. Compare Herod. ii, 77; Diod. Sic. i, 52; Strab. xvii, 1, § 37; Athen. *Deipn.* i, 25. Sir Gardner Wilkinson found malt at Thebes. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 127, note 1.)

⁴² In a harvest song, discovered by Champollion at Eilethyias, the oxen are represented as in the main threshing for themselves. The song runs as follows:—

Thresh for yourselves, thresh for yourselves,
O oxen, thresh for yourselves, for yourselves;
Measures for yourselves, measures for your masters!
(See Champollion's *Letters sur l'Egypte*, pp. 146 and 196.)

⁴³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 98.

- ⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 59.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 98 and 99.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 99.
- ⁴⁷ Herodotus thought that the Egyptians never ate beans and never sowed them (ii, 37); but in this he was mistaken, and is to be corrected from Theophrastus (*H. P.* vol. ii, p. 333). Diodorus (i, 89), and Pliny (*H. N.* xviii, 12). Probably only the priests were forbidden to eat them. (Wilkinson in the author's *Herod.* v. ii, p. 66.)
- ⁴⁸ Plin. *H. N.* xviii, 12. The lentils grown near Pelusium were especially celebrated (Virgil, *Georgica*, i, 223; Martial, *Epigrammata*, xiii, 9, 1).
- ⁴⁹ The wheat straw which was cleared from the fields after the reaping of the ears was also used for the same purpose (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 95).
- ⁵⁰ Ibid. vol. ii, p. 137.
- ⁵¹ Deut. xi, 10.
- ⁵² Supra, p. 161.
- ⁵³ As in Assyria (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 109, and pl. opp. p. 110); and in modern Egypt (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, vignette on p. 1). Representations of the ancient Egyptian hand-sieve will be found in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 21; in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 4; in Rosellini's *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xi, No. 2; and elsewhere.
- ⁵⁴ Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 141.
- ⁵⁵ See the *Mémoires sur le Lac Mœris* of M. Jomard in the *Description de l'Égypte*, and of M. Linant de Bellefonds, published at Alexandria in 1843. Compare Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 209-232.
- ⁵⁶ Some remains of this dam or dyke, in the most southern part of the basin, are still above 30 feet broad and nearly 40 feet high.
- ⁵⁷ Herod. ii, 101 and 149; iii, 91.
- ⁵⁸ It is thought by some that the reservoir, besides rendering possible the cultivation of the Fayoum, was also of service in relieving the Nile valley of superfluous water when the inundation was excessive, and furnishing a supply when it was in defect (Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 68); but the size of the reservoir was scarcely sufficient to make it of much service in these respects.
- ⁵⁹ Strab. xvii, 1, § 35.
- ⁶⁰ Plin. *H. N.* xv, 3.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Strab. l.s.c.
- ⁶³ See above.
- ⁶⁴ Herodotus says the vine was not cultivated in Egypt (ii, 77); and some moderns have caught at this assertion and made much of it as discrediting the Pentateuch (Gen. xl, 9); but there is abundant evidence that the "Father of History" was in this instance mistaken, the vine being really cultivated very widely. (See Hengstenberg, *Egypt and Moses*, p. 16; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 143-171).
- ⁶⁵ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 121.
- ⁶⁶ See Strabo, l.s.c. The roots are still found there (Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 161).
- ⁶⁷ Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* i, p. 25, E.
- ⁶⁸ Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* i, p. 25, E. Compare Plin. *H. N.* xiv, 3; Virg. *Georg.* ii, 91; Horat. *Od.* i, 31, 14; Strab., l.s.c.; etc.
- ⁶⁹ Hellenicus, *Fr.* 155.
- ⁷⁰ Plin. *H. N.* xiv, 7.
- ⁷¹ See a representation in Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 151.
- ⁷² Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 148.
- ⁷³ Ibid. p. 149.
- ⁷⁴ See Genesis xl, 11: "I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand."
- ⁷⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 158.
- ⁷⁶ Athenæus, i, p. 25, E.
- ⁷⁷ Plin. *H. N.* xiv, 3; Athenæus, l.s.c.; Strab. xviii, 1, § 14.
- ⁷⁸ Plin. *H. N.* xiv, 7.
- ⁷⁹ Athen. l.s.c.
- ⁸⁰ Herod. ii, 94; Thucyd. i, 109-10.
- ⁸¹ Diod. Sic. i, 43.
- ⁸² See above, p. 81.
- ⁸³ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 45.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 95.
- ⁸⁶ See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 161; and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, part ii, pls. 60, 132, etc.
- ⁸⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 101.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 95, 122, etc.
- ⁸⁹ See the representation in Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 134.
- ⁹⁰ Wilkinson, vol. iv, p. 139. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. i, p. 270 and pl. xxxi.
- ⁹¹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. xxx; Wilkinson, vol. iv, p. 130; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 9.
- ⁹² "Veal and beef, not pork and mutton, were the principal meats that appeared at an Egyptian's table." (Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 45.)
- ⁹³ Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 280; vol. iii, p. 146, etc. Compare Herod. ii, 81.
- ⁹⁴ Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 141-2.
- ⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. i, 36. Sir G. Wilkinson observes that this is still the case in Egypt, but only when the sheep are very carefully fed and attended to. (*A. E.* vol. ii, p. 17, note).
- ⁹⁶ Herod. ii, 42.
- ⁹⁷ That the Egyptians drank milk is stated by Birch (l.s.c.) but whether the produce of cows or goats, or both, he does not mention. Goats' milk was drunk by the Israelites (Prov. xxvii, 27).
- ⁹⁸ Exod. xxv, 4; xxvi, 7; xxxvi, 14.
- ⁹⁹ Herod. ii, 47, 164.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid. ii, 47, 48.
- ¹⁰¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 33.
- ¹⁰² See above, p. 81.
- ¹⁰³ This is the view to which Wilkinson, on the whole inclines. Compare *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 39 and 49, with the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 20 note 2.)
- ¹⁰⁴ See Wilkinson's representation,

taken from a tomb at Thebes (*A. E.* vol. iii, p. 34); and compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* vol. i, p. 269, and pl. xxx, 3.

¹⁰⁶ So Birch: "The domestic fowl was unknown to him" (*i. e.* the Egyptian lord); "it had not been brought by the hands of tributaries to the valley of the Nile, where it never appears in Pharaonic times" (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 45). Wilkinson agrees as to the fact of the non-appearance, but does not draw the conclusion that fowls were therefore unknown. On the contrary, he supposes them to have always "abounded in Egypt" (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 214; compare vol. ii, p. 18, and vol. iv, p. 133). Fowls were certainly common in Egypt in Roman times. It seems to be, on the whole, most probable that they were introduced by the Persians.

¹⁰⁶ Birch, *l. s. c.*; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 18, 21, and 380. Compare Herod. ii, 37.

¹⁰⁷ Herod. ii, 45; Wilkinson, vol. v, p. 227; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 57-8, etc.

¹⁰⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 132.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Herod. ii, 77.

¹¹¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 216; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 46; Horapollo, *Hierogl.* i, 57.

¹¹² Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 7; vol. iv, p. 140.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* Compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xxx, 2; and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. xvii, b.

¹¹⁴ In our Authorized Version Joseph is said to have sent "wagons" into Palestine to fetch Jacob and his brothers' families (*Gen.* xlv, 19, 27; xlvii, 5). And some modern commentators justify the rendering. (See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 216.) But as "wagon" in modern English mean as four-wheeled vehicle, the word is inappropriate in *Genesis* xlv, and xlvii, where two-wheeled vehicles, or carts, are certainly intended. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 178-80).

¹¹⁵ The carts represented on the monuments belong for the most part to foreigners (Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 369). But I believe there are instances of their employment in the carriage of native agricultural produce.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 83.

¹¹⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 87.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. 195. Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. civ, b.

¹¹⁹ See Herod. ii, 108.

¹²⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 82; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 177, note 2; Pickering, *Races of Man*, p. 373.

¹²¹ Birch, *l. s. c.*; Herod. ii, 162; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, pp. 289 and 406. It is curious how unfrequently the Egyptians are represented on horseback.

¹²² Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls.

cxvi, cxx, cxvii, etc.; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 336, 338, 354, etc.

¹²³ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 82.

¹²⁴ Diodorus makes the cavalry of Sesostris amount to 24,000, when the chariots are 27,000 (*i. 54*). That of Shishak (Sesonchis) was 60,000, when the chariots were no more than 1,200 (2 *Chron.* xii, 3). There can be no doubt that the Egyptians maintained a large cavalry force from the time of the eighteenth dynasty, though representations of horsemen on the monuments are scanty in the extreme. (See *Ex.* xiv, 9; 2 *Kings* xviii, 24; *Jerem.* xli, 9; Herod. ii, 162; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 288-292, etc.)

¹²⁵ See 1 *Kings* x, 29; 2 *Chron.* i, 17.

¹²⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 75; Diod. Sic. i, 45, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER VII.

¹ By "architecture" I understand not the mere "technic art" of constructing buildings for various uses, but the "aesthetic" one of constructing buildings which shall not be merely useful, but shall likewise affect the mind with the sense of beauty, of grandeur, or of both together. (See Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 10-16, 2d edition.)

² This was the case in the ancient Chaldaea or Babylonia. (See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 71, 2d edition.)

³ Herod. ii, 99, *ad fin.*

⁴ Diod. Sic. i, 51.

⁵ See Howard Vyse's *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. iii, p. 2, and map.

⁶ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 100.

⁷ Birch ascribes the great pyramid of Saccarah to Ouennephes, a Manethonian king of the first dynasty (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 25). Lenormant regards its builder as *Kekeou* (Cechous) of the second Manethonian dynasty (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 332). The pyramids of Ghizeh are universally ascribed to kings of the fourth dynasty.

⁸ Fergusson, vol. i, p. 102.

⁹ External ornamentation is confined to the doorways (Fig. 36) or entrances, which are sometimes carved curiously. The lintels are rounded. Door-posts are represented in the stone on either side of the doorway: an imitation of lattice-work appears above: at the side are alternate pilasters and depressions adorned with a sort of panelling. The whole appears to be an imitation of the façade of a house, in which the main material used was wood.

This would seem to indicate that there was a wooden architecture in Egypt anterior to the stone one. Of this wooden architecture there are, however, no remains.

¹⁰ Vyse (*Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. iii,

p. 78), Birch (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 28), and others call it a "pyramid." Fergusson says (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 100), that it is not so much a pyramid as a "tower."

¹¹ These are Perring's measurements, recorded by Vyse in the Appendix to his work, vol. iii, p. 79.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ This edifice has been briefly described by Dr. Birch (*Egypt*, p. 23), more elaborately by Baron Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 379-84), and Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 100, 101.) But the accounts of these writers are all taken from the work of Col. Howard Vyse, which is the authority followed in the text. (See *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. iii, pp. 41-50.)

¹⁴ The gradual diminution of the several stages is as follows:—

	FT.	IN.
Basement stage . . .	37	8
Second stage . . .	35	11
Third stage . . .	34	3
Fourth stage . . .	32	7
Fifth stage . . .	30	10
Sixth stage . . .	29	2

Dr. Birch regards the pyramid as having had originally seven stages; but there is no trace of a seventh stage, and neither Vyse nor Fergusson favors his theory.

¹⁵ Vyse, vol. iii, p. 42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 43. There is a deviation from the exact central point, whether intentional or not is uncertain, to the extent of 36 feet eastward.

¹⁷ This had disappeared at the time of Col. Vyse's excavations; but it was seen at an earlier date by Minutoli.

¹⁸ The entire doorway has been removed to Europe, and is now in the Berlin Museum.

¹⁹ Vyse, vol. iii, p. 41; Fergusson, vol. i, p. 100.

²⁰ A second instance of an oblong pyramid exists in the *Mustabel-el-Faraoun* or "Throne of Pharaoh," described by Vyse, vol. iii, p. 53.

²¹ Vyse thinks that the N. and S. sides were originally no more than 331 feet, the E. and W. sides being 394 feet. Subsequently to the original construction a wall 10 feet in thickness was (he says) built on at the northern and southern ends (*Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. iii, p. 42, note).

²² Wilkinson (*Topography of Thebes*, p. 329) says this was the method employed in smoothing the second pyramid. He mentions both methods in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 201, note 3.

²³ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 52.

²⁴ See Herod. ii, 124-34; Diod. Sic. i, 63, 64; Strabo, xvii, i. § 33. The last-named writer notices that the three are only the chief among many—πολλὰι μὲν εἰσι πυραμίδες, τρεῖς δὲ ἀξιόλογοι.

²⁵ Vyse makes the base 354 feet 6 inches (*Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii, p. 120). Fergusson calls it 374 feet, Herod-

otus (ii, 134), curiously enough, underestimates the size of this pyramid, making the length of each side no more than 280 feet.

²⁶ Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii, p. 120.

²⁷ Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Univ. History*, vol. ii, p. 166.

²⁸ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 120.

²⁹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 208, note 1.

³⁰ On the lid of the sarcophagus which occupied the sepulchral chamber of this pyramid was the cartouche—



which is read as Menka-re or Men-ker-re, undoubtedly the original of the Mecheres (Manetho), Mecherinus (Diod. Sic.), or Mycerinns (Herod.), of the Greek writers.

³¹ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 122.

³² Vyse, vol. ii, p. 82, and compare pl. 3, figs. 7 and 9 (opp. p. 81).

³³ The sarcophagus was, unfortunately, lost on its way to England, the vessel which conveyed it having foundered off the coast of Spain (*ibid.* p. 84, note 3).

³⁴ See above, note 9, chapter vii.

³⁵ See Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 103.

³⁶ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 123.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 84, note 3.

³⁸ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 167.

³⁹ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 79.

⁴⁰ Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 171; Wilkinson in the author's *Herod.*, vol. ii, p. 209.

⁴¹ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 117; Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 154; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 95.

⁴² Eleven acres, one rood, and thirty-eight poles, according to Vyse and Perring (Vyse, vol. ii, p. 119); 499, 849 square feet, according to Fergusson (l.s.c.).

⁴³ Vyse, l.s.c.

⁴⁴ Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 152.

⁴⁵ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 118.

⁴⁶ Belzoni, *Researches*, p. 271.

⁴⁷ Vyse, l.s.c.

⁴⁸ Vyse, vol. ii, pp. 118-9.

⁴⁹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 153.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 152.

⁵¹ Herod. ii, 127; Vyse, vol. ii, p. 115; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 204, note 2.

⁵² Vyse, l.s.c.; Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 154. Dr. Birch is less accurate than usual when he says that this pyramid was "of admirable execution" (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 38).

⁵³ Bunsen (vol. ii, plan opp. p. 147) and Wilkinson (plan in vol. ii, of the author's *Herodotus*, p. 199) represent the Great Pyramid as lying *exactly* northeast of the second. But the *expert*, Perring, lays down very positively the contrary (Vyse, vol. ii, plan of the pyramids opp. p. 148).

⁵⁴ The base of the Great Pyramid was thirty-three feet below that of the Second Pyramid (Vyse, vol. ii, p. 106). In verti-

cal height it exceeded the Second Pyramid by twenty-six feet six inches. Its elevation above the plain was consequently less than that of the Second Pyramid by six feet six inches. This fact has not been commonly noted.

⁶⁶ At 480 (or rather 480 $\frac{1}{2}$) by Vyse and Perring (vol. ii, p. 109); at 484 by Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 95); and at 485 by Mr. Piazzzi Smyth (*Astronom. Observ.*, p. 5). The height depends on the exact angle of the casing stones, which is given as 51° 50' by Vyse and Perring (vol. i, p. 261), but by Mr. Fergusson as 51° 51' (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 95).

⁶⁸ So Vyse and Perring (l.s.c.). Mr. Fergusson says 760.

⁶⁷ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 32. Compare Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 323, note, where the comparison with Lincoln's Inn Fields was first made.

⁶⁸ These are Perring's estimates (Vyse, vol. ii, p. 113). They have been generally accepted. (See Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 155; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 200; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 95.)

⁶⁹ Herod. ii, 124, *ad fin.*, with Wilkinson's comment.

⁶⁰ Lenormant says (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 235): "La pyramide de Khoufou est demeurée la plus prodigieuse des œuvres humaines, au moins par sa masse."

⁶¹ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 110.

⁶² Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 99.

⁶³ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 160. Compare Herod. ii, 124.

⁶⁴ The angle of the descending passage is 26° 41', that of the ascending one 26° 18' (Vyse, vol. ii, p. 110).

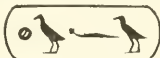
⁶⁵ At first three feet ten inches high only; after "the step" five feet eight inches (ibid. p. 112).

⁶⁶ Vyse *passim*; Bunsen, vol. ii, pp. 156, 158; Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 324. There is no ground for this appellation.

⁶⁷ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 113.

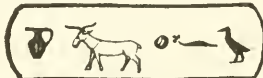
⁶⁸ The sarcophagus had no inscription; but the walls of the chambers had roughly scrawled upon them in red ochre the names of

Khufu



and

Khnum-Khufu



See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. l. Dr. Birch seems to regard these two cartouches as representing the same king (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, pp. 32-8).

⁶⁹ Vyse, vol. ii, p. 111.

⁷⁰ Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 164.

⁷¹ Ibid. Compare Vyse, vol. ii, plan opp. p. 158.

⁷² Vyse, vol. ii, p. 111.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 110. This fact would seem to show either a change of design on the part of the original builder, or the passing of the building into new hands, and the substitution for the original design of an entirely new plan.

⁷⁴ See the work of Mr. Piazzzi Smyth; entitled *Antiquity of Intellectual Man*, Edinburgh, 1865, p. 240, etc.

⁷⁵ These ideas, which originated with Signor Cavaglia, were encouraged by Col. Howard Vyse (*Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii, pp. 105, 106) and, to some extent, by Wilkinson (*Topography of Thebes*, p. 328). Their entire falsity is sufficiently indicated by the facts, that no two pyramids have their sides inclined, or their entrance passages sloped, at the same angle.

⁷⁶ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 35.

⁷⁷ The symmetrical idea before the minds of the constructors of the pyramids seems to have been that each face of a pyramid should form an equilateral triangle. Their architectural skill was not sufficient to enable them to effect this quite exactly, but they did not miss their aim by very much. The proportions of the bases to the sloping edges in the three pyramids are as follows:—

	SLOPING		
	BASE	EDGE	DEFICIENCY
Great Pyramid	764	723	1-19th.
Second Pyramid	707	672	1-20th.
Third Pyramid	354	330	1-15th.

(See Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 96.)

⁷⁸ See Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, pp. 32-41; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 537-8; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 98; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, pp. 51-59, etc.

⁷⁹ Lenormant, p. 537; Fergus., p. 98.

⁸⁰ Vyse, vol. i, p. 288; vol. ii, pp. 78, 82, etc.; Belzoni, *Researches*, pp. 269, 274, etc.

⁸¹ Fergusson, vol. i, p. 100.

⁸² Ibid. p. 98.

⁸³ According to Diodorus (i, 64, 28) the entrance to the Third Pyramid was not concealed, but, on the contrary, was pointed out for observation, by having the name of Mencheres inscribed over it. If this were so, we must attribute it to the carelessness or hostility of the kings of the fifth dynasty, who may have come into power before the works connected with the closing of the tomb of Mencheres were completed.

⁸⁴ This was first proved by Sir Henry James, of the Royal Engineers, whose models and lucid explanations convinced me of the fact, when I was at

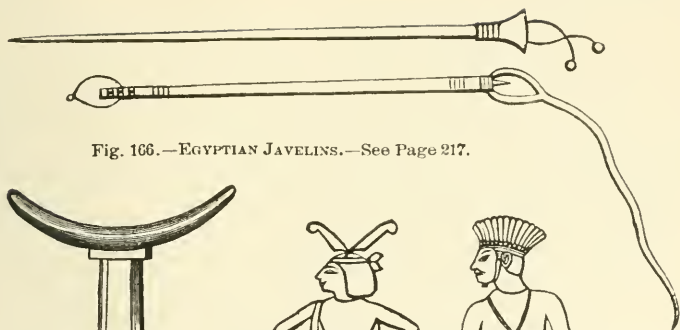


Fig. 166.—EGYPTIAN JAVELINS.—See Page 217.



Fig. 167.—HEAD-REST.—See Page 229.



Fig. 168.—EGYPTIAN MILITARY DRUM.— See Page 224.



Fig. 169.—EGYPTIAN CAPTIVE.— See Page 224.

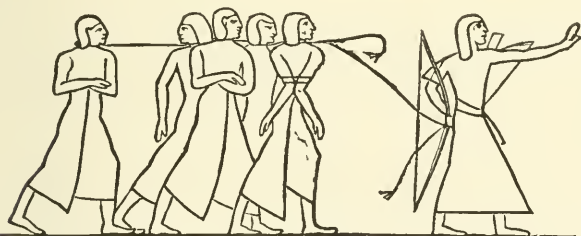


Fig. 170.—PRISONERS OF WAR, ESCORTED BY THEIR CAPTOR.—See Page 222.



Fig. 171.—EGYPTIAN UNDERGOING THE BASTINADO.—See Page 225.



Fig. 172.—EGYPTIAN SAW.—See Page 227

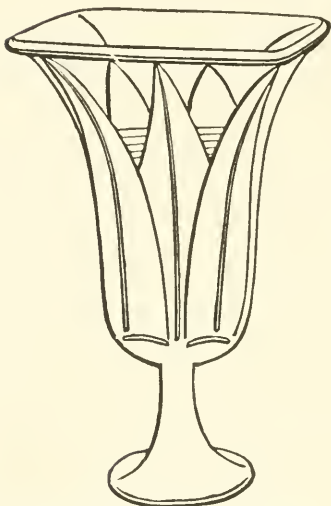


Fig. 173.—EGYPTIAN PORCELAIN VASE.—
See Page 232.



Fig. 174.—PROCESS OF SMOOTHING STONE.
— See Page 227.

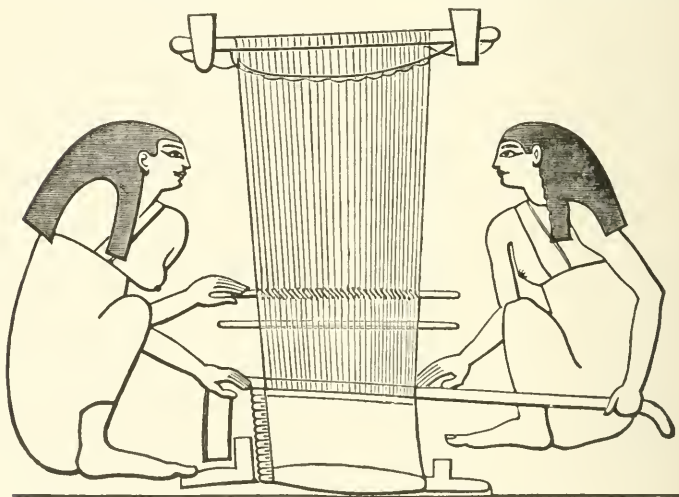


Fig. 175.—WOMEN WEAVING.—See Page 228.

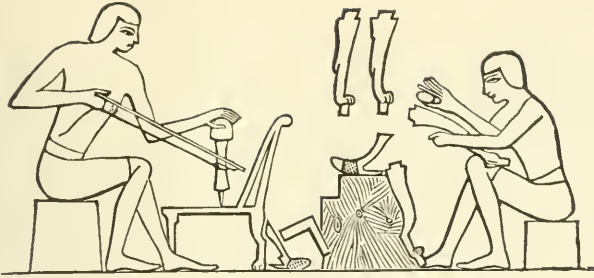


Fig. 176.—FURNITURE-MAKING.—See Page 229.

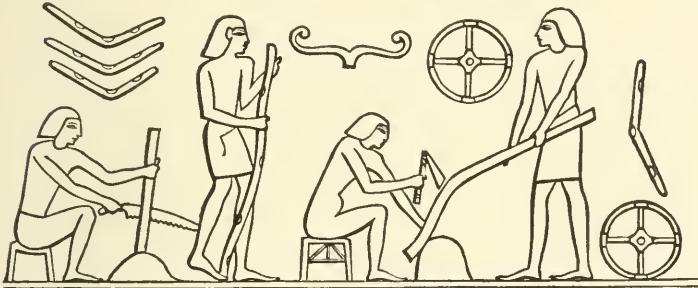


Fig. 177.—CHARIOT-MAKING.—See Page 229.



Fig. 178.—GLASS BLOWING.—See Page 230.



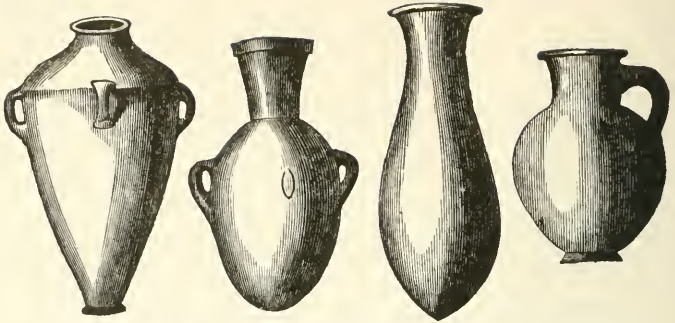


Fig. 179.—SPECIMENS OF ORDINARY EGYPTIAN POTTERY.—See Page 231.



Fig. 180.—ELEGANT VASES AND AMPHORE.—See Page 231.

Exeter on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association in 1869. Mr. Fergusson adopts Sir H. James's views (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 98).

⁸⁵ Herodotus (ii, 125) expressly notices that the stones were raised in this way, a step at a time, by machines placed on the step below. Mr. Perring found marks of the use of such machines wherever the upper surface of the original steps was exposed to view. He conjectured that the machine used was the *polyspaston* of Vitruvius (Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. i, p. 197, note).

⁸⁶ *i. e.*, diminishing as they ascend.

⁸⁷ See Fig. 54, plate xx, and compare the frontispiece to the first volume of Col. Vyse's work.

⁸⁸ Fergusson, vol. i, pp. 91, 92. Compare Vyse, vol. i, p. 289: "The masonry of the [central] chamber is probably the finest specimen in the world. It consists entirely of enormous masses of polished granite, worked down and laid with the greatest exactness, and has retained its original perfection for unnumbered centuries, whilst other mighty fabrics, composed of coarse workmanship and materials, have gradually crumbled away into shapeless masses of stone and rubbish. In this instance every block is as fresh and as perfect as when taken from the quarry, and such is the ponderous solidity and perfection of their texture, and the labor and science employed in their arrangement, that they seem to set at defiance the effects of time and the efforts of human violence."

⁸⁹ Fergusson, vol. i, p. 105.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Compare Vyse, vol. i, p. 176.

⁹¹ After noticing the fact that at first sight the pyramids generally disappoint travellers, Col. Vyse observes: "A more deliberate examination, however, never fails to alter and correct these opinions; and it was *universally acknowledged* by those who remained for any length of time at Ghizeh, that the more carefully and completely they were inspected the more extraordinary their grandeur appeared. . . . Pre-eminent in dimensions and antiquity over all other buildings in the world, they are alike admirable for the excellence of their masonry, the skill and science displayed in their construction, and the imposing majesty of their simple forms." (*Pyramids of Ghizeh*, l.s.c.)

⁹² Herod. ii, 124-34 and 148. Compare i, 93.

⁹³ *Tact. Ann.* ii, 61.

⁹⁴ "Soldiers, forty centuries look down upon you from the top of the pyramids." (See Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. iii, p. 433.)

⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. i, 63; ii, 11; Strab. xvii, 1, 233.

⁹⁶ Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean and Parts adjacent*, vol. i, p. 119, quoted by Dr. Russell in his *Egypt, Ancient and Modern*, p. 124. Compare Diod. Sic. i, 63, *sub fin.*

⁹⁷ Vyse (vol. iii, pp. 57-63 and 70-1) gives a full account of two brick pyramids at Dashoor. They were composed of crude, not baked, bricks, and were cased with Mokattam limestone. The original bases were estimated at 342 feet 6 inches and 350 feet, their perpendicular heights at 267 feet 4 inches and 215 feet 6 inches. There is also a pyramid chiefly built of crude brick at Illahoun, (Fig. 52) on the way to the Fayoum. This had not only a casing of stone, but was strengthened internally by a number of stone walls, the arrangement of which will be best understood by the representation on the opposite page. There is another brick pyramid inside the Fayoum, known as the Pyramid of Howara (Vyse, vol. iii, p. 83).

⁹⁸ Herod. ii, 136.

⁹⁹ Vyse, vol. iii, pp. 65-7.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 66.

¹⁰¹ So Wilkinson (*Topography of Thebes*, p. 338). The Dashoor pyramid shows an inferiority of construction in the upper part; and it is doubtful if it was ever quite completed (Vyse, vol. iii, p. 66).

¹⁰² See Mr. Fergusson's description of the "Tomb of Menephtah" (Fig. 50) at Thebes (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 128). This excavation was 350 feet long, and descended gradually till it reached a depth of nearly 100 feet below the level of the entrance. It comprised five pillared chambers, numerous passages or corridors, and a large room with a coved roof, in which Belzoni found the sarcophagus of Menephtah (*Researches*, p. 236).

¹⁰³ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 103. Compare Falkener in *Museum of Class. Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 87. The resemblance to the Doric order was remarked by the architect Gaetano Rosellini, who accompanied the Tuscan expedition of the Grand Duke Leopold. (See Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. i, p. 65, note 4.) It is also noticed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 44), and by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 284).

¹⁰⁵ "Tali colonne sono tra le più eleganti di quante se ne veggono negli antichi monumenti d'Egitto." (Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* l.s.c.)

¹⁰⁶ "A queste colonne, oltre l'eleganza della forma, aggiungono vaghezza i colori, che, disposti con bell' armonia, danno risalto agli steli, ai legami, ed ai bocciuoli" (Rosellini, p. 70).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 69; Fergusson, vol. i, p. 110.

¹⁰⁸ Herod. ii, 99; Diod. Sic. i, 45, 46, etc.

¹⁰⁹ Donaldson in the *Transactions of the Society of British Architects* for Feb. 1861; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 104.

¹¹⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 38.

- ¹¹¹ Fergusson, vol. i. p. 105.
¹¹² Fergusson, vol. i. p. 105-6.
¹¹³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 45; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 283, etc.
¹¹⁴ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 219.
¹¹⁵ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 118.
¹¹⁶ See the plan in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," "Planches," vol. ii, pl. 4, fig. 1.
¹¹⁷ According to the French savants the original height was about twenty-four feet (*Description de l'Égypte*, l.s.c. fig. 4).
¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix. p. 25.
¹¹⁹ *Description*, "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 26: "On s'était aperçu sans doute que les pierres du plafond, trop pesantes, menaçoient de se rompre sous leur propre poids."
¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 28.
¹²¹ D'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, p. 205; *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix. p. 121; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 114-6.
¹²² Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen*, p. 542; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 116-7; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 127.
¹²³ Fergusson, p. 117. Diodorus gives the pylons a height of forty-five cubits, or sixty-seven and a half feet (i. 47). The French savants (*Description*, "Planches," vol. ii, pl. 27) represent it as somewhat greater (about seventy-three feet).
¹²⁴ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 116; *Description*, "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 123-4; Fergusson, p. 116.
¹²⁵ That is to say, a court with colonnades all round it.
¹²⁶ The French savants made the two courts, the hall, and the building beyond, all of them, of exactly the same width; but Sir G. Wilkinson and other authorities tell us that the width of the edifice is contracted at each stage. (See the plan, plate xxv.)
¹²⁷ So Wilkinson (l.s.c.) and Fergusson (vol. i, p. 116). The French explorers supposed that there had been *ten* rows of six columns, and thus made their number *sixty*. (*Description*, "Antiquités," "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 132; "Planches," vol. ii, pl. 27.)
¹²⁸ The central pillars have a height of thirty-five feet, the side ones of twenty-four. The former are above six feet in diameter, the latter about five feet. (*Description*, "Texte," l.s.c.)
¹²⁹ *Description de l'Égypte*, pp. 132-3.
¹³⁰ So Wilkinson and Fergusson. The French explorers thought that there might originally have been as many apartments in the rear of the great hall as Diodorus states. (See their plan, "Antiquités," pl. 33.)
¹³¹ *Description*, "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 124-5; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 10-12.
¹³² *Description*, p. 125, note 1.
¹³³ *Ibid.* pp. 80-1.
¹³⁴ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 118.
¹³⁵ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 173.
¹³⁶ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 208.
¹³⁷ Wilkinson, l.s.c.
¹³⁸ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 216.
¹³⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁰ The bases of the second pylons exceeded in width those of the first by about six feet (*Description*, "Planches," vol. iii, A. pl. 21). It is therefore probable that they had a greater weight to support.
¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, "Texte," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 218.
¹⁴² Mr. Fergusson says 340 (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 118); and I do not know on what authority. Sir G. Wilkinson gives the length as 329 feet (*Topography*, p. 174); the French explorers at 100 mètres, which is 328 feet (*Description*, vol. i, ch. ix, p. 230).
¹⁴³ So Wilkinson and Fergusson. The *Description* (l.s.c.) makes the width *exactly* half the length, or 164 feet.
¹⁴⁴ The side columns are said by Wilkinson to be forty-one feet nine inches high and twenty-seven feet in circumference (*Topography*, l.s.c.)
¹⁴⁵ See Fergusson, l.s.c.
¹⁴⁶ Their width was forty-eight feet, that of the western pylons fifty-two feet.
¹⁴⁷ See the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 228. The total height of these obelisks is reckoned by the French savants at twenty-two mètres and three-quarters, or seventy-four feet seven inches.
¹⁴⁸ Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 118) calls this a "hall," but I do not suppose that he imagines the space between the piers, which was above thirty feet, to have been roofed in.
¹⁴⁹ *Description*, p. 229: "Cet obélisque est le plus élevé des onze que renferme encore l'Égypte, et il égale presque en hauteur les plus grands qui se trouvent à Rome."
¹⁵⁰ *Description*, p. 230.
¹⁵¹ *Description*, p. 234: "Tout semble indiquer ici un lieu mystérieux et révéré, dans lequel les prêtres ou les ministres du roi avoient seuls la faculté d'entrer."
¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 232.
¹⁵³ On the probability that "Jachin and Boaz" stood in front of the Temple, and not under the porch, see the author's note on 1 Kings vii, 15-19, in the *Speaker's Commentary*.
¹⁵⁴ One hundred yards long by nearly eighty broad. (See the plan in the *Description*, "Planches," A. vol. iii, pl. 21; and compare above, plate xxvii a.)
¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Texte, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 237.
¹⁵⁶ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 119. The *Description* makes the length 143 feet.
¹⁵⁷ See the plan, plate xxvii a.

¹⁶⁸ Mr. Fergusson says "360 feet" (l.s.c.), but this is more than the extreme width of the propylæa in front, which does not exceed 345 feet. In rear, the length of the wall which skirted the enclosure was not more than 330 feet.

¹⁶⁹ By exaggerating the width Mr. Fergusson is enabled to say, that the entire edifice "occupies nearly twice the area of St. Peter's at Rome." But this is an over-estimate.

¹⁶⁰ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 220.

¹⁶¹ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 119.

¹⁶² Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 119.

¹⁶³ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. xxxviii.

¹⁶⁴ Fergusson, vol. i, pp. 119-20.

¹⁶⁵ The monuments in the shape of obelisks, which, like the one in Kensington Gardens, are built up of a number of moderately sized stones, transgress against the fundamental law of the obelisk's being, which is to be monolithic. They offend against good taste like sham carvings on a ceiling, or wood painted to imitate marble.

¹⁶⁶ The nearest approach to a Roman obelisk is that of the Piazza Navona, which appears to have been erected in Egypt to the honor of Domitian by his flatterers in that country. It belongs thus to Roman times, but was the production of Egyptian workmen.

¹⁶⁷ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 129; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 816.

¹⁶⁸ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, p. 229, note; Fergusson, l.s.c.

¹⁶⁹ *Description*, l.s.c.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ According to the French savants, the obelisks nearest in height to that of St. John Lateran are the great obelisks of Karnak, which they imagined to have measured 29.83 mètres, or ninety-seven feet eight inches, but which are now said to have a height of only ninety-three feet (Stuart Poole in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ad voc. *EGYPT*, p. 508; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 129). Next to these comes the one before St. Peter's, which measures 25.135 mètres, or eighty-two feet four inches. Almost of the same size are the great obelisk of Luxor and its fellow, now the main ornament of the Place de la Concorde at Paris, which measure twenty-five mètres, or almost exactly eighty-two feet. The obelisk near the Porta del Popolo at Rome has a height of seventy-eight feet, that at Heliopolis of sixty-six, and that recently brought to England of sixty-seven feet.

¹⁷² The obelisk in front of St. Peter's is estimated to weigh 694,000 lbs. (French), or 335 tons; that in the Place de la Concorde and its fellow at Luxor, 525,236 lbs. (French), or 251 tons; the smaller one of those still standing at Luxor, 352,767 lbs. (French), or 170 tons.

(See the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pp. 188, 229 and 230.)

¹⁷³ See Zoega, *De Obeliscis*; and compare Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi, 8, § 14.

¹⁷⁴ Plin. l.s.c.

¹⁷⁵ I cannot agree with those who see in obelisks nothing but "grotesque and unsightly monuments of Eastern superstition" (Merivale, *Roman Empire*, vol. iv, p. 73).

¹⁷⁶ Mr. Fergusson says the average proportion is ten diameters (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 29). But in the best specimens, as in that of the Lateran obelisk, the height is so exactly eleven diameters that we must conclude that proportion to have been intended. (The French engineers give the diameter as 2.923 mètres, the height as 32.159. Now, $2.923 \times 11 = 32.153$.)

¹⁷⁷ The name was, I believe, first given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Topography of Thebes*, pp. 28, 31, and "Table of Contents," p. xxiii; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 58). It has been adopted by Fergusson (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 118) and others.

¹⁷⁸ Fergusson, vol. i, p. 123.

¹⁷⁹ See the plan in the *Description*, "Planches," vol. iii, A. pl. 54, which is reproduced above.

¹⁸⁰ Fergusson, l.s.c.

¹⁸¹ Fergusson, p. 126.

¹⁸² These were in every case solid structures, pierced (at the utmost) by a single narrow staircase, which led to the top (*Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 209).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 221. Wilkinson says that the usual construction is by layers of two blocks each (*Architecture*, p. 44).

¹⁸⁴ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 174, note; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 332.

¹⁸⁵ That of Rameses II. at the Ramesseum weighed, according to Wilkinson (*Topography*, p. 12), 887 tons 5 cwt. and a half. Those of Amenophis III., in the plain of Qurnah, which are said to contain 11,500 cubic feet (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 329), must be nearly as heavy.

¹⁸⁶ See Burton's *Excerpta*, pl. 41; and compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 263, note 3. One such apartment is said to have weighed as much as 5,000 tons (!); but this estimate depends on the accuracy of Herodotus in the measurements which he gives of the monolithic chamber at Buto (ii, 155), and on a calculation founded thereon by Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. iii, p. 331). It is scarcely possible that the chamber, if of the size stated, was really formed of a single block.

¹⁸⁷ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 221. Wilkinson says, a length of "above twenty-four feet" (*Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 18, note).

¹⁸⁸ *Supra*, p. 112 and note ¹⁷² chapter vii.

¹⁸⁹ This was the proportion ultimately

fixed for the Doric order, in which the column was the thickest. Antique specimens are found which approach the proportions usual in Egypt. (See Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 325).

¹⁹⁰ See Wilkinson's *Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 36, 43, etc.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 103.

¹⁹² Wilkinson, *Architecture*, p. 7.

¹⁹³ See plate xxix, Fig. 71, Nos. 2 and 4.

¹⁹⁴ *Description*, "Planches," vol. i, A. pls. 18, 88, etc.

¹⁹⁵ See plate xxix, Fig. 71, No. 1.

¹⁹⁶ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 35: "Des chapiteaux à campanes" —p. 132: "Ce chapiteau a la forme d'une fleur de lotus épanouie."

¹⁹⁷ Chapiteaux à boutons de lotus tronqués" (*Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 127); the "bud-capital" of Wilkinson (*Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 33).

¹⁹⁸ "Il est à remarquer que cet ordre est proprement celui de Thèbes; partout il y est employé, et on ne le retrouve que rarement ailleurs" (*Description*, p. 193).

¹⁹⁹ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 119; *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 165; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thèbes*, pp. 175-6.

²⁰⁰ Fergusson, p. 123. This was commoner in the later than in the earlier times. Numerous specimens exist in Upper Egypt, as at Koum Ombou, at Esné, and elsewhere.

²⁰¹ The Doric capital was from one-eighth to one-twelfth the height of the pillar, the Ionic from one-ninth to one-eleventh, the Corinthian between one-seventh and one-eighth (*Encyclop. Brit. ad. voc. ARCHITECTURE*, pp. 463-6).

²⁰² See 1 Kings vii, 15-19, which shows that in the pillars Jachin and Boaz, the proportion of the capital to the shaft of the column was as one to two.

²⁰³ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 306.

²⁰⁴ For an example see *Encyclop. Brit.* vol. iii, pl. li, fig. 7.

²⁰⁵ See plate xxix, Fig. 71, Nos. 2 and 3.

²⁰⁶ In the great pillared hall at Karnak the width of the central avenue is eighteen feet, the diameter of the columns at their base being eleven feet eight inches, which gives an intercolumniation of not much more than a diameter and a half; but in the temple of Rameses II., which projects into the great court at Karnak, and again in the larger of the two temples towards the south, the distance of two diameters is reached. See the *Description*, "Planches," A. pls. 21 and 55, fig. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 212.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 35, 127, etc.

²⁰⁹ "Elles sont vêtues d'une tunique longue et étroite." (*Ibid.* p. 127.)

²¹⁰ An exception appears in a set of

caryatides belonging to the temple of Rameses II. at Karnak, where the top of the mitre rises a little above the line of the architrave. (See *Description*, "Planches," vol. iii, pls. 25 and 30, fig. 1.)

²¹¹ As the Greek caryatides were said to be (Vitruv. i, 1, §5; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi, 45).

²¹² See above, p. 113.

²¹³ Herod. ii, 111. Compare Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi, 8, §14, where four are ascribed to Sesothus, two to Rhamesis (Rameses), two to Mesphres, etc.

²¹⁴ See the remarks of the French engineers, on the two obelisks of Luxor. (*Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 188-9.)

²¹⁵ See the plates, vol. i, A. pl. 18. The temple at Philæ is a late construction, and the character of its ornamentation would scarcely be a sure indication of the character of decorative art under the Pharaohs. Still, it is a thoroughly Egyptian building, and, considering how disinclined the Egyptians were to change of any kind, might not improbably repeat more ancient work.

²¹⁶ Belzoni, *Researches*, pp. 231, 234, etc.; Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. i, pp. 54, 106, etc.; Sharpe, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 73.

²¹⁷ Belzoni, p. 234; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," pp. xxxix-xl.; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 129.

²¹⁸ See Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, Plates, vol. ii, pl. 53, figs. 16 and 17; pl. 59, figs. 1 and 2; pl. 71, fig. 11, etc.

²¹⁹ Wilkinson says: "No one who understands the harmony of colors will fail to admit that they (*i.e.* the Egyptians) perfectly understood their distribution and proper combinations, and that an Egyptian temple was greatly improved by the addition of painted sculptures." (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 298.)

²²⁰ So Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 131. The point admits of a doubt.

²²¹ See above, pp. 105, 106.

²²² The term was first used by the French savants in the *Description* ("Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 30-33). It has been adopted from them by Sir G. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 116; vol. v, p. 345) and Mr. Fergusson (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 130).

²²³ Rameses III., of the twentieth dynasty.

²²⁴ These measures are taken from the *Description*, "Planches," vol. ii, A. pl. 16.

²²⁵ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 32.

²²⁶ One very peculiar ornamentation requires special notice. The sills of several blank windows are supported by a row of heads, apparently those of captives, which seem crushed beneath the weight that presses on them. (See the *Description*, "Planches," vol. ii, A. pl. 17, fig. 7; and compare Wilkinson, *Ancien*

Egyptians, vol. v, pp. 345-6, and *Architecture*, p. 64). This ornament is nowhere else repeated.

²²⁷ See the woodcut, and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. ii, pp. 381-2, with the representation given in vol. ii, of the Plates (pl. 68, fig. 8).

²²⁸ Rosellini argues that this represents a lantern, which acted at once as a skylight and a ventilator. But there is nothing to show this.

²²⁹ See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* vol. ii, pp. 382-6, and compare the illustration in his Plates, vol. ii, pl. 68, fig. 2, from which the woodcut in the text is taken.

²³⁰ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 132.

²³¹ These "blinds," as I have called them, may possibly be shutters; but they seem not quite to reach the bottom of the window.

²³² The artist has accidentally omitted this.

²³³ Diodorus says that the Theban houses had occasionally four and even five stories (i, 45). The tomb containing this representation is close to Thebes.

²³⁴ See the Plates, vol. ii, pl. 69; and compare the description given in the text (vol. ii, pp. 386-8).

²³⁵ *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 131.

²³⁶ Rosellini conceives the ordinary material to have been crude brick. (*Mon. Civ.* vol. ii, p. 380. Compare Wilkinson, *Topography*, p. 199.)

²³⁷ As Sir G. Wilkinson, Mr. Fergusson, and Mr. R. S. Poole, whose contribution to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on the subject of Egypt is of great value.

²³⁸ See Wilkinson, *Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 17; *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 81, 201; *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 116; vol. iii, p. 319; Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 49, 143, Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. ii, p. 131, etc.

²³⁹ See above, p. 102.

²⁴⁰ Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, "Introduction," p. 22.

²⁴¹ Wilkinson, *Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 30 and 103; *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 3 and 54; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 115.

²⁴² See the *Description*, "Planches," vol. i, A. pl. 5; vol. iii, A. pl. 5.

²⁴³ *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 95, note.

²⁴⁴ See page 107.

²⁴⁵ See Wilkinson, *Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 29 and 43; *Topography of Thebes*, l.s.c.; *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 214.

²⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *Architecture*, p. 30.

²⁴⁷ *Description*, "Planches," vol. i, A. pls. 6, 8, etc.; Wilkinson, *Architecture*, p. 61.

²⁴⁸ *Description*, "Planches," vol. ii, A. pl. 28; and compare the text, "Antiquités," vol. i, ch. ix, p. 128.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* "Planches," vol. i, A. pl. 50.

CHAPTER VIII.

¹ Birch, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum*, p. 16; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 304.

² Birch, l.s.c.

³ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 540; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 43.

⁴ The Egyptians carved their statues in calcareous stone, in dark and red granite, in porphyry, and in basalt. They also employed wood in the more ancient times, and bronze, ivory, and porcelain for statuettes.

⁵ "Les muscles, les veines, les plis et les contractions de la peau n'y sont pas rendus, ni même la charpente osseuse." (Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 539.)

⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 539. "La figure égyptienne est modelée, non pas grossièrement, mais sommairement."

⁷ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 265.

⁸ See plate xxxiv, Fig. 86.

⁹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Birch, l.s.c. p. 17. Compare Kenrick, vol. i, p. 266.

¹¹ This is done even in the remarkable wooden statue which forms the glory of the museum of Boulaq, and is said to exhibit "a truth, grace, and fidelity, which shows the hand of a great master" (Birch *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 43). There is no doubt some evidence that the practice was occasionally adopted by the Greeks; but, in spite of this, a true taste will pronounce it "more honored in the breach than the observance."

¹² The author delivers here his own impression of the Egyptian statues which have come under his notice. He has not thought it necessary to encumber his pages with representations of the hideous figures themselves. They may be seen in all their native ugliness in the Egyptian collection at the British Museum, in the Louvre, at Berlin, and elsewhere.

¹³ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. vi, Supplement, pls. 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 35A, 40, etc.

¹⁴ The grotesque character of the figures of Phthah was noted by Herodotus (iii, 37), and, if we may believe him, attracted the attention of Cambyses. The figures of Bes are, according to Wilkinson (A.E. pl. 24A), even more hideous.

¹⁵ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15.

¹⁶ See above p. 116.

¹⁷ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 17.

¹⁸ See the representations in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. v, pl. 64-72.

¹⁹ Professor Owen calls it "a sculpture of exquisite art and finish" (*Leisure Hour* for May, 1876, p. 324). Ampère says: "Cette grande figure mutilée est d'un effet prodigieux; c'est comme une apparition éternelle. Le fantôme de pierre paraît attentif; on dirait qu'il en

entend et qu'il regarde. Sa grande oreille semble recueillir les bruits du passé; ses yeux tournés vers l'orient semblent épier l'avenir; le regard a une profondeur et une vérité qui fascinent le spectateur. Sur cette figure, moitié statue, moitié montagne, on découvre une majesté singulière, une grande sérénité, et même une certaine douceur." (Quoted by Lenormant in his *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 541.)

²⁰ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. vi, Supplement pl. 43.

²¹ *Ibid.* vol. iii, pp. 263-275; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 264; Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, pp. 353-4, etc.

²² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 538-541; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 87; Kenrick, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 264-5.

²³ Birch, *Guide to British Museum*, p. 18; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 269-271, 3d edition. The main authorities upon the points are Plato, Diodorus, and Synesius.

²⁴ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, pp. 43, 129, 175, etc.; and see below, pp. 299-301.

²⁵ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, pp. 296, 301, and 334 (2d edition).

²⁶ See the frontispiece to Sir C. Fellow's *Lycia*, and compare the Lycian sculptures in British Museum.

²⁷ A somewhat high relief is observable in the hideous monster figured by Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. vi, Supplement, pl. 43 A. Also in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, part ii, pls. 11 and 44; and in the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 31.

²⁸ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 416; fig. 2, A.

²⁹ 1 Sam. ix, 2.

³⁰ Hom. *Il.* iii, 226-7:

ἀνὴρ ἦὺς τε μέγας τε,
Ἐφοῶς Ἀργείων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ εὐρέας
ὠμους.

³¹ See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pls. 3, 6, 38, etc.; and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 126, 127, 165, etc.

³² One of the best of the battle-scenes is reproduced in the woodcut opposite. It exists at Karnak, on the northern wall of the central building, and probably represents Amnophis I, destroying his enemies (see the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 40, fig. 6). Fig. 95.

³³ The remark of Madame de Staël is quite just. "Les sculpteurs égyptiens saisissaient avec bien plus de génie la figure des animaux que celle des hommes" (*Corinne*, vol. i, p. 127).

³⁴ At first the animal forms are weak, and sometimes absurd, as the tall hare in the *Denkmäler* (vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 3), and the very feeble dogs catching antelopes of different kinds in the same (vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 6). But they became fairly satisfactory not much later; and by the date of the 18th dynasty, they leave but little to be desired.

³⁵ Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. ii, pls. 6 to 13, with Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 36-51.

³⁶ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. ii, pl. 15. The scene is taken from a tomb at Beni Hassan, near Thebes.

³⁷ See the *Description*, "Antiquités," Texte, vol. i, ch. ix, § i, p. 54, and Planches, vol. ii, pl. 9, fig. 1.

³⁸ The wall is here interrupted by a doorway, which renders the composition imperfect, and can scarcely have been part of the original structure.

³⁹ Compare the *Description* (d.s.c.)—"Ce bas-relief, précieux sous le rapport de l'histoire (?), n'est pas moins sous le rapport de l'art. On peut remarquer la franchise et la hardiesse du dessin, la variété et la fermeté des attitudes de toutes les figures; l'expression de la douleur est surtout rendue avec beaucoup de vérité."

⁴⁰ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 16, 18, 22; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii, pt. ii, pls. 22, 46, etc.

⁴¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pls. 10, 24, 25, 42, 57 a, etc. Sometimes both figures stand, the wife a little in the rear (*ibid.* pls. 13, 17 a, 21, etc.).

⁴² Or on a scale slightly smaller (*ibid.* pls. 27, 38 a, etc.).

⁴³ *Ibid.* pls. 19, 47, &c.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 47, 51; vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 154.

⁴⁵ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* vol. ii, pl. 22, fig. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* fig. 2. Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.*, plate at the end of vol. i, line 3. A better representation of the real proportions will be found in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 118.

⁴⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 158, 159, 164, 166, etc.

⁴⁸ Rosellini, pls. 68 and 69.

⁴⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 293.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* vol. ii, pp. 188-9.

⁵¹ A striking instance of this bad drawing may be seen in Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 145, where a tank of water interposed between two rows of palm trees is made to show itself by being raised up to half their height, and then placed at right angles to the spectator, suspended in air, like the coffin of Mohammed!

⁵² See Wilkinson, vol. ii, pl. 9, and woodcut, p. 142, No. 130; and Rosellini, vol. ii, pl. 69.

⁵³ See above, p. 126.

⁵⁴ See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pl. 18; vol. ii, pl. 37; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. vi, Supplement, pl. 55, pt. iii.

⁵⁵ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 366. Compare the passage of Horace to which he refers (*Sat.* ii, 8, 54).

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, vol. ii, p. 367.

⁵⁷ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 269-70.

⁵⁸ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. 83, fig. 1; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, Supplement, vol. vi, pl. 87.

⁵⁹ In the animal paintings there seems to be some exception to this rule. Rosellini has representations of beasts, birds, and fish, where the color is softened off from dark to light (*Monumenti Civili*, vol. ii, pls. 13, 16, 17, 20, and 25).

⁶⁰ Patterned dresses are common in the case of foreigners, rare in that of Egyptians. For examples, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 133; vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 115-6, and 136.

⁶¹ As particularly sails and cabins of vessels (Rosellini, *M. C.* vol. ii, pls. 107, 108; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pl. xvi), caparisons of horses (*Description*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 12; Wilkinson, vol. i, pl. 1), seats (Wilkinson, vol. ii, pl. 11; vol. vi, pl. 20, etc.), frames of harps (*ibid.* vol. ii, pl. 13, and woodcut on p. 270), bow-cases (*ibid.* vol. i, p. 346), and dresses of deities (*ibid.* vol. vi, pls. 20, 23, 33, 50, etc.).

⁶² Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 300.

⁶³ This is found, I believe, only in representations of animals. See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* vol. ii, pl. xvii, figs. 6, 7, 10; pl. xx, figs. 4, 7, 8).

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 303.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 302-3.

⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 302.

⁶⁷ See particularly the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," Planches, vol. ii, pl. 91.

⁶⁸ Sir J. Reynolds, *Discourses before the Royal Academy*, Discourse iv, p. 102.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Discourse iv, p. 89.

⁷⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 301.

⁷¹ See above p. 133.

⁷² See K. O. Müller, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 48, 76, etc.; Falkener, *Ephesus*, pp. 260-1; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 252-4.

⁷³ Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, vol. i, pls. 1, 5, 8; vol. ii, pl. 5; *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, pp. 130-133.

⁷⁴ Compare above, p. 117.

⁷⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 298; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 120.

⁷⁶ L'art égyptien," says Lenormant, "semble être retenu par certains côtés dans une éternelle enfance" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. 1, p. 539). "It was the peculiarity of Egyptian art," observes Mr. Kenrick, "that the characteristics of its infancy were perpetuated through all the stages of its existence" (*Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 264).

⁷⁷ Lenormant, having mentioned works of art which he attributes to the second dynasty, says: "En les étudiant, on y remarque une rudesse et une indécision de style qui montre qu'à la fin de la deuxième dynastie l'art égyptien cherchait encore sa voie, et n'était qu'imparfaitement formé" (*Manuel*, vol. i, p. 333).

⁷⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 43. A comparison of the busts in the Roman room of the Brit. Museum, ranging from Julius Cæsar to Elagabalus, with the best specimens of Egyptian art, will (I think)

show this judgment to be very much too favorable.

⁷⁹ Wholly, according to Lenormant (*Manuel*, vol. i, p. 538); but not so, according to Birch (*Guide to Museum*, p. 18).

⁸⁰ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 354.

⁸¹ "La qualité prédominante dans la sculpture de cet âge est la finesse, l'élégance, et l'harmonie des proportions" (*ibid.* p. 353).

⁸² See above p. 113.

⁸³ On the "Grand Style" see Sir J. Reynolds's *Discourses before the Royal Academy*, Discourse iii.

⁸⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. iii, p. 305; Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 426. "Les monuments de Rameses II.," says the last named writer, "nous font assister à une décadence radicale de la sculpture égyptienne qui se précipite avec une incroyable rapidité à mesure qu'on s'avance dans ce long règne. Il débute par des œuvres dignes de toute admiration, qui sont le *ne plus ultra* de l'art égyptien, comme les colosses de Memphis et d'Ibsamboul; mais bientôt l'oppression universelle, qui pèse sur toute la contrée comme une joug de fer, tarit la source de la grande inspiration des arts. La séve créatrice semble s'épuiser dans les entreprises gigantesques conçues par un orgueil sans bornes. Une nouvelle génération d'artistes ne vient pas remplacer celle qui s'était formée sous les souverains précédents. A la fin du règne la décadence est complète."

⁸⁵ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 469; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 176-7; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. iii, p. 306.

⁸⁶ Birch, p. 177.

⁸⁷ L'art Égyptien eut une dernière renaissance, qui se prolongea pendant toute la durée de la dynastie Saïte, et qui, sans atteindre à la vérité et à la grandeur des anciennes écoles, produisit cependant un grand nombre des œuvres charmantes par leur finesse" (Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 469).

⁸⁸ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 17.

CHAPTER IX.

¹ The Egyptian ideas on morals were sound, as has been observed in a previous chapter (ch. iii, p. 108). But they did not reduce morals to a science. Their only ethical works were collections of proverbs (see Chabas, *Le plus ancien livre du Monde*, Paris, 1857).

² The Weddas of Ceylon are said not to be able to count beyond three (see *Report of the British Association for 1875*, part iii, p. 175).

³ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 345.

⁴ The numbers of various objects mentioned in the "Great Harris Papyrus" often exceed a million (*Records of*

the Past, vol. vi, pp. 43, 45, 49, etc.; vol. viii, pp. 42-5).

⁵ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 103, 2d edition.

⁶ Herod. ii, 109; Diod. Sic. i, 81.

⁷ Isocrat. *Busir.* §30, p. 227; Strab. xiv. 1, §16; Diod. Sic. i, 96, 98; Cic. *De Fin.* v, 29; Justin, xx, 4; Val. Max. viii, 7, 2; Amm. Marc. xxii, 16, §21, etc.

⁸ Callimach. ap. Diod. Sic. x, 11.

⁹ Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii, 36; Plutarch, *De Repugn. Stoic.* vol. ii, p. 1089.

¹⁰ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 519.

¹¹ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 328; Cornwall Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 278.

¹² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 328, 3d edition.

¹³ Eustath. *Comment ad Dionys. Per.* p. 214, ed. C. Müller.

¹⁴ See Plat. *Epin.* §9, p. 987; Arist. *De Colo.* ii, 12, §3; Cic. *De Div.* i, 42; Diod. Sic. i, 50 and 69; Strab. xvii, 1, §5; Manil. i, 40-5; Macrob. *Comment. in Sonn. Scip.* i, 21, §9, Plin. *H. N.* vii, 56; Diog. Laert. *Proem.* §2; Val. Max. l.s.c.; Achill. *Tat. Isag.* i, p. 73; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i, 16, §74; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* ii, 13, etc.

¹⁵ See Lewis's *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 277. "The true character both of the Babylonian and the Egyptian priests, as astronomers, seems to have been, that from an early period they had, induced by the clearness of their sky, and by their seclusion and leisure—perhaps likewise stimulated by some religious motive—been astronomical observers." Comp. p. 157.

¹⁶ See Lewis, pp. 156-7 and 287-291; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 328, 340.

¹⁷ Herod. i, 74; vii, 37; Liv. xlv, 37; Plutarch, *Æmit.* §17. Even nations so civilized as the Greeks and Romans participated in these apprehensions (Thucyd. vii, 50; Plut. *Pelop.* §31; *Dion.* §24; Q. Curt. *Vit. Alex.* iv, 39; Diod. Sic. xx, 5; Tacit. *Ann.* i, 24).

¹⁸ "It may be reasonably suspected," says Sir G. C. Lewis, "that the observations of the Egyptians were particularly directed to phenomena such as eclipses" (*Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 278). Conon, who lived about B.C. 250 made a collection of the solar eclipses which the Egyptians had observed (Senec. *Nat. Quest.* vii, 3). Their observation of eclipses, both solar and lunar, is attested by Diodorus (l. 50) and Diogenes Laertius (*Proem.* §1).

¹⁹ These registers are mentioned by Strabo (xvii, i, §5), Theophrastus (*De Lapid.* §24), Valerius Maximus, (viii, 7, 2), and others.

²⁰ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 340.

²¹ Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* 81, 25. It must be admitted to be doubtful whether Pythagoras really knew this fact or not. (See Lewis, pp. 123 132.)

²² Lewis, p. 287; Kenr., vol. i, p. 339.

²³ The Egyptians seem at no time to have made use of any era. They dated events by the regnal years of their kings. In default of any authoritative table of the kings—and none such seems to have existed—a Greek or Chaldean astronomer would derive little advantage from the statement that an eclipse, total or partial, of the sun or moon, had taken place (say) in the fourth year of Rameses II.

²⁴ Hieronym. ap. Diog. Laert. i, 27; Plutarch, *De Placit. Phil.* i, 3; Joseph. *c. Ap.* i, p. 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i, 15, §66; Pamphila. ap. Diog. Laert. i, 24; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x, 4, etc.

²⁵ Herod. i, 74.

²⁶ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 575, 2d edition.

²⁷ Aristot. *De Colo.* ii, 12, §3.

²⁸ It is probable that the Egyptians had sun-dials at least as early as the Jews, i.e., by the beginning of the seventh century B.C. But sun-dials would be of no use for measuring the time of a lunar occultation, which could only be observed at night. For this purpose some kind of clock was necessary; but we have no evidence that the ancient Egyptians possessed clocks.

²⁹ Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 156. The reason of the neglect seems to have been that the planets, on account of their motion, "were classed with wandering meteors and comets," and consequently looked down upon, the admiration of the Greeks being reserved for the stars as fixed and immutable.

³⁰ "Eudoxus primus ab Ægypto hos motus in Græciam transtulit." (Senec. *Nat. Quest.* vii, 3.)

³¹ Simplicius, in the *Schol. Aristot.* ed. Brandis. p. 4996.

³² Lewis, *Astr. of the Ancients*, l.s.c.

³³ Simplicius, l.s.c.

³⁴ By Ideler (*Berlin Transactions* for 1830, p. 78). It is not easy, however, to see how KE could pass into H.

³⁵ *Schol. ad Arat.* l. 752.

³⁶ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 757.

³⁷ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 573.

³⁸ The zodiacs at Denderah and Esneh, which at one time were regarded as native Egyptian, are now proved to belong to Roman times, and rightly considered to be less Egyptian than Greek. The earlier astronomical monuments are altogether dissimilar.

³⁹ Kenrick, *An. Egypt.* vol. i, p. 341.

⁴⁰ Achilles Tatius says (*Fragm.* p. 96) that the Greeks and Romans took the name of the Balance from the Egyptians.

⁴¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 520.

⁴² Herod. ii, 4; Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 123. Lepsius believes that the five intercalary days are noticed in a monument belonging to the twelfth dynasty (See Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 330).

⁴³ This is distinctly stated by Geminus *Isagog. in Arati Phænomen.* §6).



Fig. 181.—SPECIMENS OF EGYPTIAN GLASS VESSELS.—See Page 506.



Fig. 182.—POTTERS AT WORK.—See Page 514.



Fig. 183.—GOLDSMITH AT WORK.—See Page 515.

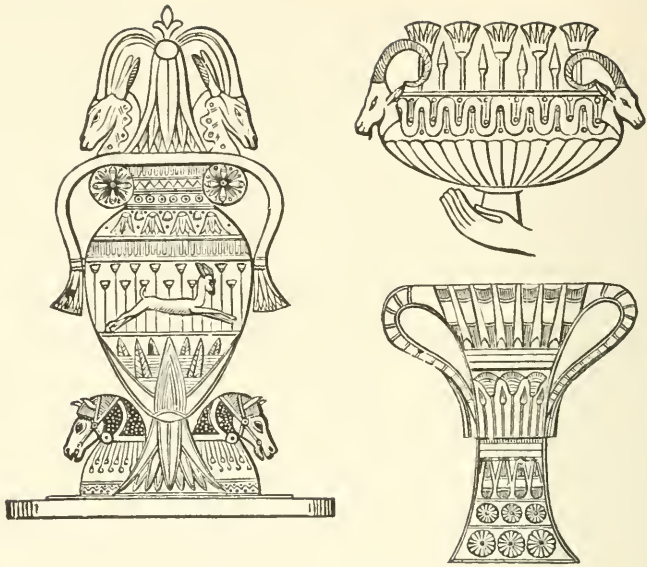


Fig. 181.—EGYPTIAN GOLD VASES.—See Page 234.

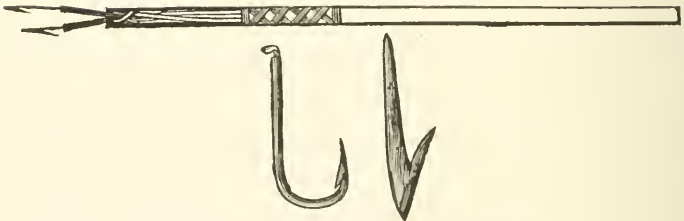


Fig. 185.—HARPOON AND FISHHOOKS.—See Page 236.

⁴⁴ Censorin. *De Die Natali*, §18; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Geminus, 26, etc.

⁴⁵ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. 335; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 4; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ Censorin. §21.

⁴⁷ See the arguments in Kenrick, pp. 334-5; which, however, did not convince Sir G. C. Lewis.

⁴⁸ Kenrick, p. 340. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 322.

⁵⁰ Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, pp. 190 et seq.

⁵¹ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, pt. i, p. 39, 1st edition (quoted by Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 278, note 135).

⁵² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 520.

⁵³ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 127; Herod. ii, 82; Diod. Sic. i, 81; Cic. *De Div.* i, 1; Jamblich. viii, 4; Lucan, i, 640.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson says that the horoscope was determined "by observing the constellations that appeared on the eastern horizon at the moment of birth" (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 135, note 2, 3d edition).

⁵⁵ See Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 301.

⁵⁶ A "Sallier papyrus" contains a calendar of lucky and unlucky days, which has probably an astrological basis. Otherwise, though there is much magic in the Egyptian remains, there is little that comes under the head of astrology,

⁵⁷ See Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, pp. 301-4, and compare the references in note ⁶ on the preceding page. (Herod. ii, 82, does not necessarily bear on the subject).

⁵⁸ Jerem. lxvi, 11; Herod. ii, 84.

⁵⁹ Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 20.

⁶⁰ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 758.

⁶¹ Diod. Sic. i, 82. Compare Aristot. *Pol.* iii, 10.

⁶² Hom. *Od.* iv, 229.

⁶³ Herod. iii, 1 and 132.

⁶⁴ Pliny says (*H. N.* xix, 5): "In Egypto, *regibus corpora mortuorum ad scrutandos morbos insecantibus*," etc.

⁶⁵ Herod. ii, 84. According to this writer, besides dentists and oculists, the Egyptians possessed doctors who treated diseases of the stomach only, diseases of the head only, and so of other parts of the body. He even goes so far as to say that "each physician treated only one disorder."

⁶⁶ Herod. ii, 77; Diod. Sic. i, 82.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 78.

⁶⁸ Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. i, p. 289; Owen in *Leisure Hour* for 1876, p. 326.

⁶⁹ Owen, l.s.c.

⁷⁰ See Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 92 (quoted above, p. 214).

⁷¹ See above, p. 114.

⁷² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 325-8; and compare the author's *Herod.*, vol. ii, pl. opp. p. 177.

⁷³ Levers and rollers were known to the Assyrians at the time of Sennacherib (B.C. 690), and were employed by them in the transport of colossi. (See Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pl. opp. p. 112; and compare the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 402, 2d ed.)

⁷⁴ On the time consumed in the transportation of the larger masses, see Herod. ii, 175, who says that it took three years to convey a certain monolith from the quarries near Elephantiné to Saïs in the Delta. Two thousand men were employed in effecting the transport.

⁷⁵ The occurrence of accidents is indicated by one of the stories which Herodotus heard with respect to the site occupied by the moonlight above referred to. It was evidently out of place; and "some said that one of the workmen engaged in moving the mass was crushed and killed by it, and that this was the reason of its being left where it stood" in his day. (See Herod. ii, 175, ad fin.)

⁷⁶ See above, p. 98.

⁷⁷ Wilkinson notes this (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, pp. 325, 334, etc.).

⁷⁸ Herod. ii, 125. The contrary statement of Diodorus, who lived more than four hundred years later, is of no weight.

⁷⁹ See above, p. ? note ⁸⁵.

CHAPTER X.

¹ Herod. ii, 37, ad init.

² Forty-one consecutive chapters of the Second Book (chs. 36-76) are entirely devoted to this subject, which is further treated in chs. 91, 122, 138, and 144-6.

³ See above, ch. vii, p. 103.

⁴ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 141.

⁵ Herod. ii, 60.

⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 521.

⁷ Compare Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Aegypter*, passim; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 357-444; vol. iv, pp. 305-60; Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, pp. 520-36; Birch, *Egypt*, "Introduction," pp. ix-xii; *Guide to British Museum*, pp. 11-21; and De Rougé, *Études sur le Rituel funéraire*, passim.

⁸ Lenormant says, strongly and well: "En Égypte, comme partout dans le paganisme, il y avait, en réalité deux religions, l'une à l'usage des classes populaires, qui n'était que la forme extérieure de la doctrine ésotérique, et présentait un monstrueux assemblage des plus grossières superstitions; l'autre connue seulement de ceux qui avaient approfondi la science religieuse, renfermait quelques dogmes plus relevés et formait une sorte de théologie savante, au fond de laquelle se retrouvait la grande idée de l'unité de Dieu." (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 521-2).

⁹ As Dr. Birch, who lays it down that "the religion of the Egyptians consisted

of an extended polytheism represented by a series of local groups" (*Guide to Museum*, p. 4), and holds moreover, that "their religious notions were chiefly connected with the worship of the Sun" (*Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. ix.)

¹⁰ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, l.s.c.

¹¹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. x.

¹² Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 522. Compare *Records of the Past*, where such phrases as the following are frequent:—"Hail to the ONE in his works, single among the gods;" "Chief of all the gods;" "Father of the gods;" "Maker of the gods;" "Lord of the gods;" "the ONE maker of existences;" "the ONE alone without peer;" "the true King of gods;" etc. (See vol. ii, pp. 129-32; vol. iv, pp. 99, 100; vol. vi, p. 100, etc.)

¹³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 178.

¹⁴ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 178. Curiously enough, these high, monotheistic ideas are applied in the later times, where they are manifestly inapplicable, as to the Nile-God, of whom we read in one of the hymns:—

He is not graven in marble;
He is not beheld;
His abode is not known;

No shrine (of his) is found with painted figures.

And again:—

Unknown is his name in Heaven;
He doth not manifest his form;
Vain are all representations!

(See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 109, 113; with Canon Cook's comment, p. 109.)

¹⁵ In the "Litany of Ra," translated by M. Edouard Naville (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 105-28), Ra is called "The Supreme Power;" "the master of the hidden spheres;" "the only ONE;" "the supremely great one;" "the great lion that creates the gods;" "the great eldest one;" and the like.

¹⁶ Even the Nile-God, as we have seen (see above, p. 325, note 1) could be addressed as if the Supreme God.

¹⁷ The *Hermes psychopompus* (Ἑρμῆς ψυχοπομπός) of Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* § 11).

¹⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, pp. 70-5; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 430-1.

¹⁹ *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 414-15, etc.

²⁰ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 331-7, and vol. iii, pp. 348-9.

²¹ Wilkinson, vol. iv, p. 423.

²² See above, pp. 52, 71-2, etc.

²³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 418-19; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 443, etc.

²⁴ The inscription of Set and his emblems on the monuments in the earlier times, and their subsequent obliteration, imply at any rate a serious change of opinion.

²⁵ *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. cxxxv, (Bunsen, vol. v, p. 262).

²⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 315.

²⁷ These details are represented with a certain amount of variety. Sometimes Anubis is assisted by Horus, more frequently he is alone. Sometimes the individual himself is weighed in the balance instead of his actions. Occasionally Har-machis (Harpocrates) sits on the crook of Osiris.

²⁸ *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. cxxix, (Bunsen, vol. v, p. 263).

²⁹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. x.

³⁰ Usually he quits the presence of Osiris in the form of a pig, and is reconveyed to earth by Anubis in a boat guarded by monkeys. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 87; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," Planches, vol. ii, pl. 83, fig. 1; Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. lxvi, etc.)

³¹ So Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 528: "L'ancantissement de l'être était tenu par les Égyptiens pour la châtement réservé aux méchants." This is not, perhaps, universally allowed.

³² *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. cxlviii, (Bunsen, vol. v, pp. 298-9.)

³³ See above, pp. 72-3.

³⁴ Herod., ii, 145; Bunsen, vol. i, pp. 361-8; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 284, 291; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xi.

³⁵ See his *Intellectual System of the Universe*, ch. iv, p. 413.

³⁶ See Mosheim's Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, vol. i, notes to p. 413.

³⁷ See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 364-66; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 284; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 363.

³⁸ Kenrick, vol. i, p. 364.

³⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. x.

⁴⁰ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 284-7.

⁴¹ Ap. Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* § 9; τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἰδίον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἄμμουν, Μανεθῶς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἰεῖται, καὶ τὴν κρῦψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς.

⁴² Birch, *Dict. of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 344-5.

⁴³ See especially the hymn to Amen-Ra published in vol. ii, of *Records of the Past*, p. 132, lines 7-9:—

Ruler of men:

Whose name is hidden from his creatures,
In his name which is Amen.

Compare the *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. clxvi, "O Ammon! I beg to know thy name. . . . Hidden is thy name."

⁴⁴ See the treatise *De Isid. et Osir.* l.s.c.

⁴⁵ Herod. ii, 42; Diod. Sic. 1, 13; Plutarch, l.s.c., etc.

⁴⁶ In Homer Zens is πατήρ ἀνέρον

τε θεῶν τε, as in Virgil Jupiter is "Divom Pater," or "hominum sator atque Deorum." No other classical god has this title.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 129; vol. vi, p. 100; Bunsen, *Egypt*, vol. i, p. 369.

⁴⁸ Bunsen, l.s.c.

⁴⁹ See Rosellini, *Mon. del. Culto*, pl. ix, fig. 1.

⁵⁰ One of Ammon's titles in the hymns addressed to him is "Lord of the crown high-plumed" (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 130, 132, etc.)

⁵¹ In some representations of Ammon, the feathers have been covered with thick gold leaf. (See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 12.)

⁵² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 246.

⁵³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 297. Bunsen views the *was* as the symbol of power (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 369).

⁵⁴ Bunsen, vol. i, p. 371; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 20, 31, 34, etc.; vol. iv, p. 11; vol. viii, p. 3, etc.

⁵⁵ Sometimes he has also the hawk's head, which is proper to Ra, or, perhaps we should say, to solar deities.

⁵⁶ See above, page 149.

⁵⁷ *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 45, fig. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. clxvi. In one of the Hymns to Amen, he is called "King alone, single among the gods; of many names, unknown is their number." (See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 134, § 17.)

⁵⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 99.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 99-100.

⁶¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 131.

⁶² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 231, 235; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 375-7.

⁶³ Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* § 26; Diod. Sic. i, 12, § 2. Neither writer mentions Kneph, but both evidently point to him.

⁶⁴ Compare Gen. i, 2: "And the Spirit of God רוּחַ יְהוָה moved upon the face of the waters."

⁶⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. x.

⁶⁶ See the "Hieroglyphical Dictionary," in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 425 and 452.

⁶⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 238.

⁶⁸ Bunsen, vol. i, p. 377. Hence he is "frequently represented in the tombs" (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 239).

⁶⁹ See the *Ritual*, § clxiii, ad fin., and § clxvi.

⁷⁰ So Birch, and Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 375). Wilkinson, however, maintains that the long spiral horns are also those of a kind of sheep (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 242-3).

⁷¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 237.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 241; Bunsen, vol. i, p. 376; Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. lxxv.

⁷³ See a representation in Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 21, part 1, fig. 2; and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. ii, fig. 3; pl. xx, fig. 1; pl. li, fig. 2; etc.

⁷⁴ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 239. When Herodotus (ii, 74) speaks of the horned snake as sacred to the Theban Jupiter (Ammon), he is probably confusing Ammon with Kneph, and the horned snake (*coluber cerastes*) with the asp (*coluber haje*).

⁷⁵ Herodotus, in the same chapter in which he identifies the Egyptian Ammon with the Greek Zeus, says that "the Egyptians give their statues of Zeus the face of a ram" (ii, 42), which is only true of Kneph. Alexander, on his conquest of Egypt, claimed to be the son of Ammon, and thereupon adopted the curved ram's horn which marks his coins and so many of the coins of his "successors." Lucan has the phrase "tortis cornibus Ammon" (*Pharsal.* ix, 514), and in Claudian (*De quarto Consulatu Honorii*, l. 143) Ammon is "corniger."


⁷⁶ Since there was but one God in their Pantheon who could well be paralleled with either Ammon or Kneph, and since Ammon was occasionally represented with the head of Kneph. (See above, p. 336.)

⁷⁷ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 16.

⁷⁸ *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 388.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 377.

⁸⁰ *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 235-43.

⁸¹ Some read the hieroglyph  of

this god as Min.

⁸² Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. iv, p. 202.

⁸³ Bunsen, vol. v, p. 583.

⁸⁴ Herod. ii, 46. Compare Bunsen, vol. i, p. 374.

⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pls. 26, 76, and 77, part ii; Bunsen, vol. i, pl. i; *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 14, fig. 4, etc.

⁸⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 257-8; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. 11, fig. 3; vol. iii, pl. 36, fig. 4, etc.

⁸⁷ Herod. ii, 91; with Wilkinson's note.

⁸⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 55.

⁸⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 142.

⁹⁰ The allusion is to the tall plumed headdress common to Khem with Ammon.

⁹¹ This marked feature in the representations of Khem has been already noticed (*supra*, p. 343). It is mentioned by Stephen of Byzantium (ad voc. ΠΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ), who says the hand and whip were "directed against the moon," which seems very improbable.

⁹² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 264.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Herod. ii, 99; iii, 37; Diodorus Siculus, i, 57, § 5; Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* § 10; Horapollo, i, 10; etc.

⁹⁵ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 23, figs. 1, 4, and 6; Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. vi, fig. 1; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 382; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. iii, pl. 32, fig. 4.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson, pl. 23, figs. 2 and 5; pl. 24, fig. 3; Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. xxxvi, fig. 1, etc.

⁹⁷ See plate xxxv, and compare Herod. iii, 37; Bunsen, vol. i, p. 383; Wilkinson, pl. 24 A, fig. 1, Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13; *Gallery*, pl. 7, fig. 18.

⁹⁸ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. vi, pl. 24, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 254.

¹⁰⁰ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13; Bunsen, vol. i, p. 382.

¹⁰¹ Bunsen, vol. i, p. 384.

¹⁰² Jamblich, *De Mysteriis*, iv, 3.

¹⁰³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 253.

¹⁰⁴ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 11. It is of course quite possible that the Egyptian root *net-h* has a connection with the Hebrew נֶחֱשׁ, which in Kal has the same meaning.

¹⁰⁵ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 35; vol. viii, p. 6, 7, 22, etc.

¹⁰⁶ Herod. ii, 101, 110, 121, § 1, 136, and 153.

¹⁰⁷ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 47; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. iii, p. 399; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 552; "Aucun monument de Memphis ne subsiste encore debout."

¹⁰⁸ Herod. ii, 155. I assume the identity of Buto with Mut, about which Wilkinson was doubtful (*A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 271-5), but which later writers regard as certain. (See Bunsen, vol. i, p. 379.)

¹⁰⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 88, 94; vol. vi, p. 71; and Bunsen, l.s.c.

¹¹⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 274.

¹¹¹ Damascus in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 320.

¹¹² Horapollon, i, 11.

¹¹³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 276. For a good clear representation see Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. lviii, fig. 2.

¹¹⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 88, 94; vol. vi, pp. 23, 24, 34, etc.; Rosellini, pl. xiii, fig. 1; xxx, fig. 4; xxxi, fig. 4; xxxvi, fig. 2; etc.

¹¹⁵ Herod. ii, 67.

¹¹⁶ Plutarch, *Sympos. iv, Q. 5*; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 273.

¹¹⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 88, 94; vol. vi, p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Herod. ii, 83, 133, 152, and 155-6.

¹¹⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 266; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13.

¹²⁰ According to Horapollon, Sati (Hera) presided over the upper portion of the firmament of heaven (i, 11).

¹²¹ The bilingual inscriptions in the neighborhood of Elephantiné show this. (See Bunsen, vol. i, p. 381.)

¹²² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 267.

¹²³ Birch, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 583. There is no appearance, however, of her having any solar character, and

the arrow which forms an element in her name, or accompanies it, would seem rather to point to a war-goddess.

¹²⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 270, and "Supplement," pl. xxi, part 2, fig. 1; Bunsen, vol. i, p. 381, and pl. ii, fig. 2.

¹²⁵ See the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pl. 16.

¹²⁶ Plato, *Tim.* p. 21, E. Compare Herod. ii, 168.

¹²⁷ Wilkinson, *Mat. Hieroglyph.* vii; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 386; etc.

¹²⁸ Bunsen, l.s.c.

¹²⁹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. liv, fig. 2.

¹³⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 285; "Supplement," pl. xxviii, figs. 1 and 2; Bunsen, vol. i, pl. 2, fig. 5.

¹³¹ Wilkinson, pl. xxviii, fig. 3.

¹³² Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13.

¹³³ *De Isid. et Osir.* § 62.

¹³⁴ *Saturn.* i, 19.

¹³⁵ *Strom.* v, p. 155.

¹³⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," pp. ix-x.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*; *Guide to Museum*, p. 11.

¹³⁸ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 387.

¹³⁹ See the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 105-128.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 287; *Mat. Hieroglyph.* p. 6.

¹⁴¹ Bunsen, l.s.c.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. x; Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 524; Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 29; etc.

¹⁴² Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 143.

¹⁴³ *Rai* and *rau* mean "swift" in Ancient Egyptian. (See Birch's *Dictionary* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 466.)

¹⁴⁴ Bunsen, vol. i, p. 387; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 295; and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. x, fig. 1; pl. xxx, fig. 2; pl. xxxiii, fig. 1; etc.

¹⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. xxix, fig. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.*, "Supplement," vol. iv, p. 295. This explanation was first given by Porphyry.

¹⁴⁷ Horapollon, i, 6.

¹⁴⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 297.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* vol. v, pp. 256-60. Not much light is thrown on the subject by the inscriptions, where, however, the following passages occur: "Hail to thee, Ra, the supreme power, the beetle that folds his wings, that rests in the empyrean, that is born as his own son" (*Records*, vol. viii, p. 105); and "Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, the god with the numerous shapes in the sacred dwelling; his form is that of the beetle" (*ibid.* p. 108). From the first of these passages it would seem that the symbolism grew out of the idea that each scarab was a male, which, however, generated another (*Plut. De Isid. et Osir.* § 10), while from the second it might be concluded that the round or roundish form of the beetle lay at the root of the selection.

¹⁵⁰ See Plin. *H. N.* xxx, 11.

¹⁵¹ So Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 258. Dr. Birch notices that the stone and porcelain scarabæi found in Egypt do not all represent one species of beetle, since "some have plain and others striated elytra" (*Guide to Museum*, p. 72).

¹⁵² See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 24, 31, 38, etc.

¹⁵³ Strictly speaking, the third god of the Memphitic triad was Tum, rather than Ra; but Tum, as will be shown later, was little more than a form of Ra.

¹⁵⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 231.

¹⁵⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. x.

¹⁵⁶ See the "Litany of Ra" in the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 105-28, and note particularly p. 106, verse 12, p. 107, verse 27, and p. 108, verse 31.

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 162-3.

¹⁵⁸ See Mr. Goodwin's translation of the Boulaq Papyrus, No. 17, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. ii, pp. 253-6.

¹⁵⁹ *Khepr* or *Khepru* is "to create, make," in Ancient Egyptian. (See Birch's *Dict. of Hieroglyphics*, p. 566). The courtiers of Rameses II. are represented in one place as saying to their master, "The god Ra is like thee in his limbs: the god *Khepra in creative force*" (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 78).

¹⁶⁰ See, besides the above-quoted passage, *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 98, 131, 235; vol. iii, pp. 46, 106, 111, etc.

¹⁶¹ This, which was not known to Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. v, pp. 23-6), is now made clear by the inscriptions (see above, p. 148, and compare *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 122), and generally admitted by Egyptologists. (Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. x; Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 524; De Horrack in *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 122; Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 631; etc.)

¹⁶² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 25; Birch, "Introduction," p. xi; *Records of the Past*, vol. v, p. 27; etc.

¹⁶³ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 23, 52, 59; vol. viii, pp. 6, 39; etc.

¹⁶⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 25.

¹⁶⁵ Tum is called "Lord of the two lands of On" repeatedly in an inscription of Rameses III. (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 59, 61; vol. viii, p. 39; etc.) The two lands seem to have been called respectively "the land of Ra" and "the land of Harmachis."

¹⁶⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 131.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 52.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 95.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* vol. viii, p. 143. Other titles of Tum are, "Creator of those who are," "the hidden," "the Maker of Heaven," "the producer of the gods," "the self-creating," and "the Lord of life, supplying (life to) the gods." (See the *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. lxxix, ad init., and *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 52.)

¹⁷⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduc-

tion," p. xi; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi pp. 52-66; and vol. iv, pp. 27 and 41, where On or Heliopolis is called "the city of the god Tum."

¹⁷¹ See the *Records*, vol. iv, pp. 11, 13, 14, 27, etc.

¹⁷² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 398.

¹⁷³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 25; Bunsen, vol. i, pp. 396-7.

¹⁷⁴ See plate xliii a, fig. 107.

¹⁷⁵ Compare the representation of Ra, supra, plate xlv, fig. 110.

¹⁷⁶ See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 14. A similar representation occurs in the *Great Harris Papyrus*, where Rameses III. addresses the great triad of Memphis, Pthah, Sekhet, and Nefer-Tum. (See the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 6.)

¹⁷⁷ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 397.

¹⁷⁸ The other is one dedicated to Kneph, and originally erected at Elephantiné, which was to be seen at Sion House until its demolition in 1875.

¹⁷⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 27; vol. viii, p. 26; etc.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 59-60.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 59. The total number mentioned is 12,963.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 61-2.

¹⁸³ This version is taken from the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 100-1. A few alterations have been made, chiefly to improve the rhythm.

¹⁸⁴ Birch, *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, pp. 579 and 583.

¹⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 46, part ii.

¹⁸⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 109; vol. viii, p. 24; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 16.

¹⁸⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 105, 115, 116, 119, 124, etc., *Ritual of the Dead*, pp. 180, 269, 275; etc.

¹⁸⁸ So Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. v, p. 275), and Birch (*Guide to Museum*, p. 14).

¹⁸⁹ *Ritual of the Dead*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁰ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. x, 2; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 46, part ii.

¹⁹¹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 14-15; *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. xvi.

¹⁹² See the *Ritual*, chs. xviii, xxxv, cxv, cxxxiv, etc.

¹⁹³ So Birch (*Guide to Museum*, l.s.c.)

¹⁹⁴ *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, pp. 579, 580.

¹⁹⁵ It is remarkable that in the Egyptian paintings the hue assigned to Shu is black or nearly so (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 15-16).

¹⁹⁶ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 405.

¹⁹⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 33, and "Supplement," pl. 49, part ii. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 143.

¹⁹⁸ Birch calls him simply "the Egyptian Mars" (*Guide to Museum*, p. 14); but Wilkinson notes that the real bloody god of war is, not Mentu, but Reshu, or (as

- he reads the name) Ranpo (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 34).
- ¹⁹⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 43, 71, 74, 75, 77; vol. iv, p. 14; vol. viii, p. 75; etc.
- ²⁰⁰ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 404; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 14; vol. viii, p. 75.
- ²⁰¹ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. ii, 1.
- ²⁰² Bunsen, vol. i, p. 405.
- ²⁰³ Champollion originally suggested the derivation of Hermonthis from Mentu-Ra by inversion of the two elements. Wilkinson approves his suggestion (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 33, note).
- ²⁰⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 43.
- ²⁰⁵ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. li, 1 and pl. xxxiv, 2.
- ²⁰⁶ Herod. ii, 42; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. xi; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 345.
- ²⁰⁷ Wilkinson, vol. iv, pp. 317, 325, etc.
- ²⁰⁸ "Ce soleil infernal prenait plus spécialement le nom d'Osiris." (Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 525.)
- ²⁰⁹ See above, p. 150.
- ²¹⁰ See the "Hymn to Osiris," translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 99-100.
- ²¹¹ Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 320-1, with the above mentioned hymn.
- ²¹² Wilkinson, l.s.c.
- ²¹³ *Records of Past*, l.s.c.
- ²¹⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iv, p. 103. It is not quite clear whether these expressions are applied to Osiris or to his son, Horus.
- ²¹⁵ So Birch, *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, p. 582. Hellenicus observed that the Egyptians did not say "Osiris," like the Greeks, but "Hysiris" (ap. Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 34).
- ²¹⁶ Ἡνιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα διερμηνεύουσι πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ΟΣ τὸ πολὺ, τοῦ δὲ ΙΡΙ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Αἰγυπτία γλώττη φράζοντος (ap. Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 10). Bunsen prefers the derivation, "son of Isis," from HES = "Isis" and AR = "child, son" (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 423); but the order of the two elements must be reversed to give this meaning.
- ²¹⁷ So Bunsen, vol. i, p. 425. But Wilkinson thinks the head to be that of "a crane, peculiarized by a tuft of two long feathers" (*A. E.* vol. iv, p. 342).
- ²¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 340.
- ²¹⁹ See plate xliii b (central figure).
- ²²⁰ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 424.
- ²²¹ Or rather, the "symbol of stability." (See Wilkinson, vol. iv, p. 341; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15).
- ²²² There is one specimen in the British Museum, called by Dr. Birch (l.s.c.) "unique." There is another in the Museum of Liverpool. (See Gatty's *Catalogue*, p. 8, No. 27.)
- ²²³ Birch, l.s.c.
- ²²⁴ On some of the contradictions, see Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 438.
- ²²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 416, 439, etc.
- ²²⁶ Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* § 11; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 121.
- ²²⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 119.
- ²²⁸ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 438.
- ²²⁹ See Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, pp. 329-33), where the entire legend is given in full.
- ²³⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 42, fig. 2.
- ²³¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 525-6.
- ²³² So Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* §§ 13-33), who is followed by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 437) and Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 336-7).
- ²³³ See page 168.
- ²³⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 119; vol. iv, pp. 7, 99, 126; vol. vi, p. 3; vol. viii, pp. 26, 29, etc.
- ²³⁵ Wilkinson *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 346.
- ²³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 189, 255, 345, etc.
- ²³⁷ The most usual title of Osiris is "lord of Abydos;" but we find him also termed "lord of This" (Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15) and said to "reside" in This (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 99).
- ²³⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. iv, pp. 395-405; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 433-6; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 420, etc.
- ²³⁹ Brugsch (*Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 22) and Lenormant, (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 525-6) seem to admit but one Ilorus.
- ²⁴⁰ See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 438.
- ²⁴¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 52 et seqq.
- ²⁴² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 35A, part ii, fig. 2; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15; Gatty, *Catalogue of Mayer Collection*, p. 9; etc.
- ²⁴³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 40.
- ²⁴⁴ *Records of the Past*, pp. 5, 123; iv, p. 125; viii, p. 131; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 398; *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. cxli.
- ²⁴⁵ *Records, etc.*, vol. viii, pp. 131-4.
- ²⁴⁶ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xi.
- ²⁴⁷ See the *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 37, 64, 76, 90, 91, 98; vol. iv, pp. 11-14, 20-3, 35, 55, etc.; vol. vi, p. 70; vol. viii, pp. 69, 74, 75, etc.
- ²⁴⁸ See an Inscription of Khufu (Cheops) given by Bunsen in his fifth volume, pp. 719-21, where that king calls himself *ankh Iar*—"the living Ilorus."
- ²⁴⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 89, 91, 92.
- ²⁵⁰ See Birch's *Grammar*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 621.
- ²⁵¹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 19.
- ²⁵² See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, part iii, pls. 91-110; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 30; and Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 109.
- ²⁵³ Birch, pp. 107-10. Compare Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. iv, p. 298) and Lenor-

mant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 391-3.)

²⁶⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, part iii. pls. 91, 106, 110, etc.

²⁶⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 387; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 400; Birch, *Egypt, from the Earliest Times*,

"Introduction," p. xi.

²⁶⁶ See the *Ritual of the Dead* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 211, 239, 275, etc.

²⁶⁷ So Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 401. To me it seems that the object, which is a simple circle, and is sometimes held with both hands (*Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pl. xi, 1), may be merely the sun's disk.

²⁶⁸ Bunsen, l.s.c. and Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 14.

²⁶⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 50.

²⁷⁰ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 394.

²⁷¹ The title "lady of the dance and mirth," is almost the sole monumental evidence of there being any aspect of Athor in which she could be reasonably compared with Venus. But the Greeks and Romans were determined to find resemblances, and often made the most absurd identifications.

²⁷² Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* § 56.

²⁷³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 381-2.

²⁷⁴ See above, p. 169.

²⁷⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 119-23.

²⁷⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 121.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 101-2.

²⁷⁸ See the *Ritual of the Dead*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 180-82, 262, 269, etc.

²⁷⁹ Birch's *Hieroglyphic Grammar* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 621.

²⁸⁰ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 384.

²⁸¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 123; vol. iv, p. 101, etc.

²⁸² Wilkinson, l.s.c.

²⁸³ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 419.


²⁸⁴ Plutarch says that her soul was placed in Sirius, or the Dog-Star, after her death (*De Isid. et Osir.* §§ 21 and 61); but the death of Isis was scarcely an Egyptian idea. It is certain, however, that some very close connection was regarded as existing between the star and the goddess. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 122; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 371.)

²⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 370.


²⁸⁶ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 13.


²⁸⁷ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 392. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 55, 58, 60, etc.

²⁸⁸ Khons is connected by Birch with

khens  "to hunt, to chase:"

and Nefer-hetp would seem to come from the two words *nefer*, "good," and *hetp*

 "food," "welcome," "a table."



But in neither case is the exact intention of the name certain.

²⁸⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 55, 58, 88, etc.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 58.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 94.

²⁹² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 392. Compare the *Description*, vol. iii, pls. 32 and 33, Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. xxxiii, 2.

²⁹³ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 32.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, pp. 55-60.

²⁹⁵ See plate xlii, fig. 104.

²⁹⁶ *Supra*, pp. 339 and 367.

²⁹⁷ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 45, fig. 3.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 90; vol. iv, p. 123; vol. viii, p. 30, etc.

³⁰⁰ *Ritual of the Dead*, pp. 175, 214, 235, etc. In one place (p. 275) Thoth is "the husband of Truth."

³⁰¹ See for these titles, the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 123; the *Ritual of the Dead*, pp. 161, 180; and Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 393.

³⁰² Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v, p. 133. Compare p. 209.

³⁰³ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 123-5. The value of the writings of Thoth to the good souls in the Amenti is noticed also in the *Ritual*, ch. xciv.

³⁰⁴ The legend is contained in the "Tale of Setnau," which has been translated by Dr. Brugsch, and will be found in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 133-48.

³⁰⁵ *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 583.

³⁰⁶ *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 7, note.

³⁰⁷ See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 111: "All eyes are open on thee, and all men worship thee as a god."

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 90; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 4.

³⁰⁹ *Records*, vol. ii, p. 90, note 2. Compare the *Ritual*, chs. cxiv, and cxvi.

³¹⁰ *Records*, vol. ii, p. 90, par. 59.

³¹¹ *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 111.

³¹² See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pl. 10, part 2; vol. ii, pl. 13, part 1; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 54 A; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15.

³¹³ Seb has an important part assigned to him in the legend called "The Destruction of Mankind by Ra," (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 110); but otherwise his name scarcely occurs half a dozen times in the five Egyptian volumes of that series.

³¹⁴ *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 405.

³¹⁵ On the danger to life in Egypt from the crocodile, see Herod. ii, 90; Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* x, 24; Senec. *Nat. Quest.* iv, 2; Diod. Sic. i, 35; and compare *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 143, 155, and 160.

³¹⁶ The word "Savak" occurs as an element in a royal name as early as the twelfth dynasty (Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 164), which would seem to

imply his recognition as a god by the Thebans; but we have no clear evidence of his worship until the time of the nineteenth, when he is much honored by Rameses II. and Rameses III. (See Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pls. xxxii, 2; xxxiii, 1 and 2; xxxv, 2; xxxvi, 1 and 2; *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 29, 31.)

³⁰⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 36.

³⁰⁸ See above, p. 131.

³⁰⁹ Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 50, pt. 2, fig. 3, with pl. 21, pt. 1, fig. 1; and pl. 50, pt. 2, fig. 1, with pl. 24, fig. 2.

³¹⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xii; *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 24, note, etc.

³¹¹ See Birch's *Dict. of Hieroglyphics*, pp. 402-3.

³¹² *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 24.

³¹³ *Ibid.* p. 29: "The men which he gave to the temple of the god, Hanher of the tall plumes."

³¹⁴ Rameses III. speaks of Onuris as "resident in Tenuu," which is the same place as Silsilis.

³¹⁵ *Records*, vol. viii, pp. 24-25.

³¹⁶ See Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xv, 1; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 50, pt. 1.

³¹⁷ This ornament does not appear on the head of any other god. It consists of three spheres placed side by side over the usual wavy horns and surmounted by three vascular forms with a disk at the top of each. On either side are the usual ostrich feathers and uræi.

Curiously enough, this ornament, which was certainly not common in Egypt, appears very slightly modified in the near vicinity of the tomb of Cyrus. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i, p. 256, 3d ed.)

³¹⁸ Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, lettre xi, pp. 155-6.

³¹⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 35.

³²⁰ So Champollion, l.s.c.

³²¹ Wilkinson says, he "held a post among the contemplar gods of Upper and Lower Egypt from Philæ to the Delta" (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 54), but mentions no temple where he was worshipped separately.

³²² Synes. *Encom. Calv.* p. 73, B; *Ann. Marc.* xxii, 14; *Macrob. Saturnal.* i, 20, etc.

³²³ See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 15; Gatty, *Catalogue of Mayer Collection*, p. 8, etc.

³²⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 284-6.

³²⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 280. There is some doubt whether the true wife of Phthah was Bast or Sechet, or whether these two names did not really belong to a single goddess. Individually I incline to this theory; but Dr. Birch in a recent work distinguishes between the two, and suggests that they were sisters (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xi.)

³²⁶ Bunsen suggests the meaning, "the old (oldest?) of the avengers;" but doubtfully (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 399).

³²⁷ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pls. 27, 35A, and 51. Compare *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pl. 16, No. 2; vol. iii, pl. 48; Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. 8, No. 3; pl. 32, No. 1; and numerous statues in the British Museum, as those numbered 16, 62, 88, 517, 518 and 520.

³²⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 277.

³²⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 143.

³³⁰ *Ibid.* vol. viii, p. 31

³³¹ Herod. ii. 137.

³³² *Ibid.* ii, 60.

³³³ Her worship by Rameses III. appears upon the monuments (Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. viii, No. 3; pl. xxxii, No. 1), and is also noticed in the inscriptions (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 31). She was a favorite with Sheshonk, who erected statues to her. Osorkon I. adorned her temple at Bubastis. It is Rameses III. who calls her his "mother," (*Records*, l.s.c.)

³³⁴ See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 108-9, and vol. viii, pp. 131-3.

³³⁵ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 32, fig. 3.

³³⁶ See the "Tears of Isis," in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 119-24.

³³⁷ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 417; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv, p. 438.

³³⁸ See the "Ritual of the Dead," in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 180, 269, 270, 310, etc.

³³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 179.

³⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 437-8.

³⁴¹ See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 582.

³⁴² Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. i, p. 421.

³⁴³ Birch, *Guide to Egyptian Galleries*, p. 5.

³⁴⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 81, 84, etc.

³⁴⁵ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. 6, fig. 2.

³⁴⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 81.

³⁴⁷ Birch, l.s.c.

³⁴⁸ Sometimes instead of feathers, the cap seems to be crowned by a row of lotus blossoms. (See Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. 2, fig. 2.)

³⁴⁹ This is proved by an inscription found at Sehayl, near the first cataract, where she is called "Anuké or Hestia." (See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 26.)

³⁵⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 25-7, etc.

³⁵¹ Diod. Sic. i, 76.

³⁵² Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 88. Sometimes Ma is present in person and watches the proceedings (*Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. 35).

³⁵³ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. 33, fig. 1.

³⁵⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 31.

³⁵⁵ See the *Ritual of the Dead*, ch.

lxxv, where the deceased person is ushered into the "Hall of the Two Truths" (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 252).

³⁵⁶ See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 105, 115, 116, 119, 124; *Ritual of the Dead*, pp. 180, 275, etc.

³⁵⁶ See the *Records*, vol. x, p. 137:—"Shu, the son of Ra, as Ra, navigates the heaven on high every morning; the goddess Tafné rests upon his head: she gives her fire against his enemies to reduce them to non-existence."



³⁵⁷ *Records*, vol. vi, pp. 116 and 119.

³⁵⁸ Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pls. xi and xii; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. li, part i.

³⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 38.

³⁶⁰ Rosellini, l.s.c.

³⁶¹ From *mer*,  or  "to

love," and *skar*  or 

"silence."

³⁶² Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 582.

³⁶³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 81.

³⁶⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 39.

³⁶⁵ Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, p. 78.

³⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. li, part iii.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.* vol. v, pp. 80-1.


³⁶⁸ See above, p. 149.

³⁶⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 121: "Thine enemy is vanquished; he no longer existeth." and compare vol. vi, pp. 116-7. "Shu and Tefnut (Tafné) place their son, Horus, son of Isis, on the throne of his father; they upset Set; they drag him to a secret place of punishment in the east. *Horus kills him in his name.*"

³⁷⁰ See the list of early Egyptian gods in Manetho (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 20, § 1); where Typhon (= Set) occurs between Osiris and Horus.

³⁷¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 3.

³⁷² The name of Seti I. is commonly

written   where the sitting figure

represents Set.

³⁷³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 416-18.

³⁷⁴ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 27, 32, etc.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 117, 122; vol. x, p. 162, etc.

³⁷⁶ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 38, pt. ii, fig. 1; pl. 39, fig. 1; and pl. 78, fig. 1.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 38, pt. ii, fig. 2.

³⁷⁸ So Canon Cook in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 102, and Bunsen in his *Egypt*, vol. i, p. 425.

³⁷⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 101.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* vol. x, p. 145. This enlistment of Nubti, or Nubi, among the *helpers* of the sun is very remarkable.

³⁸¹ See Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. xxxi, fig. 1; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 40.

³⁸² See fig. 108.

³⁸³ Rosellini, l.s.c.

³⁸⁴ See plate xxxv, fig. 88, where the central figure is that of Bes.

³⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 432.

³⁸⁶ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

³⁸⁷ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 16.

³⁸⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 436.

³⁸⁹ See above, p. 171.

³⁹⁰ See the *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. xxxix, (in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 193-5.)

³⁹¹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 220, 2d edition.

³⁹² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, "Supplement," pl. 44, pt. i, fig. 3.

³⁹³ *Ibid.* pl. 88.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 87.

³⁹⁵ Propert. III, xi, 41; Ov. *Met.* ix, 690; Virg. *Æn.* viii, 698; Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* § 14.

³⁹⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 44, pt. i, fig. 2.

³⁹⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 3.

³⁹⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 3; vol. x, pp. 3, 85; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 442.

³⁹⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 149.

⁴⁰⁰ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 415.

⁴⁰¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 71. The mummied form is by far the most common.

⁴⁰² Wilkinson, *A. E.* pp. 78-1. Compare Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁰³ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 86-7; Gatty, *Catalogue of Mayer Collection*, p. 39.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. xvii (in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 175).

⁴⁰⁵ See especially, *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 85-7.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ritual of the Dead*, ch. cxlix, ad fin.

⁴⁰⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 62; Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pl. lxvi, etc.

⁴⁰⁸ See the *Ritual*, ch. cxxv, (Bunsen, pp. 253-6).

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 252.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 256.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* The final annihilation of the wicked soul, when it took place, was effected by Shu. (See above, p. 363.)

⁴¹² Nun is often mentioned in the sacred myths, as, for instance, in the "Destruction of Mankind by Ra," where he is called "the firstborn of the gods," and said to be the father of Ra (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 105-6).

⁴¹³ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 56-9; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 107-114; vol. vi, pp. 66-9; Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. xxx, fig. 4.

⁴¹⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 149.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 69.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. vol. xv, pp. 12-13; vol. x, pp. 29, 34, etc.

⁴¹⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 31. Khaft is called "lady of the country" by Thothmes III, in a tablet set up at Thebes.

⁴¹⁸ Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 29.

⁴¹⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pls. 54 and 54A; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 583.

⁴²⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 41-5; Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pl. xlviii, fig. 2, and pl. lii, fig. 2. Birch reads the name as "Nub," regarding the initial letter as

⌋ and not ⌋. (See Bunsen's *Egypt*,

vol. v, p. 582.)

⁴²¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 64; and "Supplement," pl. 58, pt. 4; *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 156; Birch, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 583.

⁴²² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14.

⁴²³ Ibid. vol. viii, p. 78; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 64, pt. 2.

⁴²⁴ *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁴²⁵ Bunsen, vol. i, pp. 409-10; *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 142; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 70, pt. 1.

⁴²⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 31; vol. x, p. 12, etc.

⁴²⁷ Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 68, 71, 76; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 11.

⁴²⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 83-4; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 411-12.

⁴²⁹ Bunsen, vol. i, p. 412; Birch, l.s.c.

⁴³⁰ Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 583; Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 65, pt. 3.

⁴³¹ Am, the "Cerberus" of Wilkinson, (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 77, and "Supplement," pl. 63, pt. 2), seems to have been one of the demons of Hades. He watches the weighing of souls (Wilkinson, pl. 88) Ament was a feminine Ammon (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 378); Astes, one of the gods of Hades, joined with Thoth, Osiris, and Anubis (*Ritual of the Dead*, ch. xviii); Hak, a son of Kneph and Anuka, worshipped together with them at Elephantine; Maki, a crocodile god, a son of Set (*Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 139, 147, and 154). Nausaas was a daughter of Ra, or Tum, and one of the chief deities of Heliopolis (ib. vol. vi, pp. 56, 58). Nebhept, generally coupled with Nausaas, is thought to have been a form of Athor. Nissem or Nuneb, is joined by Horus of the 18th dynasty with Uati, Neith, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Set (ib. vol. x, p. 34). Nuhar and Urhek are included by Birch in his list of Egyptian deities (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 581-3); the former is said to be a "god of the firmament."

⁴³² Herod. ii, 145.

⁴³³ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 41-2.

⁴³⁴ Ibid. p. 35.

⁴³⁵ Ibid. p. 97.

⁴³⁶ Strictly speaking, Manetho's list is one of seven, not eight, deities. But Isis may perhaps be considered to be implied in Osiris. (See Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 20, § 1, and compare Syncell. *Chronograph.*, pp. 51-2.)

⁴³⁷ Herod. ii, 43: 'Εκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυνάδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο. Compare ch. 145.

⁴³⁸ Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 366-8.

⁴³⁹ So Bunsen, p. 387. But the Egyptian mythology is not always self-consistent. Ra is sometimes the son of Nun (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 105-6).

⁴⁴⁰ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 12. The lists here given do not altogether agree with those contained in Dr. Birch's *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, which are as follows:—

EIGHT GREAT GODS AT THEBES.	EIGHT GREAT GODS AT MEMPHIS.
--------------------------------	---------------------------------

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Ammon Ra. | 1. Phthah. |
| 2. Mentu. | 2. Ra. |
| 3. Shu. | 3. Shu (with Tafné). |
| 4. Seb. | 4. Seb. |
| 5. Nut. | 5. Nut. |
| 6. Osiris. | 6. Osiris (with Isis). |
| 7. Set. | 7. Set. |
| 8. Horus (with Athor). | 8. Horus. |

⁴⁴¹ Heliopolis, for instance, the "Eight" would almost certainly have comprised, besides Ra and Horus, the god Tum and the goddesses Nebhept and Nausaas. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 52.)

⁴⁴² It is observable that Bunsen, who alone attempts to fix on a definite "twelve," is obliged immediately to append to his list a "supplementary" one of thirteen others (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, pp. 409-11).

⁴⁴³ Maentfef and Karbukef appear in the *Ritual of the Dead* as companions of the "Four Genii," but apparently are of a lower grade (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 175).

⁴⁴⁴ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xi; *Guide to Museum*, p. 11; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, pp. 230-3. Bunsen objects to the word "triad," and thinks the grouping by three unimportant (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 365).

⁴⁴⁵ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, l.s.c.

⁴⁴⁶ Supra.

⁴⁴⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 133.

⁴⁴⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 108-10.

⁴⁴⁹ There is one slight acknowledgment in a "Hymn to Tum," which has been already given at length, (supra, p. 361-2); and in the *Ritual of the Dead*, it is admitted that the soul, after passing through the Hall of the Two Truths, and protesting five times over, "I am pure. I am pure, etc.," still requires cleansing in

the basin of purgatorial fire. "Extract ye all the evil out of me," say the souls; "obliterate my faults; annihilate my sins." "Thou mayest go," reply the spirits; "we obliterate all thy faults; we annihilate all thy sins." (See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 260).

⁴⁵⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 137-9.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.* vol. x, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 150. Compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 400.

⁴⁵³ *Records*, vol. x, p. 52.

⁴⁵⁴ Contrast with these utterances those of David (Ps. xxxi, 9-10; xxxii, 1-7; xl, 12, etc.), Isaiah (vi, 5), and even Job (xi, 4; xiii, 6).

⁴⁵⁵ Bread is usually placed first in the general descriptions of sacrifices (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 3; vol. vi, pp. 29, 31, etc.; vol. x, p. 44). Ten or twelve different kinds of bread are mentioned as offered to the Theban triad by Rameses III. (*ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 44-5), whose total of "good bread, different loaves," offered in one temple during the space of thirty-one years was 2,844,357, or above 90,000 annually.

⁴⁵⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 45, 64, etc.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 337; *Juv. Sat.* vi, 540; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 13; vol. vi, p. 45, etc.

⁴⁵⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 3; vol. vi, pp. 29, 31, 45, etc.

⁴⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 368-9.

⁴⁶⁰ Herod. ii, 39; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 28; vol. viii, p. 14; vol. x, p. 44, etc.

⁴⁶¹ "Spirits" are thought to occur among the offerings of the kings to the temples (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 45, 62, etc.).

⁴⁶² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 338-40.

⁴⁶³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 339. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 12.

⁴⁶⁴ See the "Inscription of Queen Hatsa" in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 13-19.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 42, 46, 65, 67, etc.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.* vol. 48-9, 65, 68, etc.

⁴⁶⁷ Herod. ii, 41, 45, *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 90, 93, 96, etc.; vol. vi, pp. 31, 33, etc.

⁴⁶⁸ Herod. ii, 42.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 47-8.

⁴⁷⁰ Just as they did among the Jews. (See *Levit.* v, 7; xii, 8; and xiv, 22).

⁴⁷¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 44.

⁴⁷² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 347; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 11; Trevor, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 172, etc.

⁴⁷³ See Herod. ii, 41. (Herodotus says that they were "sacred to Isis," but, by mentioning *Afar-bechis* as their burial place, shows that it was not Isis, but Athor, to whom they were dedicated.)

⁴⁷⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 47, 64, 66; vol. viii, p. 20, etc.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.* vol. ii, pp. 90, 96, 99; vol. x, pp. 44, 62, etc.

⁴⁷⁶ Herod. l.s.c.; Porphyr. *De Abstinent.* ii, § 11; Hieronym. *Adv. Jovin.* ii, 7; etc.

⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 352.

⁴⁷⁸ Herod. ii, 38.

⁴⁷⁹ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

⁴⁸⁰ Herod. ii, 40.

⁴⁸¹ See above, p. 192.

⁴⁸² Herod. ii, 39.

⁴⁸³ *Deut.* xii, 1-9.

⁴⁸⁴ Herod. ii, 40.

⁴⁸⁵ Herod. ii, 66-7. Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 161-8. Cat mummies are very common (Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 60-1).

⁴⁸⁶ Herod. ii, 67, 75; Wilkinson *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 217-25.

⁴⁸⁷ Wilkinson, vol. v, pp. 128-31; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 17, 60, etc.

⁴⁸⁸ Herod. ii, 65, 67; Diod. Sic. i, 87; Wilkinson, vol. v, pp. 205-210, etc.

⁴⁸⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 105, 108; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 72.

⁴⁹⁰ Wilkinson expresses himself doubtfully on this point (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 243).

⁴⁹¹ Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 72. (Compare Herod. ii, 63.) Sheep were especially sacred at Thebes and at Saïs.

⁴⁹² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 138-41.

⁴⁹³ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xii; *Guide to Museum*, pp. 17-20.

⁴⁹⁴ Herod. ii, 65; Diod. Sic. i, 83; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 91-5.

⁴⁹⁵ Herod. ii, 67.

⁴⁹⁶ Herodotus says that even accidentally killing an ibis or a hawk entailed the penalty of death (ii, 65, ad fin.) But this was not the Egyptian law. The fanaticism of the people may occasionally have led to such a shocking result. (See Diod. Sic. l.s.c.)

⁴⁹⁷ Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 44.

⁴⁹⁸ On the signs by which an Apis calf was known, see Herod. iii, 28, ad fin., and compare Ælian, *Nat. An.* xi, 10; Plin. *H. N.* viii, 46; Amm. Marc. xxii, 14.

The chief seem to have been a white star on the forehead, and a white mark on the back or side, in which some resemblance could be traced to the outline of an eagle. It is evident that the priests would easily find a fresh Apis, whenever they wanted one.

⁴⁹⁹ Herod. ii, 152.

⁵⁰⁰ So Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 535) and Birch, (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xii.) Others make the Apis bulls incarnations of Osiris (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 347; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i, p. 431).

⁵⁰¹ The hieroglyphics which represent this name are different from those expressive of the Nile-god, but identical (or nearly so) with the group which represents the second genius of Amenti (see above, p. 409).

⁵⁰² Wilkinson, *A. E.* iv, p. 351.

⁵⁰³ Strab. xvii, 1, § 31. There were also apartments provided in the temple for a certain number of other cows.

Apis requiring to have the solace of female companionship. (See Ælian, *Nat. An.* xii, 10.)

⁵⁰⁴ Plin. *H. N.* viii, 46; Amm. Marc. xxii, 14.

⁵⁰⁵ Recently discovered by M. Mariette. (See his *Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis trouvés au Sérapéum*, Paris, 1855.)

⁵⁰⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 536; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 63-4.

⁵⁰⁷ *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.

⁵⁰⁸ Herod. iii, 27; Ælian, l.s.c.; Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 35; Diod. Sic. i, 84, etc.

⁵⁰⁹ Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 33; Diod. Sic. l.s.c.; Strab. xvii, 1, § 27.

⁵¹⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xii.

⁵¹¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 196.

⁵¹² Macrob. *Saturnal.* i, 21; Strab. xvii, 1, § 47; Ælian, *Nat. An.* xii, 11.

⁵¹³ Macrob. l.s.c.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.* Compare Ælian, l.s.c.

⁵¹⁵ Ælian, l.s.c.

⁵¹⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 35A, pt. 2; pl. 36, figs. 2 and 3.

⁵¹⁷ Strab. xvii, 1, § 22.

⁵¹⁸ Strabo (l.s.c.) seems to place this animal on a par with the Apis and Mnevis bulls.

⁵¹⁹ This is the view to which Sir G. Wilkinson inclines. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 92-3, 2d edition.) Among the ancients, it was held by Diodorus (i, 86) and Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* i, 36).

⁵²⁰ Even Wilkinson allows that they have weight, and suggests that, besides the ground of utility, the Egyptians must have had some other "hidden motive" on which it is idle to speculate (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 109).

⁵²¹ Diod. Sic. i, 12.

⁵²² Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 72.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* Compare Diod. Sic. i, 86.

⁵²⁴ Canon Trevor (see his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 184). Porphyry, among the ancients, was an advocate of this theory (*De Abstin.* iv, 9). It is disproved by the fact that the Egyptians worshipped some animals only, not all.

⁵²⁵ Mr. R. Stuart Poole (*Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 501).

⁵²⁶ See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 533-4:—"Le symbolisme était l'essence même du génie de la nation égyptienne et de sa religion. *L'abus de cette tendance produisit la plus grossière et la plus monstrueuse aberration du culte extérieur et populaire de la terre de Mitsraïm. Pour symboliser les attributs, les qualités et la nature des diverses divinités de leur panthéon, les prêtres égyptiens avaient eu recours aux êtres du règne animal. Le taureau, la vache, le bœuf, le chat, le singe, le crocodile, l'hippopotame, l'épervier, l'ibis, le scarabée, etc., étaient les emblèmes chacun d'un personnage divin. On représentait le dieu sous la figure de cet*

animal, ou plus souvent encore, par accouplement étrange et particulier à l'Égypte, on lui en donnait la tête sur un corps humain. Mais les habitants des bords du Nil, éloignés de l'idolâtrie des autres nations païennes par un instinct de leur nature, avaient préféré porter leurs hommages à des images vivantes de leurs dieux plutôt qu'à des images inertes de pierre ou de métal; et ces images vivantes, ils les avaient trouvées dans les animaux qu'ils avaient choisis pour emblèmes de l'idée exprimée dans la conception de chaque dieu. *De là ce culte des animaux sacrés, qui paraissait si étrange et si ridicule aux Grecs et aux Romains.*"

⁵²⁷ The chief apparent exceptions are the dog, the ichneumon, the shrewmouse, and the fish worshipped in different localities; to which may perhaps be added the ibex and the antelope, if these were really sacred. No gods have been found represented by the forms, or with the heads, of these animals. I suspect, however, that originally the Egyptians confused together the wolf, the jackal, and the dog, and that the ancients were not altogether wrong when they said that Anubis had the head of a dog (see above, p. 408). In most of the remaining cases the worship was markedly local, and may have been connected with some local divinity of whom we have no representation.

⁵²⁸ See above, p. 146-7.

⁵²⁹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 202, 2d edit.

⁵³⁰ Herod. ii, 155, 169, etc.; Diod. Sic. i, 45-9; Strab. xvii, 1, §§ 28, 46, etc.

⁵³¹ Herod. ii, 37.

⁵³² "Instead of a single priest," says Herodotus (l.s.c.), "each god has the attendance of a college, of whom one is the chief priest." Sir G. Wilkinson observes that this statement "is fully confirmed by the sculptures." (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 56, note 8.)

⁵³³ Herod. ii, 58, ad init.

⁵³⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 85, note. The feast, being delayed until the moon actually reappeared, took place in reality on the day after the new moon.

⁵³⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 315.

⁵³⁶ Herod. ii, 47.

⁵³⁷ Wilkinson doubts the statements of Herodotus on this point, because Osiris was not a Priapic god (*A. E.* vol. iv, p. 342). But they are confirmed by Plutarch, who declares that the Paamyliia, a festival in honor of Osiris, resembled the Greek Phallophoria (*De Isid. et Osir.* § 12 and § 18). Even Wilkinson would allow that the indecencies in question formed a part of the Egyptian religion; but he would transfer them from the cult of Osiris to that of Khem. (See *A. E.* vol. v, p. 306.)

⁵³⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 301 (compare vol. iv, p. 335); Trevor, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 190.

⁶³⁹ Herod. ii, 60-3.

⁶⁴⁰ Seven hundred thousand, without counting children, at Bubastis, according to this writer (ii, 60, ad fin.)

⁶⁴¹ Compare the well-known bloody rites of Juggernaut.

⁶⁴² Plin. *N. H.* viii, 46.

⁶⁴³ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v, p. 271.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 275. Compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 85; 2d edit.

⁶⁴⁵ See Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, pls. 67 et seqq.

⁶⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 271-5.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 392-7.

⁶⁴⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 384, 397, etc.

⁶⁴⁹ See Birch's *Guide to the Vestibules of the Egyptian Galleries*, pp. 29-39.

⁶⁵⁰ Birch says that the scenes represented are "acts of sepulchral homage or ancestral worship made by the children and other relatives of the dead" (*Guide to Vestibules*, p. 23). Wilkinson, on the contrary, suggests that "it was not to the deceased that these ceremonies were performed, but to that particular portion of the Divine essence which constituted the soul of each individual and returned to the Deity after death" (*A. E.* vol. v, p. 381).

⁶⁵¹ See above, pp. 177, 180, etc.

⁶⁵² Compare above, p. 76.

⁶⁵³ Herod. ii, 171.

⁶⁵⁴ A good article on this subject has appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, (December 1878, pp. 1105-30) since the earlier portion of this chapter was in type. The writer takes a somewhat over-favorable view, and omits to notice the great contrast between the esoteric and exoteric systems in Egypt,—the religion of the few and the religion of the many. No account of the Egyptian religion can be regarded as a fair one which is silent on the subject of the general idolatry and polytheism, of the existence of indecent rites, and of the constant occurrence of indecent emblems in the religious representations.

⁶⁵⁵ Herod. l.s.c. Compare ii, 48, ad fin.: and also chs. 61, 62, 65, etc.

⁶⁵⁶ As Diodorus and Macrobius. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iv, p. 326.) Plutarch's explanations (*De Isid. et Osir.* § 38 et seqq.) are scarcely more trustworthy.

CHAPTER XI.

¹ Herod, ii, 35.

² As the division into classes, which, if not actual castes, approached nearly to the caste character.

³ As the dislike of foreigners, and the designation of one port only with which they might trade (Herod. ii, 179).

⁴ The Egyptian chariots, arms, furniture, and personal ornaments have a considerable resemblance to the Assyrian.

⁵ "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, including their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, and Early History, derived from a comparison of the paintings, sculptures, and monuments still existing with the accounts of ancient authors, illustrated by drawings of those subjects. By Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S., M.R.S.L., etc. Five volumes, with Supplement, containing Plates and Index. London: Murray, 1837-41."

⁶ In producing his "History of Herodotus," the author had for many years the advantage of Sir G. Wilkinson's kind assistance, and was in constant communication with him on Egyptian and other subjects.

⁷ A work in two volumes, moderately illustrated, will penetrate to a class of British readers, to whom works in five volumes, illustrated lavishly, are a forbidden luxury. Moreover, the author's writings are largely read in America, where Sir G. Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs" is not (he believes) to be found even in all public libraries.

⁸ Herod. ii, 164-6. ⁹ *Plat. Tim.* p. 24 B.

¹⁰ *Diod. Sic.* i, 28, 73.

¹¹ *Strab.* xvi, 1, § 3.

¹² See the table, opp. p. 644; and compare pp. 36-7.

¹³ Herod. ii, 143. The number of generations is, of course, unworthy of credit, but the general fact of the hereditary succession of the Theban high priests would be one within the cognizance of Herodotus's informants, and may be accepted.

¹⁴ See Birch. *Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. xx.; Lenormant, *L'annee d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 477-8; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 248, 3d edition.

¹⁵ Herod. ii, 166, sub fin.

¹⁶ As Herodotus declares they did (ii, 47).

¹⁷ The subjoined will show the resemblances and differences between these three authorities:—

CLASSES OF HERODOTUS.

1. Priests.
2. Soldiers.
3. Cowherds.
4. Swineherds.
5. Traders.
6. Boatmen.
7. Interpreters.

CLASSES OF PLATO.

1. Priests.
2. Soldiers.
3. Herdsmen.
4. Husbandmen.
5. Artificers.
6. Hunters.

CLASSES OF DIODORUS.

1. Priests.
2. Soldiers.
3. Herdsmen.
4. Husbandmen.
5. Artificers.

¹⁸ See Strab. l.s.c., and compare Lenormant, vol. i, p. 481: "Toute la portion de la population libre qui n'appartenait ni au corps sacerdotal ni au corps militaire composait, en Egypte, un troisième ordre de l'état, qui lui-même se subdividait en plusieurs classes," etc.

¹⁹ See above, p. 80.

²⁰ Herod. l.s.c.

²¹ Herod. ii, 149, ad fin.

²² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotians*, vol. ii, p. 129, and *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 47.

²³ Herod. ii, 154.

²⁴ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xix.

²⁵ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 487.

²⁶ Out of twelve officials, whose inscriptions are published in the *Records of the Past*, six appear to have been soldiers, and three others priests.

²⁷ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xix.

²⁸ Herod. ii, 37, sub fin.; *Rosetta Stone*, line 6 (in *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 71).

²⁹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xx.

³⁰ See *Rosetta Stone*, l.s.c.; and compare *Decree of Canopus*, line 2 (*Records*, etc., vol. viii, p. 83); and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i, p. 758.

³¹ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 450.

³² Birch, l.s.c. Compare *Decree of Canopus*, line 3.

³³ *Rosetta Stone*, lines 6-7; *Decree of Canopus*, l.s.c.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Compare *Records*, vol. x, p. 53.

³⁵ Diod. Sic. i, 29; Porphyr. *De Abstemientia*, iv, 8. There is a famous figure of a "pastophorus" in the Vatican, which has been represented in various works on art. (See Winckelman's *History of Art*, vol. i, pl. 7; and Visconti's *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. vii, pl. 6.)

³⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 238.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, and compare the *Rosetta Stone*, line 7. ³⁸ Porphyr. l.s.c.

³⁹ Wilkinson, l.s.c.

⁴⁰ Herod. ii, 68; Diod. Sic. i, 83; etc.

⁴¹ Birch speaks of "chapters or synods," by which the highest posts were filled up when vacant (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xx); but I am not aware that there is any evidence of their existence earlier than the time of the Ptolemies.

⁴² That the priests had their lands before the time of Joseph, is apparent from Gen. xlvii, 22 and 26.

⁴³ This seems to be the meaning of Diodorus Siculus (i, 73), who may have had access to the Roman registers.

⁴⁴ This appears especially from the "Great Harris Papyrus," where the priestly lands, slave cultivators, barns, granaries, cattle-stalls, poultry-yards, etc., are repeatedly mentioned (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 31-34; vol. viii, pp. 8-39).

⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 262.

⁴⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 31, 32, 36; vol. viii, pp. 14, 29, 39, etc.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 37-40, 61, 69, etc.; vol. viii, pp. 16-17, 20-21, 32-35, etc.

⁴⁸ Rameses III. declares that he presented to temples, in the course of thirty-one years, gold vases weighing 2,218,920 grains troy, silver vases weighing 3,399,900 grains, 3,047 pieces of linen, 6,278 turquoise rings, 4,247 crystal rings, 12,256 "pectorals," 10,463 seals, and other ornaments in lapis lazuli, jasper green feldspar, turquoise, and crystal, almost without number. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 32-5).

⁴⁹ Herod. ii, 37. Porphyrus (*De Abstemientia*, iv, 7) says thrice a day, and once in the night, occasionally. But he is speaking of Roman times.

⁵⁰ Herod. l.s.c. In the representations of priests upon the monuments, the head is either perfectly bare, or covered with an ample wig, which descends to the shoulders. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 62-3, 3d edition.)

⁵¹ So Herodotus (l.s.c.); but Pliny says that cotton dresses were particularly agreeable to the priests (*H. N.* xix. 1). Probably we have here an indication of the laxer discipline which prevailed ultimately.

⁵² Herod. l.s.c.; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 26. Shoes were not really worn until the Græco-Roman period.

⁵³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 279. For a representation, see above, p. 282.

⁵⁴ Herod. ii, 37; Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 6.

⁵⁵ Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 8.

⁵⁶ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 447.

⁵⁷ See note ⁹², chap. vi.

⁵⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 278.

⁵⁹ As Wilkinson supposes. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 62, note 2; and compare Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 449.)

⁶¹ Diod. Sic. i, 80, § 3.

⁷² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 282; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* i, p. 266.

⁶³ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 62-3; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 76, where a procession of priests in various costumes carries the divine emblems.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pl. 76.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 278-379.

⁶⁶ Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, pp. 258-262, with Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 452.

⁶⁷ Herod. ii, 35.

⁶⁸ Kenrick, l.s.c.

⁶⁹ Herod. ii, 54, 56. Compare De Rouge, *Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux premières Dynasties de l'Egypte*, pp. 83, 97, etc.

⁷⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 71.

⁷¹ Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 56. (Compare *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 360.)

- ⁷² Wilkinson, *A. E.* "Supplement," pls. 83-6.
- ⁷³ Herodotus (ii. 165-6) estimates the actual soldiers at 410,000, Diodorus (i. 54) 692,000. Taking the average of a family at five persons, the former estimate would give for the military class a total of 2,050,000, the latter a total of 3,460,000.
- ⁷⁴ See above, p. 210.
- ⁷⁵ Diod. Sic. i. 54, § 6; Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προεπιρημένοις κατεκλήρουχθησε τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς χώρας.
- ⁷⁶ Herod. ii. 168.
- ⁷⁷ See above, note ⁷⁵, chap. xi.
- ⁷⁸ See *Records of the Past*, vi. 9; and compare Diod. Sic. i. 73, § 6.
- ⁷⁹ Herod. ii. 165-6.
- ⁸⁰ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 249, note ⁶; Birch, *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, p. 410.
- ⁸¹ Herod. ii. 166. ⁸² Herod. ii. 165.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.* ii. 30, with Wilkinson's note.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 168.
- ⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 286.
- ⁸⁶ Diod. Sic. i. 53, § 3. Birch, in his additions to Wilkinson, notes that military schools are alluded to, and the hardships endured at them complained of, in a letter written by a contemporary of Rameses II., and published by M. Maspero (*A. E.* vol. i, p. 187; ed. of 1878).
- ⁸⁷ So Diodorus, l.s.c.
- ⁸⁸ Diod. Sic. i. 53, § 5.
- ⁸⁹ Diodorus makes the infantry of Sesostriis 600,000, the cavalry 24,000, and the chariots 27,000 (i. 54, § 4). This is not historical, but it indicates the notions which that writer obtained from the Egyptian priests of the proportion which the three main arms of the service bore one to the other.
- ⁹⁰ Metal helmets were but rarely worn, the weight being inconvenient in so hot a climate. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 330.) Still, unless they had been in occasional use, the story told by Herodotus of Psamatik I. (Herod. ii. 151) would scarcely have gained acceptance.
- ⁹¹ Wilkinson, l.s.c.
- ⁹² Herod. ii. 182, with Wilkinson's note; and compare *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 331-2.
- ⁹³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 332, and pl. iii, fig. 7.
- ⁹⁴ Instances are found where the shield expands instead of contracting (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xciv, line 2, etc.) But they are of rare occurrence.
- ⁹⁵ Wilkinson, vol. i, pp. 298-9.
- ⁹⁶ See Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxvii, 4; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 202, ed. of 1878.
- ⁹⁷ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv, opp. p. 402.
- ⁹⁸ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxvi, cxxix, etc.
- ⁹⁹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. cxxvi, et seqq.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, part iii, pls. 154, 155, etc.
- ¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, pp. 301, 334; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* pls. cxxix, cxxx, etc.
- ¹⁰¹ Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 316; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. cxvii, 3.
- ¹⁰² Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. cxx; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 145, b; etc.
- ¹⁰³ Diod. Sic. i. 54, § 4.
- ¹⁰⁴ Herod. ii. 162.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ex. xv, 21; Is. xxxvi, 9; 2 Kings xviii, 23-4, etc.
- ¹⁰⁶ 2 Chron. xii, 3.
- ¹⁰⁷ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 68, 70, 72, etc.
- ¹⁰⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 292.
- ¹⁰⁹ In the army of Xerxes they served as sailors only (Herod. vii, 89); in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Cunaxa as infantry only (Xen. *Anab.* i, 8, § 9).
- ¹¹⁰ See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxii, 1; lxiv, etc.
- ¹¹¹ Diod. Sic. l.s.c.
- ¹¹² 2 Chron. xii, 3.
- ¹¹³ Lepsius *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 153, 160; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxxxvii, xcvi, cxii, cv, etc.
- ¹¹⁴ Lepsius, vol. vi, pl. 155; Rosellini, pl. cvii.
- ¹¹⁵ Rosellini, pl. ciii.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Sometimes the warrior drives; but this, it may be presumed, was before coming into the presence of the enemy. (See Rosellini, pl. lxxxii.)
- ¹¹⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 336, fig. 1. Three warriors are frequent in the chariots of other nations. (Rosellini, pls. lxxviii-xci, etc.; Lepsius, vol. vi, pls. 157-60.)
- ¹¹⁸ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 342.
- ¹¹⁹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. lxxxii, lxxxiv, and c.
- ¹²⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 348, (For representations, see, besides the places mentioned in the preceding note, Rosellini, *M. S.* pls. lxxxii, and cii.)
- ¹²¹ Wilkinson, p. 343.
- ¹²² The representations of chariots represent the pair of horses as driven by a single rein; but it is supposed that this is an "economy" of the artists, and that in reality each horse had his own rein.
- ¹²³ See fig. 149.
- ¹²⁴ See Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. ci; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 318.
- ¹²⁵ The king has in all cases the curved, and not the straight, sword. It is also more common than the straight sword in the hands of the soldiers.
- ¹²⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, pp. 324-5; Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pls. cxvii, 5, and cxix, 1.
- ¹²⁷ Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 326.
- ¹²⁸ See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 39, No. 5467.
- ¹²⁹ For a representation, see Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxxix.
- ¹³⁰ Wilkinson, vol. i, page 329.
- ¹³¹ Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 319. Compare the weapons themselves in the British Museum (Nos. 5423-6).
- ¹³² The bronze used for arms appears, upon analysis, to have been composed as follows; copper 94.0, tin 5.9, iron 0.1.

(See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 39.) The tin is in a smaller proportion than usual, but the slight tinge of iron was probably more than a compensation.

¹³⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 320.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 319.

¹³⁵ See Herod. iii, 21.

¹³⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 308.

¹³⁷ Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. cxxi, 25; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 305.

¹³⁸ Wilkinson, p. 308.

¹³⁹ See fig. 156. It is noticeable that the Egyptian chariot archers often attempt to entangle their enemies with their strung bows, which implies great confidence in the strength of the string.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 310 (woodcut 33, fig. 4).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 309. It may perhaps be questioned whether two or three feathers were used.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* p. 306 (woodcut 29).

¹⁴³ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. xlvi, 1; xlviij 2, etc. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 126 b, 160, 166, etc.

¹⁴⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. cxxi, 23 and 26.

¹⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 315.

¹⁴⁶ See the representations in Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. cxxix, cxxx, cxxxii, etc.

¹⁴⁷ Wilkinson, p. 293; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xcvi; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, part iii, pl. 155.

¹⁴⁸ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. ciii.

¹⁴⁹ See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. cxxvii and cxxviii.

¹⁵⁰ The plume of Ammon, the heads of Horus, Khonsu, Athor, Isis, and Tafné, the jackal of Anubis, the hawk of Horus or Ra, the crocodile of Savak, the stork of Thoth, are among the forms recognized. Sacred anks are also common. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 294; and Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. cxxi, Nos. 1 to 15.)

¹⁵¹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 68, where we find the chief division of the army of Rameses II. named after the gods, Ammon, Ra, Pthah, an^d Set.

¹⁵² Birch in the new edition of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 193, note 8.

¹⁵³ Birch in the new edition of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 193, note 8.

¹⁵⁴ *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.

¹⁵⁵ The four chiefs who direct the attack on the fort represented on page 468 are the four sons of Rameses II. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 361, note.)

¹⁵⁶ See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cvliij; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 145 c and 166.

¹⁵⁷ See the woodcut plate lxiv, and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 145 c; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. lxxviii.

¹⁵⁸ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 474, 2d edition.

¹⁵⁹ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 471.

¹⁶⁰ Dr. Birch speaks of the employment of catapults by the Egyptians (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xix), and Canon Cook finds *balista* mentioned in an inscription of Pianchi (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 88), who, however, is an Ethiopian and not an Egyptian. But I am not aware that any representation occurs in the Egyptian monuments of either a catapult or a *balista*. Still it is not improbable that they may have been introduced from Assyria in the time of the twenty-second dynasty. The later monarchs, however, have left us no representations of their wars or sieges, so that we have no means of knowing whether or no they innovated upon the old Egyptian practice.

¹⁶¹ See fig. 160.

¹⁶² Herod. ii, 157.

¹⁶³ 1 Kings ix, 25-6, compared with 2 Chron. xlii, 2-9.

¹⁶⁴ So Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 274 (edition of 1878).

¹⁶⁵ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 5-6; vol. vi, pp. 7-10.

¹⁶⁶ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxxxi; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 203-4; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. x.

¹⁶⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 204.

¹⁶⁸ For representations, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 45; vol. v, pl. 17; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. iv, pl. lxxv, 3; vol. v, pl. xviii, 7.

¹⁶⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 95-6. Compare Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 697-8.

¹⁷⁰ The use of the Nile boats in warfare is indicated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 6; vol. vi, p. 7; etc.

¹⁷¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 205.

¹⁷² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 45; vol. iv, p. 47; vol. viii, p. 48; etc.

¹⁷³ See the *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. x.

¹⁷⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxxxv, cxxxv, etc.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. cxxix, cxxx, etc.

¹⁷⁵ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 551; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. i, pp. 402-3. Compare Herod. ii, 108.

¹⁷⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁷ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxiv, lxxix, cxi; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. 16; vol. iii, pls. 6 and 22; vol. iv, pl. 22, fig. 11, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 130, 139, 140, etc.

¹⁷⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 398.

¹⁷⁹ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, pp. 447-8, 2d edition.

¹⁸⁰ The only approach to an exception, so far as I know, is in the case of Amasis, who after a time consented to the death of Apries (Herod. ii, 169).

¹⁸¹ Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 20. (See the *Fragmenta Hist. Gr.* vol. ii, p. 593; Fr. 65.)

¹⁸² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 393. Compare *Description de l'Égypte*, "An-



Fig. 186.—BUILDING A BOAT.—See Page 531.

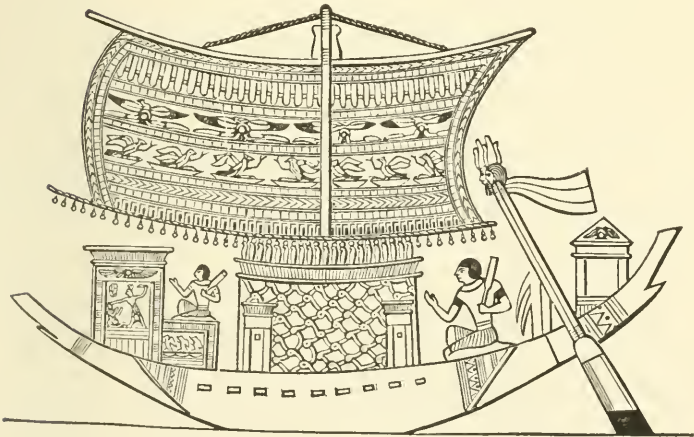


Fig. 187.—AN EGYPTIAN GENTLEMAN'S PLEASURE BOAT.—See Page 524.

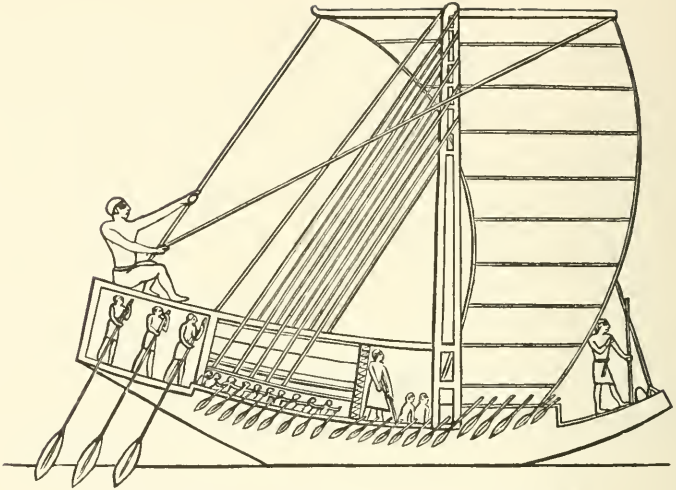


Fig. 183.—ORDINARY NILE BOAT IN FULL SAIL.—See Page 524.

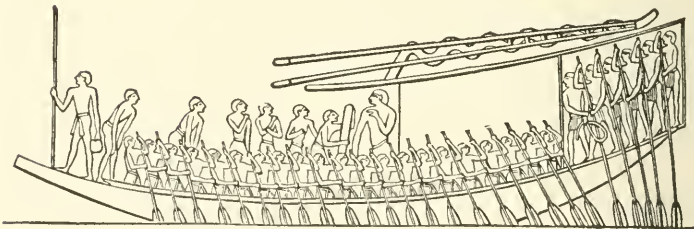


Fig. 180.—NILE BOAT.—See Page 524.

tiquités," vol. ii, pl. 12; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. 94 and 132. The practice was so usual that, instead of saying "I killed one of the enemy," a man commonly said "I carried off a hand." (See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 7-8, and compare vol. iv, p. 7.)

¹⁹³ Wilkinson, l.s.c. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 19, line 8.

¹⁸⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Herod. iii, 12.

¹⁸⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 395. Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 128.

¹⁸⁷ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cvii.

¹⁸⁸ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 229. See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xcviif.

¹⁸⁹ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xcix.

¹⁹⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 6, 82, 85; vol. vi, pp. 7, 10, etc.

¹⁹¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 361. For an illustration, see Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxxxvii.

¹⁹² Wilkinson, l.s.c. vol. ii, p. 260.

¹⁹³ See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. xliv, ter.

¹⁹⁴ Wilkinson, l.s.c.; vol. ii, p. 260. Compare p. 264.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 400-1.

¹⁹⁶ See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. i, lviii, and cxxxvii.

¹⁹⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pl. 128. Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 399.

¹⁹⁸ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. xlvi, lii, and lvi.

¹⁹⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 400.

²⁰⁰ See above, p. 80.

²⁰¹ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 26.

²⁰² See Mons. St. Leon's "Egypt of the Khedive" (London 1877), whence the subjoined passage is taken.

²⁰³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 149. We may suspect that the picture is somewhat over-colored, since the writer is bent on finding fault with every occupation but that of a scribe, and abuses not only the life of the "little laborer," but those of the blacksmith, carpenter, mason, barber, boatman, gardener, weaver, armorer, courier, dyer, shoemaker, washerman, fowler, and fisherman, which he represents as all equally detestable.

²⁰⁴ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 23.

²⁰⁵ Mr. Kenrick (*Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 212-13) has some good remarks on this subject.

²⁰⁶ See Gen. xxxvii, 25; Herod. i, 1; ii, 178; iii, 6.

²⁰⁷ 1 Kings x, 29; 2 Chr. i, 17. On the numerous chariots of the Syrians, see *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 69, and *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 103, note 7, 2d edit.

²⁰⁸ Ezek. xxvii, 7.

²⁰⁹ Herod. v, 58.

²¹⁰ Plin. *N. H.* xix, 1, § 2.

²¹¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 111.

²¹² See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, pp. 373-5.

²¹³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 102, 103, 120, etc.; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 214-20.

²¹⁴ See above, pp. 98, 101, etc.

²¹⁵ Vyse, *Pyramids of Ghizeh*, vol. i, p. 289; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 164; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 91-2; etc.

²¹⁶ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 70-4. These are the materials ordinarily used. Agate is perhaps to be added to them. (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 376.)

²¹⁷ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 67-80.

²¹⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 351, n.

²¹⁹ The sawing of stone is not represented on the monuments; but Wilkinson was of opinion that the Egyptians possessed the single-handed saw only (*A. E.* vol. iii, p. 172).

²²⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 337; Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 218-19.

²²¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 106 and 251.

²²² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 335.

(See the wood cut on the preceding page.)

²²³ Herod. ii, 35.

²²⁴ Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 216-17; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 54-5, 3d edition.

²²⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 118.

²²⁶ The Egyptian linen corselets were noted as most remarkable by the ancients (Herod. ii, 182; iii, 47; Plin. *H. N.* xix, 1; etc.)

²²⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 121.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 119.

²²⁹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 51.

²³⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 126; Birch, l.s.c.

²³¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 123.

²³² *Ibid.* p. 125.

²³³ *Ibid.* pp. 156 and 128.

²³⁴ Herod. iii, 47; Ex. xxxix, 3; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 128.

²³⁵ The transparency of the Egyptian fabrics is strikingly illustrated by the painted sculptures, where the entire form, especially of women, is often made distinctly visible through the outer garment.

²³⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. iii, p. 151.

²³⁷ This is one meaning assigned to the passage. (See the *Records*, vol. viii, p. 151, note 5.)

²³⁸ The subject of the Egyptian furniture has been so copiously and so excellently discussed and illustrated by Sir G. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 190-222) that nothing new, which should also be true, can be said about it. I have therefore been content with the briefest possible summary.

²³⁹ See Wilkinson, pl. xi, and compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. lxxiv, xc, and xci. The close resemblance of the Egyptian arm-chairs and of some of their couches and ottomans to modern ones is very remarkable. (See Wilkinson, vol. ii, pp. 195, 199, 201, etc.; Rosellini, pls. xc-xcii.)

²⁴⁰ Birch says "the Egyptians sat on chairs or on the ground" (*Egypt, from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p.

xiv); but, except on their first admission and at certain games, the *guests* in a house are almost always represented as seated either on chairs or stools. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 191, 214, 390, 393, and pl. xii.)

²⁴¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 203.

²⁴² *Ibid.* p. 202.

²⁴³ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 22.

²⁴⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 201, 204, and 205; Birch, *l.s.c.*; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xcii.

²⁴⁵ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 23.

²⁴⁶ See above, p. 214.

²⁴⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, p. 335.

²⁴⁸ Herod. ii, 63. For a representation, see Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 341.

²⁴⁹ 1 Kings x, 29.

²⁵⁰ The native Libyans, who, according to Herodotus (iv, 189), were the first to yoke four horses to a chariot, probably obtained their vehicles from Egypt.

²⁵¹ For full representations, see Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. i, pp. 343, 349, and 350; Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. xlii, figs. 3 and 4.

²⁵² Wilkinson, vol. i, p. 348.

²⁵³ The "six hundred shekels" of 1 Kings x, 29, seem to be rightly regarded as paid for the chariot and pair of horses. (See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. ii, p. 545.) As the price of each horse was 150 shekels (1 Kings, l. s. c.), the sum paid for the chariot would have been 300 shekels.

²⁵⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi, 26.

²⁵⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 88-92. The claim was made, before Wilkinson's time, by M. Boudet in his essay "Sur l'Art de la Verrerie, né en Egypte," published in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pp. 7 et seqq.

²⁵⁶ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 119.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Specimens will be found in the "Second Egyptian Room" of the British Museum, Case t, Nos. 4750-3.

²⁵⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 382; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xv.

²⁵⁹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 67, 70, etc.

²⁶⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 101; Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 101.

²⁶¹ Wilkinson, p. 102; Birch, p. 120.

²⁶² Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 131.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 33-35.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

²⁶⁵ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 25. In the representations given by Lepsius of very early pottery (*Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 153) there are a few which, from the irregularity of their shape, would seem to have been wholly modelled by the hand. (See particularly Nos. 3, 29, and 32.) But these are rare exceptions; and the great majority of the vessels found with them, which belong to the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties, bear clear traces of the wheel.

²⁶⁶ At Athens it was said to have been invented, *i. e.* introduced by Corebus (Plin. vii, 56), about b. c. 776. In Baby-

lonia it was certainly not employed by the early potters. (See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 91.)

²⁶⁷ Birch says with reason "The Egyptian potters had not, it is true, that highly refined sense of the beautiful which the Greeks possessed; but they were by no means entirely destitute of it." (*Ancient Pottery*, p. 33.)

²⁶⁸ Examples will be found in the First Egyptian Room at the British Museum, Nos. 4860, 5114, and 5116.

²⁶⁹ See, in the same collection, Nos. 4860, 4864, and 5117; and compare Lee-mans, *Mon. Egyptiens*, pl. lxiii, No. 367.

²⁷⁰ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 35.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 36. Compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, pl. lvi, No. 108; pl. lx, No. 3; and see above, p. 231.

²⁷² See p. 188, and compare Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 23-4; *Guide to Museum*, pp. 89-94.

²⁷³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 398; Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 18-21; Prisse, *Mon. Egyptiens*, pls. 23, 27, and 28.

²⁷⁴ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 21-22; *Guide to Museum*, p. 89.

²⁷⁵ British Museum, First Egyptian Room, No. 1296; Second Room, Cases 96 and 97. These figures, and the sepulchral or mummied ones, are, however, regarded as of late date. They belong probably to Roman times.

²⁷⁶ The vases for the intestines are generally painted. (British Museum, Second Room, Nos. 9530-3, 9547-50, 9552-4, etc.)

²⁷⁷ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 47.

²⁷⁸ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 30.

²⁷⁹ Birch (*Ancient Pottery*, p. 48) laments that "no very recent analysis" of Egyptian glazes "has been made;" and that consequently "we are compelled to acquiesce in the conjectures of archæologists, rather than to adopt the tests of chemists."

²⁸⁰ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, l. s. c.

²⁸¹ British Museum, First Room, Nos. 4766 and 4796.

²⁸² The *Tel-el Yahoudeh*, or supposed "Place of Onias." (See Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 49.)

²⁸³ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 552.

²⁸⁴ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 118.

²⁸⁵ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 50.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 60.

²⁸⁷ British Museum, Second Room, No. 7866.

²⁸⁸ That is, not cut away. On this peculiarity of Egyptian figure-work, see above, p. 127.

²⁸⁹ Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 64.

²⁹⁰ See the woodcut, fig. 182; and compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. l; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 164.

²⁹¹ So Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 37; "Potters held a low position in Egypt; and the occupation was pursued by servants or slaves."

²⁹² A few plates of pure tin seem to occur among the objects found with mummies. They are placed as amulets

to guard the incisions on the flanks, through which the intestines were extracted, and commonly have on one side the right symbolic eye, the emblem of the god Shu. (See Birch in his edition of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 232; and compare *Guide to Museum*, p. 81.)

²⁹³ See above, p. 46.

²⁹⁴ The whole of this description is taken from Diodorus (iii. 12-14), who describes, no doubt, the process employed in his own day. It is probable, however, that the very simple method then in use had come down from a remote antiquity.

²⁹⁵ Blowpipes are represented more than once in the tombs. (See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. li, 4, and pl. lii, fig. 4.)

²⁹⁶ The forceps is sometimes represented on the monuments. (See the woodcut on p. 515). Both tongs and forceps have been found in the tombs (Birch in Wilkinson's *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 235, note).

²⁹⁷ The existing gold objects show this. Compare Ex. xxxii, 4.

²⁹⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 26; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 11.

²⁹⁹ British Museum, First Egyptian Room, Nos. 86 and 285.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* No. 1422.

³⁰¹ *Monumenti Civili*, pls. lvii to lxii.

³⁰² See a specimen in Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 347, No. 1.

³⁰³ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 69.

³⁰⁴ Wilkinson, l.s.c. (No. 14).

³⁰⁵ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 66-7.

³⁰⁶ Wilkinson, l.s.c. (No. 17).

³⁰⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 24, 26, and 49; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 11; vol. iii, p. 237.

³⁰⁸ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 81.

³⁰⁹ British Museum, First Egyptian Room, Nos. 6, 310, and 1887.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* No. 8412. Compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 234.

³¹¹ Wilkinson, p. 259.

³¹² *Records*, vol. ii, pp. 27, 52, etc.

³¹³ The British Museum seems to possess no more than about seven or eight specimens of Egyptian iron. (First Room, Nos. 2435, 2464, 2916, 2918, 2954, 5410, 5423, and 6113.) Of these three (Nos. 2464, 2954, and 6113) are decidedly of a late period.

³¹⁴ This is now in the British Museum, and forms No. 2435 in the Egyptian collection.

³¹⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 246.

³¹⁶ Deut. iii, 11; iv. 20 Judg. i, 19; iv. 3.

³¹⁷ Birch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (edition of 1878), vol. ii, pp. 250-1; Deveria, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, vol. i, p. 2.

³¹⁸ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 13-21, 28-29, 35-41, etc.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 28.

³²⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 253, n.

³²¹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 39.

³²² Specimens of most of these may be

seen in the British Museum. First Egyptian Room, Nos. 5408a to 5497.

³²³ See above, ?

³²⁴ See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 151: "The maker of weapons suffers extremely, going forth to foreign countries; he gives a great deal for his asses, more than the labor of his hands. He gives a great deal for their being in a field; he gives on the road. He arrives at his garden; he reaches his house at night. He must be off [again]."

³²⁵ See above, p. 87.

³²⁶ Isaiah xviii. 2.

³²⁷ See Herodotus, ii, 96, where this comparison is made, and compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xlv. 1.

³²⁸ Herod. l.s.c.; and compare Wilkinson's illustration in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 132.

³²⁹ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 195.

³³⁰ *Ibid.* and p. 196.

³³¹ See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. cviii, cviii, and cix, and Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pl. xvi; oppo, p. 211.

³³² Diod. Sic. i, 91.

³³³ See Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 54.

³³⁴ At the rates suggested, the exact sum would be 3,320,000. It may be doubted, however, whether Diodorus does not considerably exaggerate the mere cost of embalming.

³³⁵ A considerable number of the mummies are regarded as belonging to the time of the first dynasties. These "have been only slightly preserved, and drop to pieces on exposure to the air." (Birch, *Guide to Museum*, l.s. c.)

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ See the specimens in the British Museum (First Egyptian Room) numbered from 6725 to 6728.

³³⁸ Herod. ii, 86.

³³⁹ Diod. Sic. i, 91.

³⁴⁰ See above, p. 189.

³⁴¹ Herod. ii, 86.

³⁴² Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 53.

³⁴³ Herod. l.s.c.; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 115; vol. v, p. 463; Birch, l.s.c.

³⁴⁴ Pettigrew, quoted by Wilkinson (*A. E.*) vol. v, p. 471.

³⁴⁵ "Cartonnages" may be seen in the British Museum Collection, Nos. 6662, 6663, 6679, 6680, etc.

³⁴⁶ See above, p. 95.

³⁴⁷ Herodotus speaks of a single "moderately cheap" method; and so Diodorus. But modern research proves that no sharp and decided line can be drawn, either between the "expensive" and the "moderate," or between the "moderate," and the "cheap" system. (See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, pp. 468-473.)

³⁴⁸ Herod. ii, 87.

³⁴⁹ Rouger, *Notice sur les Embaumements des anciens Egyptiens*, quoted by Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 472.

³⁵⁰ Belzoni, *Researches*, p. 156.

³⁵¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 184.

³⁵² The story can only be given in the author's own words:—Τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν

ἀπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὶν τελευτήσωσι οὐ παραντικά δίδουσι ταριχέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶν τριταῖα ἢ τεταρταῖα γέγονται, οὕτω παραδίδουσι τοῖσι ταριχέουσι· τοῦτο δὲ ποιέουσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἰνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφοιοὶ ταριχευτῶν μισθωνται τῆσι γυναιξί. Λαμβάναι γάρ τινά φασι μισθόμενον νεκρῶ προσφάτω γυναικός· κατεῖπαι δὲ τὸν ὁμοτέχρον. (Herod. ii, 89.)

³⁵³ Ch. viii, pp. 261-285.

³⁵⁴ Representations of persons so employed may be seen in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xlvii, Nos. 3 and 4; and Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 336.

³⁵⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 251-2.

³⁵⁶ See fig. 190.

³⁵⁷ See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xlvi, 1. Compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pl. opp. p. 150.

³⁵⁸ The usual representation consists of a gigantic figure of the king, holding a conquered king, or a number of conquered kings, by the hair with one hand, while with the other he brandishes aloft a sword or mace. (See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lx, lxiv, lxvi, etc., *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. xvi, etc.)

³⁵⁹ See fig. 143.

³⁶⁰ See fig. 95.

³⁶¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxxxi; *Description*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. x.

³⁶² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, pt. iii, pls. 158, 165, etc.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. cx, cxxxvi, etc.

³⁶³ See fig. 90.

³⁶⁴ Amasis, B. c. 540, sent a portrait of himself as a present to the people of Cyrene (Herod. ii, 182). We may presume that it was painted by a native artist.

³⁶⁵ The coarse representations on cartonnages and mummy-cases can scarcely be considered as portraits.

³⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 313.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 311; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xlvi, 3.

³⁶⁸ Rosellini, pl. xlvi, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

³⁶⁹ British Museum, First Egyptian Room, Nos. 5515 and 5525b.

³⁷⁰ It has been already shown (supra, pp. 294-5) that the Egyptian painters employed about fourteen tints.

³⁷¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 301.

³⁷² Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 41.

³⁷³ De Rougé, *Catalogue des Monuments Égyptiens de la Salle du Rez-de-chaussée*, 1849, p. 47.

³⁷⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 3. ³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* l. s. c.

³⁷⁷ See Herod. ii, 48 and 60.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 79.

³⁷⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 237, 240, 316, etc. Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xcix, 2.

³⁸⁰ See Diod. Sic. i, 16. The contrary statement of Plato in his "Laws" cannot be depended on (*De Leg.* ii, p. 656, E).

³⁸¹ One flute in the British Museum (No. 6388) has six holes; but four or five were more usual (Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 304).

³⁸² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 308.

³⁸³ For the use of the plectrum see Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 291 (woodcut No. 217, fig. 1).

³⁸⁴ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 48.

³⁸⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 283.

³⁸⁶ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xcvi; Wilkinson, *A. E.* frontispiece to vol. ii.

³⁸⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 234, 274, 275, etc.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 280, 282, and 287.

³⁸⁹ Sir G. Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. ii, p. 315) comes to an opposite conclusion; but, as it seems to me, on insufficient grounds.

³⁹⁰ See above, p. 224.

³⁹¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 254. A third sort of drum; not unlike our own, has been found among the Egyptian remains (*ibid.* p. 268), but is not represented upon the monuments, and apparently was not employed by musicians. This was played with drumsticks.

³⁹² Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xcvi, 2, 3; pl. xcvi, 2, 3, etc.

³⁹³ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 156.

³⁹⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 297. Birch says "from two to four" (*Guide to Museum*, p. 48).

³⁹⁵ Birch, l. s. c.; Wilkinson, p. 234, woodcut No. 185, fig. 2.

³⁹⁶ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 235, woodcut No. 167, fig. 2; p. 301, woodcut No. 222.

³⁹⁷ For examples, see the British Museum Collection, First Egyptian Room, Nos. 6355 and 6365.

³⁹⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 323.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 257 and 260.

⁴⁰⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 237 and 239, woodcuts 190 and 193. Compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, pl. xciv and xcvi, 1.

⁴⁰¹ Wilkinson, p. 233.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.* p. 236, woodcut 189.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 237, woodcut 190.

⁴⁰⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*; pl. xcvi, Nos. 2 and 3; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii p. 235.

⁴⁰⁵ The harp and the guitar are the instruments most frequently multiplied.

⁴⁰⁶ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lxxix, line 6; pl. xcvi, 1; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 234, woodcut 185; p. 237, woodcut 190, p. 238, woodcut 192.

⁴⁰⁷ See above, note ³⁹⁶, chap. xi.

⁴⁰⁸ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. lxxix, and xcix; Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. ii, p. 390.

⁴⁰⁹ Wilkinson, p. 333.

⁴¹⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xvi.

⁴¹¹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," p. xix.

⁴¹² This may be concluded from the Egyptian poem, which has been called "The Praise of Learning" (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 147-156), where the occupation of scribe is compared with these and similar ones.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* p. 147, line 6; p. 153 line 180. Compare Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 24.

⁴¹⁴ The unremunerative nature of the



Fig. 190.—CHISELLING A STATUE.—See Page 530.

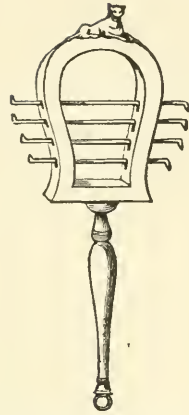


Fig. 191.—EGYPTIAN SYSTRUM
—See Page 538.



Fig. 192.—BAND OF SIX MUSICIANS.—See Page 539.

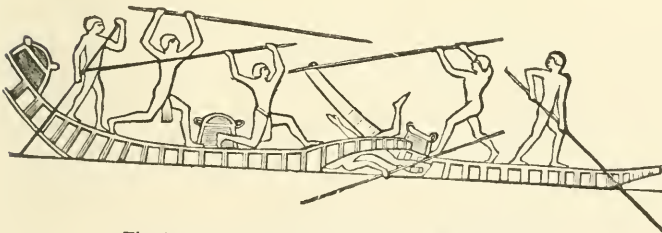


Fig. 193.—BOATMEN QUARRELLING.—See Page 546.

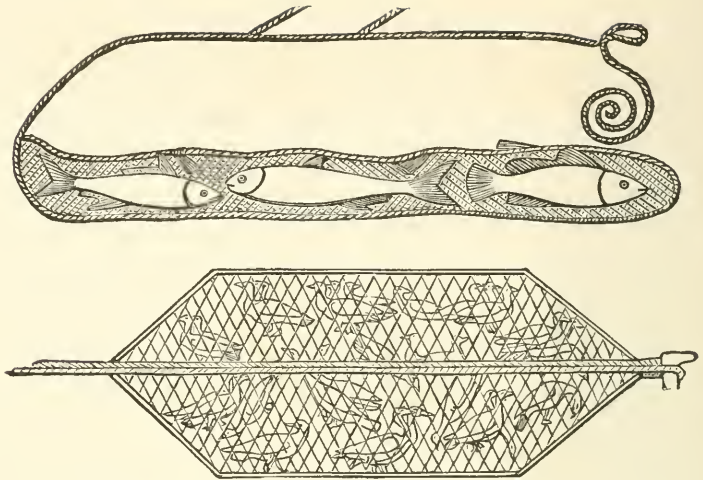


Fig. 194.—EGYPTIAN DRAG-NET AND CLAP-NET.—See Page 547.



Fig. 195.—EGYPTIAN NOBLE CARRIED IN A LITTER.—See Page 550.



Fig. 196.—EGYPTIAN SANDALS.—See Page 551.

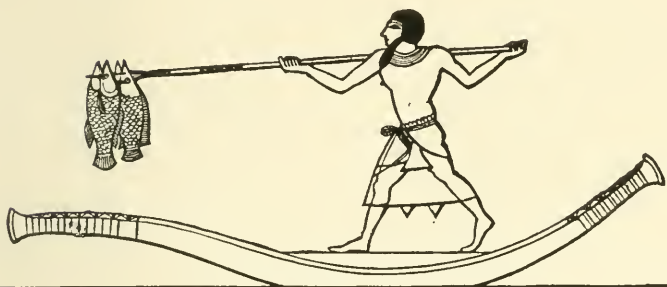


Fig. 197.—SPEARING FISH.—See Page 555.

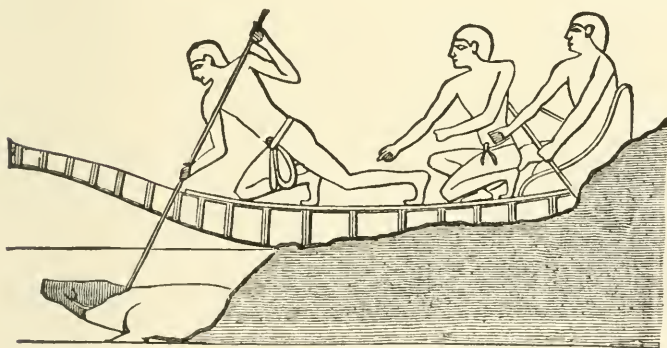


Fig. 198.—SPEARING THE CROCODILE.—See Page 560.

scribe's office is thought to be alluded to in lines 228-237 of the poem. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 155, note 4.)

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 148, line 31.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 3.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 4. ⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.* vol. viii, 57.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 62 and 63.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 57-65.

⁴²² *Ibid.* p. 153; "Consider, there is not an employment destitute of superior ones except the scribe's, which is the first."

⁴²³ Herod. ii, 84.

⁴²⁴ Ex. i, 15-19.

⁴²⁵ Manetho ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.*

i, 20, § 4.

⁴²⁶ Hom. *Od. iv*, 231-2; Herod. iii, 1,

129; Jer. xlii, 11.

⁴²⁷ Wilkinson in the author's *Herod-*

otus, vol. ii, p. 117.

⁴²⁸ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi, 4, p. 758.

⁴²⁹ *Geschichte Aegyptens*, ch. v, p. 50.

⁴³⁰ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, ch.

vii, p. 83.

⁴³¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 149:

"I tell you also of the builder of pre-
cincts. Disease tastes him; for he is in
draughts of air; he builds in slings, tied
as a lotus to the houses."

⁴³² See the passage placed as a heading

to ch. vii, (*supra*, p. 187).

⁴³³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp.

148-53.

⁴³⁴ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p.

22.

⁴³⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp.

149, 1, 56.

⁴³⁶ See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. civ, 9.

⁴³⁷ See Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xxiv,

1; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 20; vol.

iii, p. 37, etc.

⁴³⁸ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 37. Compare

vol. ii, p. 19, and Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*

pls. iv and v.

⁴³⁹ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 57, fig. 3.

Compare p. 56, figs. 3 and 4.

⁴⁴⁰ Herod. ii, 92, ad. fin.; Diod. Sic.

i, 36; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, pl. xxv, 3;

Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 37 and 56.

⁴⁴¹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lv; Wil-

kinson, vol. ii, p. 19; Herod. ii, 77.

⁴⁴² Herod. ii, 47.

⁴⁴³ The unclean habits of the pig are

no doubt the chief cause of this notion;

but it is also said that the flesh is un-

wholesome in Eastern countries (Wilkin-

son in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p.

72; Houghton in Smith's *Dictionary of*

the Bible, vol. iii, p. 1393.

⁴⁴⁴ *Supra*, pp. 159, 455, etc.

⁴⁴⁵ Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p.

24.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ "Fruges consumere nati" (Hor.

Epist. 1, 2, 1, 27).

⁴⁴⁸ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest*

Times, p. 44.

⁴⁴⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 200;

vol. iii, pp. 141-2; *Records of the Past*,

vol. ii, p. 12.

⁴⁵⁰ See above, pp. 229.

⁴⁵¹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest*

Times, pp. 44.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 388,

woodcut No. 278. Compare Rosellini,
Mon. Civ. pls. lxxxiii to lxxxv.

⁴⁵⁴ Birch, l.s.c.

⁴⁵⁵ Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. i, p. 335; vol.

ii, p. 211.

⁴⁵⁶ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xciii, 2;

Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 208.

⁴⁵⁷ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest*

Times, "Introduction," p. xv. Wilkin-

son thought the beard, when worn, was

artificial (*A. E.* vol. iii, p. 362). Some

beards certainly seem to be tied on.

⁴⁵⁸ Wilkinson, vol. iii, pl. 355-6.

⁴⁵⁹ Birch, "Introduction," p. xv.

⁴⁶⁰ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 26-7;

Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lxxv, figs. 1-8.

⁴⁶¹ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest*

Times, "Introduction," p. xv. ⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 369-

70.

⁴⁶⁴ Egyptian combs may be seen in the

British Museum (First Egyptian Room,

Nos. 2678 and 2683). They are either of

wood or bone, and generally have two

rows of teeth, one row of larger teeth at

widish intervals, the other with small

teeth, very close together. (See Wilkin-

son, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 381.)

⁴⁶⁵ See plate xxxvi, fig. 91, and com-
pare the vulture headdress of certain god-

esses, as Maut (p. 348), Athor (p. 377),

Isis (p. 379), and Nephthys (p. 395).

⁴⁶⁶ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest*

Times, "Introduction," p. xv. Com-
pare Herod. ii, 36.

⁴⁶⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 368.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 374.

⁴⁶⁹ Birch, l.s.c.; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol.

iii, p. 380. Birch adds that the nails

were often dyed with henna, and the

breath sweetened with pastilles.

⁴⁷⁰ It may be suspected that like the

early Greeks and Romans, the Egyptians

took but two regular meals in the day;

one about ten or eleven o'clock, and the

other in the evening. (See for the for-

mer of these, Herod. ii, 193, and for the

latter, Herod. ii, 78). Bread, meat, and

wine or beer, were probably taken at

both.

⁴⁷¹ One amusement in which ladies in-
dulged was certainly archery (Wilkin-

son, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 189). Another was

boating (Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. cv, 1,

and cix). They also accompanied their

husbands or brothers in some of their

sporting expeditions.

⁴⁷² Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lxxix; Wil-

kinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 139, 143, etc.

⁴⁷³ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 52.

⁴⁷⁴ Wilkinson, vol. iii, p. 53.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 41, woodcut, figs. 18, 19, and

20. Compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl.

xxv, 1, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv,

pl. 130.

⁴⁷⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, pp. 60-1.

⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 38.

⁴⁷⁸ For representations, see *Ibid.* [pp.

39, 41 and 42.

⁴⁷⁹ Wilkinson, woodcut No. 335 (vol.

iii, p. 39). Sportsmen are sometimes ac-

companied by a cat, which is represented

as taking an interest in the sport, and sometimes as even springing into the air and catching one of the wild fowl (Wilkinson, woodcut No. 337). But this can scarcely have been a usual incident.

⁴⁸⁰ See this scene represented in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xv. and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 22. For a portion of the scene, see above, p. 284.

⁴⁸¹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 18.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.* p. 15, woodcut No. 325.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁴⁸⁴ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pls. lxvi, lxxxiv, and cvii. Compare above, p. 466. ⁴⁸⁵ Diod. Sic. i, 48.

⁴⁸⁶ Amenemhat I. in his instructions to his son Osertasen says, "I hunted the lion" (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14), referring apparently to an occasion when he had gone into Nubia. Rameses III. represents himself as engaged in the chase of the lion on the walls of his palace at Medinet-Abou. (See above, fig. 99.) The scene of this chase is thought to have been Southern Palestine (Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 140).

⁴⁸⁷ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 29.

⁴⁸⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁹ Plin. *H. N.* viii, 25.

⁴⁹⁰ Diod. Sic. i, 35; Herod. ii, 71; Pliny, l.s.c.

⁴⁹¹ See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. iii, p. 70, and pl. xv.

⁴⁹² Wilkinson, vol. iii, pp. 71-3.

⁴⁹³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. xxiv, 4; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pl. 105.

⁴⁹⁴ Herod. ii, 70.

⁴⁹⁵ Wilkinson says: "One mode, which is now adopted, is to fasten a little puppy on a log of wood, the middle of which a strong rope is tied, protected to a certain distance by iron wire; and this, when swallowed by the crocodile, turns, on being pulled, across the throat. It is then dragged ashore, and soon killed by blows on the head from poles and hatchets. They have also another mode of catching it. A man swims, having his head covered by a gourd with two holes for his eyes, to a sandbank, where the crocodile is sleeping; and when he has reached it, he rises from the water with a shout, and throws a spear into its side or armpit if possible, when feeling itself wounded it rushes into the water. The head of the barbed spear having a rope attached to it, the crocodile is thereby pulled in, and wounded again by the man, and his companions who join him, until it is exhausted and killed." (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 99, note 4.)

⁴⁹⁶ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 44: "The chief occupation of the period, or at all events that most often represented in the tombs, was the inspection of the farm." Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vols. ii and iii, *passim*.

⁴⁹⁷ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lxxxii; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 19, 21, etc.

⁴⁹⁸ See above, pp. 67-78.

⁴⁹⁹ See above, p. 200.

⁵⁰⁰ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 46.

⁵⁰¹ This is often represented, (Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. lxxxiii to lxxxvi, Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 383, 385, 388, etc.)

⁵⁰² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 385; woodcut, No. 277, l. n.

⁵⁰³ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pl. lxxix; Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 215, etc.

⁵⁰⁴ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pl. xii, and pp. 367, 390, and 393.

⁵⁰⁵ See above, p. 245.

⁵⁰⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pl. xii.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.* and p. 389. Compare Herod. ii, 36. The fondness of the Egyptians for such pets, especially monkeys, is very observable.

⁵⁰⁸ Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, "Introduction," pp. xiv-xv.

⁵⁰⁹ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 393.

⁵¹⁰ Egyptian spoons exist. (See in the British Museum Collection, Nos. 5951 to 5976; and compare Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 403-4.) But there is no evidence of their being used to eat with.

⁵¹¹ The attendants often carry napkins in their left hands.

⁵¹² See Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 400; and compare Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 45.

⁵¹³ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 170-3

⁵¹⁴ Herod. ii, 78.

⁵¹⁵ So Wilkinson (*A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 410-11), whose remarks appear to be reasonable.

⁵¹⁶ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 167-8. Ladies are represented as sick from excessive drinking, and gentlemen as carried home dead drunk by their attendants.

⁵¹⁷ Plin. *De Isid. et Osir.* § 15.

⁵¹⁸ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 414.

⁵¹⁹ Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* pls. xcix to civ; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 272-7.

⁵²⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, p. 335.

⁵²¹ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 277.

⁵²² Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 430-1,

⁵²³ *Ibid.* pp. 417-435; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.*, pls. ciii and civ.

⁵²⁴ Döllinger, *Jew and Gentile*, vol. ii, p. 239, E. T.

⁵²⁵ Herod. ii, 135.

⁵²⁶ On the concubinage of some of the kings, see Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. ii, pp. 420-1; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 160, etc.

⁵²⁷ Birch, "Introduction," p. xiv.

⁵²⁸ Herod. ii, 35.

⁵²⁹ Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, pls. v, 2, xxxi, 1; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; vol. vi, pls. 91, 97 e, 106 b, etc.

⁵³⁰ Wilkinson, *A. E.* vol. v, p. 383, woodcut, No. 492; "Supplement," pls. 83-5.

⁵³¹ Herod. ii, 80.

⁵³² See Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 24.

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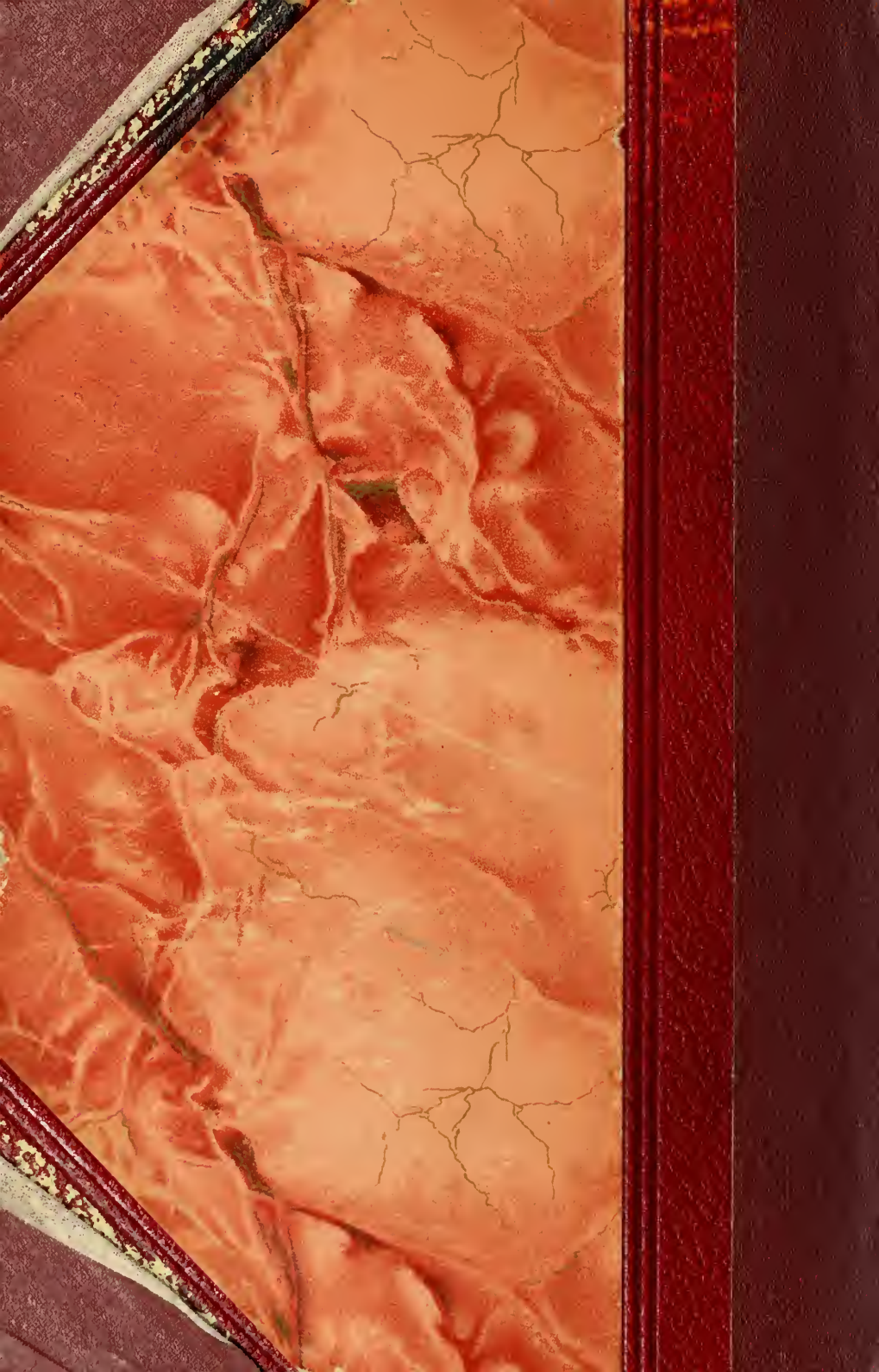
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EARLY EGYPTIAN STATUES, FROM MEYDOUM.

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHRONOLOGY.

Difficulties of the Subject—whence arising. Chronological Deficiencies of the Monuments. Schemes of Manetho, of Herodotus, of Diodorus, untrustworthy. Impossibility of an exact Chronology. Limits of the Uncertainty—(1) for the Third Period, or "New Empire;" (2) for the Second or Hyksos Period ("the Middle Empire")—(3) for the First or Earliest Period (the "Old Empire"). Possibility of an instructive History without exact Chronology.

It is a patent fact, and one that is beginning to obtain general recognition, that the chronological element in the early Egyptian history is in a state of almost hopeless obscurity. Modern critics of the best judgment and the widest knowledge, basing their conclusions on identically the same data, have published to the world views upon the subject which are not only divergent and conflicting, but which differ, in the estimates that are the most extreme, to the extent of above three thousand years! Böckh gives for the year of the accession of Menes (M'na), the supposed first Egyptian king, the year B.C. 5702, Unger the year B.C. 5613, Mariette-Bey and Lenormant B.C. 5004, Brugsch-Bey B.C. 4455, Lauth B.C. 4157, Lepsius B.C. 3852, Bunsen B.C. 3623 or 3059, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole B.C. 2717, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson B.C. 2691.¹ It is as if the best authorities upon Roman history were to tell us, some of them that the Republic was founded in B.C. 508, and others in B.C. 3508. Such extraordinary divergency argues something unique in the conditions of the problem to be solved; and it is the more remarkable, since the materials for the history are abundant, and include sources of the most unimpeachable character. The best of ancient classical historians has left an important monograph on the history of the Egyptians;² a native writer of high position

and intelligence³ wrote an elaborate work upon the subject, whereof we possess several extracts and an epitome; and the monuments discovered in the country and recently deciphered contain a mass of historical information more varied, more abundant, and more curious than has been yielded by the researches made in any other of the great seats of early empire.

The chronological value of these various sources of information is, however, in every case slight. The great defect of the monuments is their incompleteness. The Egyptians had no era. They drew out no chronological schemes. They cared for nothing but to know how long each incarnate god, human or bovine, had condescended to tarry upon the earth. They recorded carefully the length of the life of each Apis bull, and the length of the reign⁴ of each king; but they neglected to take note of the intervals between one Apis bull and another, and omitted to distinguish the sole reign of a monarch from his joint reign with others. A monarch might occupy the throne ten years in conjunction with his father, thirty-two years alone, and three years in conjunction with his son—in an Egyptian royal list⁵ he will be credited with forty-five years, although his first ten years will be assigned also to his father, and his last three to his son. Contemporary dynasties, if accepted as legitimate, will appear in an Egyptian list as consecutive, while dynasties not so accepted, however long they may have reigned, will disappear altogether. Only one calculation of the time which had elapsed between a monarch belonging to one dynasty and one belonging to another has been found in the whole range of Egyptian monumental literature, and in that—which is the (apparently) rough estimate of “four hundred years”—neither the *terminus a quo* nor the *terminus ad quem* is determined. Generally speaking, the Egyptian monumental lists are not chronological at all; the only one which is so, the Turin papyrus, exists in tattered fragments, the original order of which is uncertain, while the notices of time which it once contained are in many cases lost or obliterated. The latest historian of Egypt says of it: “As the case stands at present, no mortal man possesses the means of removing the difficulties which are inseparable from the attempt to restore the original list of kings from the fragments of the Turin papyrus. Far too many of the most necessary elements are wanting to fill up the *lacunæ*. . . . It also appears certain that the long series of the kings, which the papyrus once contained, was arranged by the author according to his own ideas and views.”⁶

It may be added that the chronological element is altogether wanting in the earlier part of the papyrus, while, as the papyrus itself belongs to the time of the eighteenth dynasty, it furnishes no materials at all either for the chronology or the history of the later kingdom. These many and great defects of the Turin papyrus it is quite impossible to supply from any other monumental source. Occasional corrections of the numbers given in the papyrus may be made from the annals of the kings; but there is no possibility of filling up its gaps from the monuments, nor of constructing from them alone anything like a consecutive chronological scheme, either for the Early, the Middle, or even the Later Empire.⁷ The Middle Empire—that of the Hyksos—left no monuments at all; and from the monuments alone no estimate of its duration can be formed. The Early and the Later Empires left important monuments, but not a continuous series of them; and the result is that, even for the last, a monumental chronology is absolutely unattainable.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely probable that modern historians would have made any attempts to reconstruct the chronology of Ancient Egypt, had not certain schemes on the subject descended to them from their predecessors in the historical field, possessing, or appearing to possess, a certain amount of authority. Herodotus, the earliest of classical inquirers into Egyptian history, laid it down that the monarchy had lasted between eleven and twelve thousand years before its destruction by Cambyses.⁸ He partitioned out this time among 347 kings, of whom, however, he mentioned nineteen only by name. Of these one had built Memphis;⁹ another had constructed the Lake Mœris;¹⁰ three, who were consecutive, had built the three great pyramids;¹¹ another had set up the two chief obelisks at Heliopolis;¹² and so on. His chronology was very imperfect, and not altogether consistent.¹³ Still, it seemed to furnish an outline; and it contained some important synchronisms, as one with the Trojan war,¹⁴ and another with Sennacherib.¹⁵ It professed to have been derived from the Egyptian priests, men especially “well skilled in history;” and it represented, according to the writer, not the views of any one school, but those in which the three great sacerdotal colleges of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis were agreed.¹⁶

Another Greek writer of repute, Diodorus Siculus, while less exact than Herodotus, seemed to furnish some important additions to his chronological scheme, and some corrections of it; since, while—to speak generally—following in Herod-

otus's footsteps, he occasionally added a king to the Herodotean list, and also frequently noted that several generations intervened between monarchs whom Herodotus represented as immediately succeeding one the other.

Great vagueness, however, must have characterized any chronology which should have based itself simply on the views and statements of these two authors, and had it not been for the extant remains of a third writer upon the history of Ancient Egypt, it is scarcely probable that any of the complete chronological schemes, to which we have adverted, would ever have been composed, much less published. It happens, however, that, in the third century before the Christian era, a native Egyptian priest, named Manetho, wrote for the information of the Greeks, then recently settled in Egypt as the dominant race, a history of his country, which was professedly complete and in a certain sense continuous, and which contained a vast number of chronological statements, though not (so far as appears) anything like a definite chronology. Manetho's work was not so much a history of Egypt as a history of the Egyptian kings, whom he divided into thirty dynasties, which he treated of separately, apparently without distinctly marking whether they were contemporaneous or consecutive.¹⁷ Against each king's name was set the number of years that he reigned; and at the close of each account of a dynasty these years were added together and the total sum given.¹⁸ The imperfection of the method was twofold. Joint reigns were counted as if they had been successive in the summation of the years of a dynasty;¹⁹ and, contemporary dynasties not being in many cases distinctly marked, the sum total of all the years of the dynasties was greatly in excess of the real period during which the monarchy had lasted. In early times attempts were made to correct the serious chronological errors thus resulting. Eratosthenes reduced the 2,900 years²⁰ of Manetho's "Old Empire" to 1,076;²¹ and a later writer, probably Panodorus, cut down the 5,000, or more, of the entire thirty dynasties to 3,555;²² but it does not appear that either writer possessed trustworthy data for his conclusions, or reached them in any other way than by arbitrary alteration and a free use of conjecture. Scholars of the present day have probably quite as ample materials for criticising Manetho's scheme as either Panodorus or Eratosthenes, but are better aware of, or more ready to acknowledge, their insufficiency for the purpose.

It adds to the difficulty of eliciting a satisfactory chronology from Manetho's work, that we possess it only in epitomes, and

that these epitomes are conflicting. Two writers of Christian times, Africanus, probably in the second century, and Eusebius in the fourth, professed to give a synopsis of Manetho's dynasties, with his numbers. The actual work of Africanus is wholly lost; that of Eusebius has come down to us, but only in an Armenian version. While, however, the originals of both were still in existence, they were read by a Byzantine court official, George the Syncellus (ab. B.C. 800), who embodied the main statements of both writers, as he understood them, in his "Chronography." This work is extant; and thus we have what are in fact three professed epitomes of Manetho, one by Africanus, and two rival claimants to represent the original epitome of Eusebius—the Armenian translation, and the recension of George the Syncellus. If the numbers in the three epitomes corresponded, we should be tolerably sure that we possessed Manetho's actual views; but they do not correspond—on the contrary, they differ very considerably. The total number of years assigned by Manetho to his thirty dynasties is given, in the Eusebius of the Syncellus, as 4,728; in the Armenian Eusebius as 5,205; in the Africanus of the Syncellus as 5,374.²³ The total assigned to a dynasty is very rarely the same in the three versions,²⁴ the difference between the totals sometimes amounting to hundreds of years. The result is that we do not know with any exactness what Manetho's real numbers were; much less what were his real chronological views, if he had any.

Finally, it has to be borne in mind that Manetho's chronological statements, even when fully ascertained by the agreement of all the epitomes, are not unfrequently contradicted by the monuments, and consequently rejected by all modern critics.²⁵ This occurs even in the later part of the history, where the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. If Manetho could make mistakes with respect to the reigns of kings who were removed from his time by no more than three centuries, how can he be implicitly trusted with respect to reigns at least twenty centuries earlier?

The entire result is: (1) that Manetho's general scheme, being so differently reported, is in reality unknown to us; (2) that its details, being frequently contradicted by the monuments,²⁶ are untrustworthy; and (3) that the method of the scheme, the general principles on which it was constructed, was so faulty, that, even if we had it before us in its entirety, we could derive from it no exact or satisfactory chronology.

Thus the defect of the monuments is not made up to us by the chronological data which are supplied by authors. These

latter are copious; but they resolve themselves ultimately into statements made by the Egyptian priests for the satisfaction of the Greeks and Romans upon points on which they felt no interest themselves, and on which their records did not enable them to give exact information. The Egyptians themselves, it can never be too often repeated, "had no chronology." It never occurred to them to consider, or to ask, how long a dynasty had occupied the throne. The kings dated their annals by their regnal years;²⁸ and it is probable that the dates of a king's accession and of his demise were commonly placed on record by the priests of his capital city, so that the entire length of his reign could be known; but no care was taken to distinguish the years of his sole reign from those during which he was associated with his predecessor. Neither were contemporary dynasties distinctly marked, as an ordinary rule. In one case alone did Manetho apparently note that two of the dynasties which he mentioned reigned simultaneously.²⁹ Yet all modern critics, or almost all, believe that several other instances of contemporaneousness occur in his list.³⁰ The extent to which the practice of entering contemporaneous or collateral lists is an apparently continuous line has been carried in disputed; and the divergence of the modern chronologies is due principally to the different views which have been taken on this subject. Lenormant makes two out of the thirty dynasties collateral;³¹ Brugsch, five;³² Bunsen, seven;³³ Wilkinson and Stuart Poole, twelve.³⁴ Until some fresh light shall be thrown upon this point by the progress of discovery, the uncertainty attaching to the Egyptian chronology must continue, and for the early period must be an uncertainty, not of centuries, but of *millennia*.

When the difficulties of Egyptian chronology are stated in this broad way, it may seem at first sight that the entire matter is hopeless, and that historians of Ancient Egypt had best drop out the chronological element from their narratives altogether, and try the experiment of writing history without chronology. But it is not necessary to adopt quite so violent a remedy. The difficulties of the Egyptian chronology are not spread uniformly over the entire period covered by the history; they diminish as we descend the stream of time, and for the period occupied by Manetho's "New Empire" are not much greater than those which meet us in Assyrian, Phœnician, or Jewish history, where it is the usual practice of historians to grapple with them and reduce them to a *minimum*. We propose, therefore, to endeavor, in the remainder of this chapter, to mark the limits of the uncertainty with

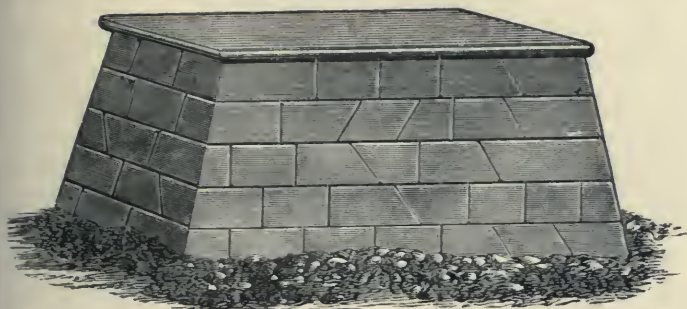


Fig. 1.—TOMB NEAR THE PYRAMIDS.—See Page 19.

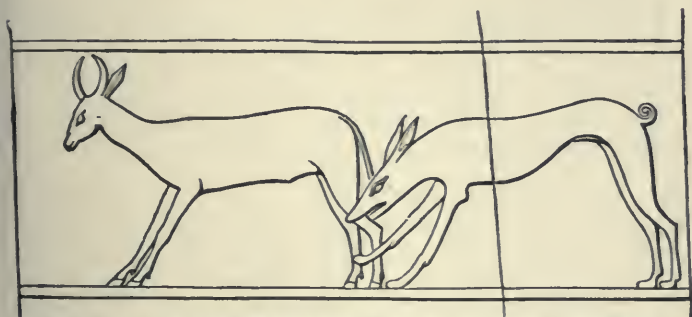


Fig. 2.—DOG AND ANTELOPE, FROM A TOMB NEAR THE PYRAMIDS.—See Page 21.



Fig. 3.—HEAD OF EGYPTIAN NOBLE (early period).—See Page 23.



Fig. 4.—TABLET OF SENEFERU AT WADY MAGHARAH.—See Page 28.



Fig. 5.—TABLET OF KHUFU AT WADY MAGHARAH.—See Page 34

respect to each of the three periods into which it has been customary, from the time of Manetho, to divide the history of Ancient Egypt.

I. With respect to the latest period, or that of the New Empire. This period includes the last thirteen dynasties of Manetho, or, if we terminate the history of Ancient Egypt with its conquest by Cambyses and the Persians, it reaches from the beginning of Manetho's eighteenth to the close of his twenty-sixth dynasty, containing thus the history of nine dynasties. These are the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, Theban; the twenty-first, Tanite; the twenty-second, Bubastite; the twenty-third, Tanite; the twenty-fourth, Saite; the twenty-fifth, Ethiopian; and the twenty-sixth, Saite, like the twenty-fourth. The chronology of this last-named dynasty is very nearly exact. Cambyses conquered Egypt in the year B.C. 527.³⁵ Psamatik III., whom he de-throned, had reigned only six months;³⁶ his father, Amasis, forty-four years;³⁷ Apries, the predecessor of Amasis, probably nineteen years;³⁸ Psamatik II., the father of Apries, six years;³⁹ Neco, his grandfather, sixteen years; and Psamatik I., the father of Neco, fifty-four years⁴⁰—total, 145 years. Thus Psamatik I., the founder of the dynasty, ascended the throne in B.C. 672. His immediate predecessor, Tirhakah, reigned twenty-six years,⁴¹ and we may therefore place his accession in B.C. 698. Thus far the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. They rest mainly upon Egyptian sources, but are confirmed to a considerable extent by Herodotus, and accord with the Scriptural dates for Pharaoh-Hopra (Apries), Pharaoh-Necho (Neco), and Tirhakah.⁴²

From the date of Tirhakah's accession we are thrown almost wholly upon Manetho. He seems to have ascribed to the two kings, who with Tirhakah, made up the twenty-fifth dynasty, either twenty-two or twenty-four years⁴³—which would bring the accession of the dynasty to B.C. 720 or B.C. 722—a date confirmed by the synchronism of Shabak (Seveh or So) with Hoshea.⁴⁴

The Saite dynasty preceding this consisted of but one king, Bocchoris, who reigned either six or forty-four years⁴⁵—the uncertainty now beginning to take larger dimensions. His accession may have been as early as B.C. 766, or as late as B.C. 726. To the two dynasties preceding the twenty-fourth Manetho assigned a period of 209 years,⁴⁶ which would make the date for the accession of the twenty-second (Bubastite) dynasty B.C. 975 or B.C. 935. Now this dynasty was founded by the great king Sheshonk, or Shishak, who received Jeru-

boam as a fugitive,⁴⁷ and warred with Rehoboam.⁴⁸ It is a remarkable confirmation of the Egyptian numbers that, in the margin of our Bibles, the date for the expedition of Shishak against Rehoboam, calculated from Hebrew and Babylonian sources only, is placed in the year B.C. 971. This synchronism lends a strength and a support to the Egyptian chronology thus far, from which we may reasonably conclude that we are still upon *terra firma*, and have not entered into cloudland.

To the dynasties intervening between the twenty-second and the nineteenth Manetho is said to have given either 265, 302, or 308 years,⁴⁹ thus bringing the accession of the twentieth dynasty to B.C. 1283 as a *maximum*, or B.C. 1200 as a *minimum*. The former of the two dates is, on the whole, preferable.⁵⁰

The nineteenth dynasty of Manetho held the throne—according to him—either a little more or a little less than 200 years.⁵¹ It appears, however, by the monuments, that this number is exaggerated; and moderns are not inclined to allow to the dynasty a longer period than about 160 years,⁵² which would give for its commencement either B.C. 1360 or B.C. 1463.

Yet greater doubt attaches to the duration of the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho's names and numbers are here in extreme confusion, and are quite irreconcilable with the monuments.⁵³ The time which he assigned to the dynasty was, according to Eusebius,⁵⁴ very nearly three centuries and a half; according to Africanus, a little more than two centuries and a half;⁵⁵ according to Josephus, rather less than that period.⁵⁶ Moderns vary in their estimates between 180 years and 300,⁵⁷ but incline, on the whole, to about 200. This number, if we accept it, will produce for the accession of this great and glorious dynasty, and the inauguration of the New Empire, the year B.C. 1643, for which however, Dr. Birch substitutes B.C. 1600, and Dr. Brugsch B.C. 1700.⁵⁸ There are writers who place the date as low as B.C. 1525.⁵⁹ Thus the limits of uncertainty in the "New Empire" extend, at the utmost, to somewhat less than two centuries.

II. With respect to the Middle Empire, or period of the Shepherd kings. The limits of uncertainty are here very much increased. Manetho, according to Africanus,⁶⁰ gave three dynasties of Shepherds, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth of his list, who reigned respectively 284, 518, and 151 years, making the entire period one of 953 years. Josephus reduces this total to 511 years,⁶¹ and the dynasties, apparently, to two. Eusebius allows only a single Shepherd dy-

nasty, and assigns it no more than 103 years.⁶² Thus the various reporters of Manetho differ here enormously, varying between one century and nine centuries and a half.

It happens, however, that in this case the monuments come to our aid. There is one which shows Apepi, or Apophis, to have been the last of the Shepherd kings, and contemporary with a certain Ra-Sekenen,⁶³ who immediately preceded Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. There is another which not obscurely intimates that Set or Saites was (as Manetho also witnesses⁶⁴) the first of the Shepherd kings, and also gives his date as 400 years⁶⁵ before some year in the reign of Rameses II. Now the only dynasty of Shepherd kings whose names Manetho gave began with a "Saites" and ended with an "Apophis," according to both Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius; so that there are strong grounds for believing that the rule of the Shepherds really began and ended with this dynasty,⁶⁶ to which Manetho assigned 284 years, according to Africanus, or, according to Josephus, 259 years and ten months. These numbers are probably, both of them, in excess; since the dynasty consisted of only six kings, whose united reigns can scarcely have covered more than two centuries. Such an estimate produces for the accession of Saites the probable date of B.C. 1843, which is between four and five hundred years before the probable year for the accession of Rameses II. (about B.C. 1410).

If the four hundred years of the Tanis inscription be regarded as an *exact* number, which is a possible view, the only alterations required in the dates hitherto suggested would be the following. We should have to shorten the periods assigned to the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties by twenty years each; to make the date for the accession of the eighteenth dynasty B.C. 1623 instead of B.C. 1643; and that for the accession of the seventeenth or Shepherd dynasty B.C. 1803 instead of 1843. The four hundredth year from the accession of Saites will then fall within the reign of Rameses II.

If the views here propounded be accepted, the additional uncertainty attaching to the dates of the "Middle Empire," beyond that which attaches to the earlier part of the "New Empire," will be one of some sixty or eighty years only. As, however, there are still writers of repute, who assign to the Shepherd kings a period of above five centuries, practically the additional uncertainty to the unlearned must be admitted to be one of about three centuries. The "New Empire" commenced its existence not earlier than B.C. 1700, and not later than B.C. 1520; the "Middle Empire" is thought by

some o have commenced as early as B.C. 2200, by others as late as B.C. 1720. The uncertainty has now risen from two centuries to five.

III. With respect to the "Old Empire," or native kingdom anterior to the Shepherd invasion. It is in this portion of Egyptian history that the main doubts and difficulties with respect to the chronology occur, and that the uncertainty changes from one measured by centuries to one of *millennia*. Manetho assigned to his first fourteen dynasties terms of years, which, if the dynasties were in all cases consecutive, would make the whole period covered by them one of 2,905 years. Mariette Bey, who scouts altogether the idea of there being any contemporary dynasties in Manetho's list, a little diminishes this amount by corrections of a few of the numbers, and makes the "Old Empire" occupy a space of 2,790 years.⁶⁸ Brugsch Bey, who admits, but admits sparingly, the theory of dynasties being contemporary, and substitutes for Manetho's estimates of reigns a calculation by generations,⁶⁹ makes a further deduction of nearly four centuries from Manetho's sum total, and gives the old native kingdom a duration of 2,400 years. Baron Bunsen, adopting the "contemporary" idea to a much larger extent than Brugsch, and accepting a calculation of Eratosthenes by which he supposes the real length of the "Old Empire" to have been correctly fixed, reduces it to the comparatively moderate term of 1,076 years, giving for its commencement B.C. 3059.⁷⁰ Lastly, Mr. Stuart Poole and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, by still further carrying out the "contemporary" theory, effect a further reduction of about four centuries, assigning to the first native kingdom no longer a period than about six centuries and a half, whereby the commencement of monarchy in Egypt is brought down to about B.C. 2700, or a little later.⁷¹ We have thus for the period of this First Empire an uncertainty extending to above 2,000 years, the maximum term assigned to it by recent writers being 2,790 years, and the minimum 637.

There appear to be at present no means of terminating this controversy. The monuments belonging to the ancient kingdom cluster mainly about four dynasties—the fourth of Manetho, the fifth, the sixth, and the twelfth. A few belong to the eleventh and the thirteenth. There are none which can be positively assigned to kings of the first, second, or third; and thus we have no direct proof of those dynasties having existed. Egyptian monumental history commences with Seneferu,⁷² who seems to correspond to Manetho's Soris,

the first king of the fourth dynasty. The fourth and fifth dynasties were certainly consecutive; and the sixth probably followed the fifth. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth may have been—probably were—collateral. None of the kings belonging to them have left any monuments; Manetho has not condescended to record their names; and it cannot therefore but be suspected that they were really secondary kings, contemporary with each other, or with the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty, perhaps even with the early monarchs of the twelfth. Again, the fourteenth dynasty is as unknown as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, and must be placed in the same category. The monuments thus confirm six only of Manetho's first fourteen dynasties; and from seven to nine centuries would perhaps be a sufficient space to allow to these six.

On the other hand, the Egyptian monuments are of such a character that they scarcely ever *prove* any two kings to have been contemporary; and it is therefore quite open for an historian to maintain that all the dynasties are both historical and consecutive, in which case the conclusions of Mariette would be reasonable. The support given by the monuments to some of Manetho's early dynasties being taken to corroborate the whole, and the entire fourteen dynasties being viewed as consecutive, 2,800 years, or an average of 200 to a dynasty, will not be manifestly excessive. It is probable, therefore, that Egyptian chronologists will always be divided into the advocates of a longer and a shorter chronology, the estimate of the former class for the commencement of the monarchy exceeding that of the latter by something like two thousand five hundred years.

Exact chronology is, beyond all doubt, a most important adjunct to history; and, where the foreign relations of a state form a main element in its life, and the parallel histories of distinct countries have to be taken into account, exact chronology, or an approach to it, is a necessity for the proper understanding of the course of affairs, and of the bearing which events in one country had upon those in another. But, where a nation is isolated, or where its history at any rate is unmixed with other histories, and flows on in its own separate channel without contact with any neighboring stream, the need of exact chronology is much less, and a considerable vagueness in the dates may be tolerated. It is possible to have a very fair knowledge of the general character of a river—of the direction of its course, the hue and quality of its waters, the equableness or variableness of its flow, even of the countries

upon its bank—without exact acquaintance or anything more than a very vague notion, of its length. It is the same with history. If we can obtain a clear knowledge of the condition of a people at different periods, if we can represent the different phases of its life in the order of their occurrence, if we can—to some extent, at any rate—perceive and appreciate the causes which produced the various alterations, we may present an instructive picture of them—compose an agreeable and useful history—even though we can only conjecture vaguely the length of time during which each condition lasted. It is this which an historian of *early* Egypt must aim at effecting; and if he succeeds in effecting it, he must be satisfied. The chronological riddle is insoluble. He must set it aside. But he needs not therefore to set aside that immense mass of material, possessing the highest interest, which the toils of travellers and explorers, and the patient labors of philologists, have accumulated during the last century. The “Old Empire” of Manetho is a reality. It lives and moves before us in the countless tombs of Ghizeh, Saccharah, and Beni-Hassan, on the rocks of Assouan and the Wady Magharah, on the obelisk of Heliopolis, and in numerous ancient papyri; its epochs are well marked; its personages capable in many cases of being exhibited distinctly; its life as clearly portrayed as that of the classical nations. And that life is worth studying. It is the oldest presentation to us of civilized man which the world contains, being certainly anterior, much of it, to the time of Abraham;³ it is given with a fulness and minuteness that are most rare; and it is intrinsically most curious. A picture, therefore, of the Old Empire may well be required of the historian of Ancient Egypt, and will be here attempted, notwithstanding the vagueness of the chronology.

For the “Middle Empire” an approximate chronology will be given. The author is strongly convinced of the shortness of the “Shepherd” period, and cannot bring himself to assign to it a duration of above two centuries. He regards it as commencing about B.C. 1840 and terminating about B.C. 1640.

The dates for the “New Empire” will be found gradually to advance towards absolute exactness. Its commencement, circ. B.C. 1640, is doubtful to the extent already allowed,⁴ but the uncertainty of the chronology diminishes with each successive dynasty; and when we reach the twenty-second, it scarcely exceeds twenty years, since the synchronism of Sesonchis with Rehoboam fixes the commencement of that king’s reign to some date between B.C. 975 and B.C. 955. From the

accession of Tirlakah the chronological difficulties almost disappear, and thenceforth exact dates will take the place of those vague and merely approximate ones which are necessary for the earlier periods.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OLD EMPIRE—THE FIRST BEGINNINGS.

Uncertainty of the Succession of the Early Kings—Official Order, determined on after the Expulsion of the Shepherd Kings, not to be viewed as historical. The List, as given by the Chief Native Authorities. Doubts as to the Existence of Menes. Remarks on the Name Athothis. Hesepti mentioned in the Ritual. Distinction attaching to Meribipu. Variations in the Lists. General Character of the Names. The traditional Notices of the Monarchs scanty and valueless. Condition of the Egyptian people at this early time. Character of their Art and of their Religion. Principal Features of their Life.

Ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τῷ μυθῶδες ἐκκενικηκότα.—
THUCYD. i, 21.



WHEN the great monarchs of native Egyptian blood, who bore sway in Egypt after the expulsion of the "Shepherd" kings, resolved, for the "honor of their excellent majesty," to set forth before the eyes of their subjects the long list of their royal predecessors, and for this purpose ransacked such remains of the "Old Empire" as had survived the "shipwreck" of the state brought about by those foreign invaders,¹ they undertook a task for which it may be doubted whether there existed any sufficient materials. Egyptian civilization had been annihilated by an avalanche of barbarians;² the whole country had been devastated; tombs had been rifled, papyrus burnt or torn to shreds, even the stone monuments partially defaced and injured; how should the succession of kings from father to son during a space of even seven centuries be recovered after so complete an overthrow and destruction of all that had gone before? Royal names, rendered conspicuous by the *cartouches* enclosing them, existed no doubt in large numbers, as they exist to this day, on monuments which had escaped the wear and tear of time and the ravages of the "Tartars of the South;"³ but what clue could there have been to their true order and proper arrangement? what means of discovering the real relationship of the kings who bore

them? Egyptian monarchs did not, ordinarily, glorify their predecessors, or even put on record the name of their true father. They merged their earthly in their heavenly parentage, and spoke of Horus, or Ra, or Ammon, or Phthah as their fathers, totally ignoring the real sire from whose loins they had sprung. Private persons, in the inscriptions upon their tombs, might sometimes indicate the succession of two or three monarchs under whom they flourished; but this would be a very partial and incomplete means of arriving at the truth, and it would be altogether wanting for the earliest period.⁴ It would seem that there must have been a large amount of arbitrariness in the order which was assigned to the names recovered from the monuments, as there certainly was in the number of the ancestors which the different monarchs claimed to themselves.⁵

Still a certain order, presenting fewer variations than might have been expected, seems to have been arrived at, and to have become, at any rate, the officially recognized one; and this order, though it has no claims to be regarded as historical, must, under existing circumstances, be placed before the reader, both as being the basis on which various "Histories of Egypt" are built, and as that which is supported by the largest amount of authority. It is not certain that all the kings on the list are real personages, or that some of those who are did not reign contemporaneously; but on the whole there is ground for believing that the great majority of them were kings who actually bore sway in some part of Egypt before the erection of the pyramids; and though the bare names tell us little, and the traditions which belong to them are almost worthless, yet a certain interest attaches even to mere names of so ancient a date, and for the full understanding of the later native kingdom it is important to know what its belief was as to that more ancient monarchy from which it claimed descent, and with which it strove to establish in every way a solidarity and a continuity.

The subjoined is a tabular arrangement of the early Egyptian kings, according to the chief native authorities. It is, in its principal features, based upon the table drawn up by M. de Rougé in his interesting "Recherches," but embodies corrections which he subsequently made, and a few alterations of names from other sources.

A few remarks only need be made on these names. In Mena, or M'na, the supposed first king—the Mén of Herodotus,⁶ the Men-es of Manetho,⁷ and the Men-as of Diodorus⁸—we have probably no real personage,⁹ but a *heros eponymus*,




the mythic *establisher* of the kingdom,¹⁰ and founder of the first capital, Memphis. The Egyptian name, which the Greeks made into Memphis, is *Men-nofer*,¹¹ , "the good station," or "the good establishment;" and M'na, , is the "*establisher*" or "founder" of this "station."

The name has not been discovered on any monument of the Early Empire.¹² It first appears in the "New Table of Abydos," where it heads the list set up by Seti I., the second king


The Early Kings.

Manetho (according to Africanus).	Fragments of the Turin Papyrus.	New Table of Abydos (Seti I.)	Table of Saccarah (time of Rameses II.)
Dyn. I.			
1. Meues	Fr. 1. { Mena	Mena	
2. Athothis	. . . a	Teta	
3. Kenkenes		Atet	
4. Uenephes		Ata	
5. Uasaphædus a	Hesepti	
6. Miebidus	Hesepti	Meribipeu	Meribipen
7. Semempses	Meribipeu	Ati?	
8. Bieueches	Ati?	Kabuhu	Kabuhu
Dyn. II.	Fr. 20. { a		
9. Boëthus biu	Butau	Neterbiu
10. Kæechôs ka	Kakau	Kakau
11. Binothis uuter	Binnuter	Biutera
12. Tlas es	Utnas	Utnas
13. Sêthenes	Seuta	Senta	Seuta
14. Chæres	(Nefer)ka		
15. Nefercheres			Neferkara
16. Sesochris	Fr. 10. { Neferka-Sokari		Sokari-neferka
17. Cheneres	(Hu)tefa	 , tefa
Dyn. III.	Beb . . .	(Teti)	Bebi
18. Necherôphes	Nebka	Nebka	
19. Tosorthrus	Sar	Sar-sa	Sar
20. Tyreis	Sar-teta	Teta	Sar-teta
21. Mesochris		Setes	
22. Sôyphis		Neferkara	
23. Tosertasis			Ra-nebka
25. Aches, etc.	Huni		Huni
Dyn. IV.			
28. Soris	Seueferu	Senefera	Seuefera

of the nineteenth dynasty;¹³ it is found again in the list of Rameses II., at the Rameseum;¹⁴ and appears also on a fragment of the Turin papyrus. But we have no evidence that it was known in Egypt earlier than about B.C. 1440.


Of the kings Teta, , Atet, , and Ata , there is no other record than the occurrence of their names in the list of Seti I., and some supposed remains of them in the frag-




ments of the Turin papyrus.¹⁶ The Greeks seem to have expressed all three names by the form Athôthis¹⁶ or Athôthes,¹⁷ which seems like a Grecized form of the god of learning, Thoth. It was perhaps with some reference to this connection that the first Athôthis was said to have been a physician and to have written books on anatomy.¹⁸


The fifth king in the list of Seti I., who appears also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, the king Hesepti or Hesep,  (called Uasaphædus by Manetho), is mentioned in several copies of the "Ritual," or "Book of the Dead," as the author of two of its most important chapters.¹⁹ He is also mentioned in a papyrus of the date of Rameses II., as a king anterior to Senta.²⁰ The context rather implies that he was immediately anterior; but the expression used is to some extent doubtful. If admitted to have this meaning, it would show that, as early as Rameses II., there were different traditions as to the succession of the ancient monarchs.

The sixth king, Meribipu, the Miebidus of Manetho,²² has the singular honor of being mentioned in the Turin papyrus, in the list of Seti I., and in that of Saccarah, as well as in the catalogues both of Manetho and Eratosthenes. The list of Saccarah places him at the head of the whole series of kings,²³ as if he had been a monarch of more than common importance. But nothing is recorded of him, either by Manetho or by any other ancient writer, to justify or account for his being held in peculiar honor; no mention is made of him in the "Ritual," nor has his name been found on any monuments of the Early Empire.

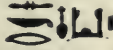

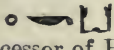
In the place of the Semempses of Manetho,²⁴ who is perhaps Eratosthenes' Pemphôs²⁵ there appears in the Turin papyrus a name greatly defaced, which M. de Rougé is inclined to read²⁶

as Ati, . The New Table of Abydos has an entirely different representation, the *cartouche* containing only a single hieroglyph, which is the figure of a man standing, and holding in his hand the sceptre of a god.²⁷ It is scarcely possible that this single figure can represent the trisyllabic name of Manetho. That name has been identified²⁸ with a king, (Ra-hem)-Sementet, who appears in the lists of his ancestors given by Thothmes III., at Karnak, but is ignored by the Turin papyrus, as well as by Seti I., and the author of the list of Saccarah. Here again we have evidence of a variety in the traditions as to the primitive times current under the early dynasties of the New Empire.

Proof of the same is also furnished by the names Butau  and Teti,  in the New Table of Abydos, which are replaced by those of Neter-bin  and Bebi

 in the list of Saccarah and the Turin papyrus,²⁹ as well as by the substitution of Ranebka and Huni in the Saccarah list for Setes and Neferkara in the Abydos one. The supposition that monarchs of this early period bore two names, which De Rougé makes,³⁰ is wholly gratuitous, and quite contrary to the monumental evidence, which shows no double name until Ra-n-user of the fifth dynasty.³¹

Of the entire list of names down to Seneferu it is to be observed, that they have an archaic and (as Dr. Brugsch expresses it) a "plebeian" character.³² "They do not at all resemble the Pharaonic names of succeeding epochs."³³ Consisting uniformly of a single appellation, encircled by a single elliptical line, or *cartouche*, they are, with few exceptions, short, simple, severe. They express moreover, for the most part, ideas of force and terror³⁴—Teta, "he who beats"—Huni, "he who strikes"—Kakau, "the chief bull," literally "the bull of bulls"—Senta, "the terrible." Into the titles of the later kings the names of divinities, whom they specially worshipped—Ra, Ammon, Thoth, Phthah, Shabak, Hor, Set—usually enter. Among the names of these early monarchs there are but three which are composed with the appellation of a god. Neferka-

Sokari,  the ninth in the table of Saccarah, whose name occurs also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, Neferka-Ra, , the predecessor of Seneferu, according to the New Table of Abydos, and Ranebka, or Nebka-Ra, , the fourteenth in the Saccarah list, the predecessor of Huni, have a divine element in their names, the first of these names being compounded with the god Sokari, a form of Phthah,³⁵ and having the signification of "perfect through Sokari," the second meaning "perfect through Ra," and the third, "lord through Ra."

It cannot be said that any facts are really known of these monarchs. Tradition made Mena the founder of Memphis,³⁶ and his son Teta the builder of the royal palace in that city, and a writer of anatomical books.³⁷ Hesepti, or Hesepe, was regarded as the author of some chapters of the religious work known as the "Book of the Dead."³⁸ Under Semempses, or

Sementet, who was perhaps a king of this period, there was said to have been a great plague.³⁹ In the time of Butau (Boéthus) the earth gaped near the city of Bubastis, and swallowed up a vast number of persons.⁴⁰ Kakau (Kæchôs) introduced the worship of the Apis-bull at Memphis, the Mnevis-bull at Heliopolis, and the sacred goat at Mendes. Binnuter (Binôthris) made a law that the crown should be allowed to descend to women.⁴¹ Nefer-ka-Sokari was a giant;⁴² and under Nefer-Ka-Ra (Nepher-cheres) the Nile flowed with honey for eleven days.⁴³ Under Necherôphes (Nebka?) the Libyans, who had revolted, made their submission on account of a sudden increase in the moon's size, which terrified them.⁴⁴ Tosorthrus (Sar-sa?) was worshipped after his death as the Egyptian Æsculapius (Aemhetp) on account of his medical skill; he paid attention to inscriptions, and was the first to construct buildings with polished stone.⁴⁵

Such are the traditions which have alone come down to us with respect to these early monarchs. Their value would be but slight, even were they to be depended on: as the case stands, it is difficult to assign them any value at all.⁴⁶ They come to us, almost without exception, from Manetho, who wrote two thousand years after the time, and who, in his accounts of far more recent reigns, is frequently contradicted by contemporary monuments. No doubt Manetho found these traditions in Egyptian authorities; but his credulity was great,⁴⁷ his critical discernment small, his diligence in research less than might have been expected.⁴⁸ To rely on Manetho is to put trust in a writer too negligent to care for truth, and, had he cared, too uncritical to discover it.

It is a relief to turn from the scanty accounts left us of (perhaps) apocryphal kings to the condition of the Egyptian people at this early period. The people certainly existed; and though not very much may be known of their condition, yet an interest attaches to all that is known very greatly beyond that which belongs to kings and dynasties. We propose to consider their condition under the three heads of art, religion, and mode of life, including manners and customs.

The history of Egypt will always be, to a very large extent, a history of art. Art had, so far as we know, its birth and earliest development in the valley of the Nile and grew up there by a natural and gradual progress without being affected to an appreciable extent by any extraneous influences. The earliest of the arts to start into being was no doubt architecture; and its first employment, there as elsewhere, was in the construction of habitations capable of affording shelter from

the solar rays, and from the occasional, though not very frequent, showers of hail and rain.⁵⁹ The earliest of the Egyptian houses seem to have been of wood, which was easier to work than stone, and which was furnished in tolerable plenty by the palm groves that grew luxuriantly in ancient times, probably along the whole course of the river. Indications of the character of the houses are furnished by some of the most ancient tombs,⁶⁰ which, though constructed in stone, bear traces, like the tomb in Lycia,⁶¹ of a preëxistent wooden architecture, which has impressed its forms upon the alien material. The rounded mass of stone which forms the lintel above the doorways of the early tombs⁶² can have derived its shape from nothing but a reminiscence of the unsawn palm stem which served the purpose in the primitive mansions; the long, thin pilasters and architraves are clear imitations of wood-work; and the latticed windows, most difficult to construct in stone, are such as would be produced by simplest possible arrangement of wooden bars. We may gather from the tombs that the early houses were not without ornament. Alternate pilasters and depressions, adorned with a species of panelling, extended (it would seem) along the entire façade of a house; the door was placed in the middle, and was narrow for its height; over the door was a latticed window of a considerable size, which gave light probably to a central hall, while the rooms on either side of the hall were also lighted by windows, which were small, and placed high up in the walls. The roof would appear to have been flat, and was formed probably by palm-trees split in two, and then covered with a coating of mud or cement.

From the idea of a house for the living the Egyptians passed rapidly, and at a date so early that we cannot possibly fix it, to the idea of a house for the dead. (Fig 1.) Their religious notions required that this last should be as permanent as possible; and it seems certain that, long before houses were built of any other material than wood, stone was carefully quarried and squared to be employed in the construction of the "eternal abodes"⁶³ of the departed. The earliest sepulchres now extant are stone buildings, looking externally like small houses.⁶⁴ They stand isolated, like the monuments in our churchyards, each consisting of an oblong chamber or chambers, enclosed with massive walls, which slope externally at an angle of 75° or 80°, but internally are perpendicular. A single door, in no way concealed, gives entrance into the interior, and it is in the ornamentation of this doorway that we have the representations of houses in wood. The chamber

is roofed over with large flat stones; and, if it exceeds a certain size, the roof is supported internally by a massive square stone pier. In this simple and primitive construction we have the germ of the pyramid, which grew up out of it by a number of slight changes.

One of these changes belongs, by general consent,⁵⁵ to the period of which we are speaking. In the "tower" or "pyramid of Meydoun"⁵⁶ we see an enlarged edition of one of these early tombs, differing from them in greatly increased size and solidity, as well as in the novel feature of superimposed stories in a retreating series, the entire number of the stories being three. The Meydoun pile has a grandeur of its own. Emplaced upon an isolated rocky knoll of some considerable height, and standing in the middle of the grassy plain, "which, green as an emerald, stretches eastward to the holy stream,"⁵⁷ it has a proud and imposing appearance, and in almost any other country than Egypt would be considered a monument of high architectural importance. The base measures 200 feet each way, and the height of the edifice is little short of 125 feet. The solid contents amount to nearly three millions of cubic feet.

The great "pyramid of Saccarah," as it is called, which is also thought to belong to these early times,⁵⁸ shows a further advance in architectural skill and power on the part of the primitive builders. Like the Meydoun building, it was a tower in stages,—the number of the stages being six,—and, as in the Meydoun building, the external walls sloped inwards at a slight angle. This edifice is even more imposing than that of Meydoun,⁵⁹ since it rises to a height of nearly 200 feet, and covers an area of 135,000 square feet, instead of one of only 40,000. It is emplaced upon a rocky plateau, which has an elevation of nearly a hundred feet above the Nile valley, and is a conspicuous object on all sides.

Such, so far as appears, was the furthest point to which architectural skill was carried by the Egyptians of these early days. They did not erect a true pyramid. They did not even venture to build in perpendicular stages. They did not give to their work the minute care and finish of later times.⁶⁰ Their loftiest erections were less than half the height of those designed and executed subsequently. Gently, tentatively, the builders advanced from the small to the great, always aiming at solidity and permanence, comparatively careless of ornamentation, and looking to obtain the impressive effect, at which they aimed, by size and massiveness rather than by elegance or beauty.

Glyptic art was also known, and practised within certain limits, at this early period. The most ancient tombs are adorned internally with the sculptured forms of the owner, his wife, his children, his attendants, represented in the low relief peculiar to Egypt. These forms have all the ordinary defects of Egyptian drawing,—the hard outline, the stiff limbs, the ill-made hands, the over-long feet,—but are not greatly inferior even to those of the best epoch. There is a more marked inferiority in the representations of animals (Fig. 2), which are not only stiff but ungainly, not only conventional but absurd.⁶¹ Grouping seems to be an unknown idea; each figure stands by itself, or is followed by its counterpart, the same form being repeated as often as is requisite in order to fill up vacant spaces on the walls of the sepulchral chambers. Sculpture “in the round” was also attempted by the primitive artists; and five or six statues exist which the best Egyptologists assign to a time anterior to that of the Pyramids.⁶² Of these M. Lenormant remarks that, “on studying them, we observe a rudeness and indecision of style, which make it clear that at this period Egyptian art was still trying to find the right path, and had not yet formed itself fully.”⁶³

A single mosaic, supposed to be of the same early date, tends to raise the art of the time to a higher level. Brugsch says of it: “The double picture, a little smaller than the natural size, shows a man and his wife in a dignified attitude sitting by the side of one another in a chair of the form of a die. The brilliancy of the eye—imitated in shining crystal and white ivory and dark ore in a masterly manner—has all the appearance of life.” On the whole, he accounts the work “a marvel of art, venerable from its antiquity, and exquisite in its workmanship.”⁶⁴

With respect to the religion of this period, the evidence that we possess is rather negative than positive. The twenty-six names of kings supposed to belong to it reveal the worship of two gods only, Ra, and Phthah, or Sokari. The name of a functionary, Thoth-hotep,⁶⁵ reveals the worship of Thoth. With regard to the other gods we have no monumental evidence to show whether at this time they were worshipped or no.⁶⁶ Certainly, temples of any pretension were not erected, or we should have some remains of them. The oldest existing Egyptian temple belongs to the reign of Chephren⁶⁷ (Shafra), the builder of the Second Pyramid; and, though the classical writers ascribe temples to earlier monarchs,⁶⁸ and several certainly existed in Khufu’s time,⁶⁹ yet their fabric must have

been slight, and the religion which consisted in the public worship of gods must have been secondary. No doubt Phthah, Ra, and Thoth—possibly Osiris, Isis, Athor, Horus and Set,⁷⁰—received some worship, and there *may* have been buildings dedicated to them as early as there was monarchy in Egypt; but the real practical religion of the primitive period was that worship of ancestors, whereof we have spoken in the previous volume⁷¹ as an important portion of Egyptian religious practice. The sepulchral chambers above described were the true temples of the period; here the worshippers met from time to time for sacred ceremonies; here hymns were sung, offerings made, and services conducted, from which both the dead and the living were expected to derive advantage. The worshippers regarded their sacrifices, libations, and offerings as contributing to the happiness of the departed, and looked to receive from them in return spiritual, or perhaps even temporal, benefits. They viewed their ancestors as still living, and as interested in the condition and prospects of their descendants; they regarded them as invested with a quasi-divinity, probably addressed their prayers to them, and, like the Chinese appealed to them for help and protection.

Hence it would seem that from the first there lay at the root of the Egyptian religion the belief in a future life, and of happiness or misery beyond the grave. Embalming was practised long before the construction of the Pyramids, and mummies were deposited in stone sarcophagi, with a view to their continued preservation.⁷² The "Ritual of the Dead" had, we are told, its origin in these times;⁷³ and, whatever subsequent refinements may have been introduced, it would seem to be certain that the fundamental conceptions of the continuance of the soul after death, its passage through the Lower World, and its ultimate reunion with the body which it once inhabited, must have been entertained by large numbers from the very first beginnings of the nation. Whence these doctrines were derived, who shall say? There is no human name which stands in the history of Egyptian opinion where the name of Zoroaster stands in Persia, or that of Moses in the history of the Jews. The composition of the "Book of the Dead" was ascribed, in the main, to the gods.⁷⁴ How it happened that in Egyptian thought the future life occupied so large a space, and was felt to be so real and so substantial, while among the Hebrews and the other Semites it remained, even after contact with Egypt, so vague and shadowy, is a mystery which it is impossible to penetrate. We can only say that so it was; that, from a time anterior to Joseph, or



Fig. 6.—TABLET OF SAHURA AT WADY MAGHARAH.—See Page 38

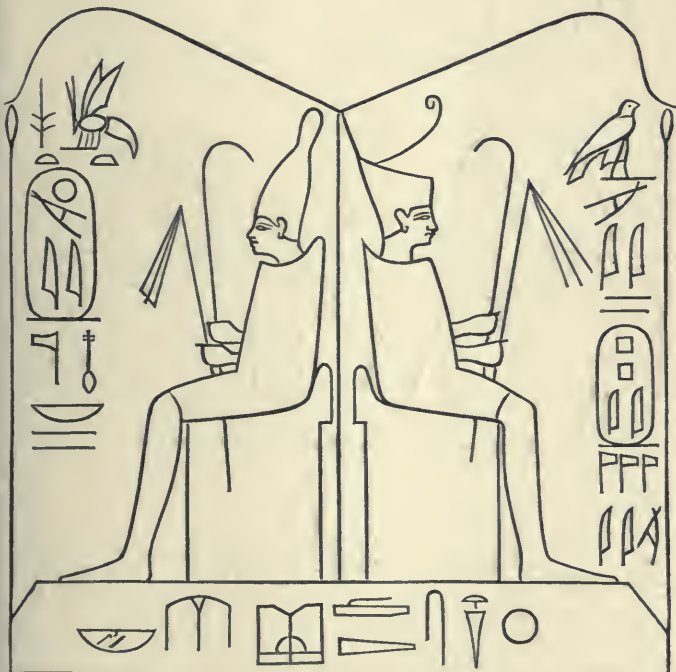


Fig. 7.—TABLET OF PEPI.—See Page 56.



Fig. 8.—EARLIEST SANDALS.—See Page 47.



Fig. 9.—HEADRESSES WORN BY WOMEN.—See Page 47.

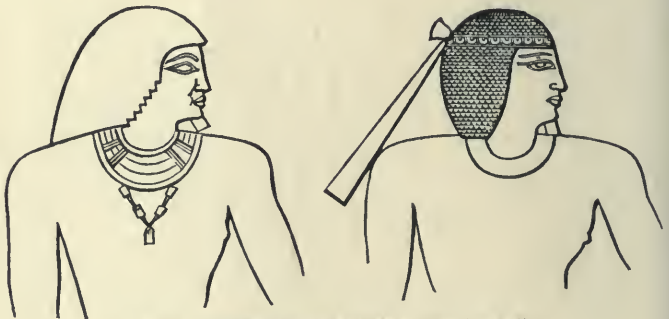


Fig. 10.—ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN.—See Page 47.



Fig. 11.—SECOND TYPE OF THE EGYPTIAN DOG.—See Page 64.



Fig. 12.—DOG RESEMBLING A TURNSPIT.—See Page 92.

even Abraham, the children of Mizraim, in their bright and fertile land on either side of the strong-flowing Nile, thought as much of the future life as of the present; that their religious ideas clustered rather about the tomb than about the temple; and that their worship, domestic rather than national, though it included among its objects some beings regarded as wholly divine, was directed especially towards the spirits of those who had been their "fathers in the flesh," and were thought to have a natural interest in the welfare of persons sprung from their loins.

There was another worship, also of a practical character, which belongs almost certainly to this early period—the worship of the reigning monarch. Each king was regarded as an incarnation of Horus,⁷⁸ was assigned a priest or priests,⁷⁹ and a temple, or at any rate a chapel. He was styled "the victorious Horus," "the divine lord," "the ever-living."⁸⁰ His subjects worshipped him, not only during his life, but after his death. The priesthood once instituted in a king's honor was maintained ever afterwards; sacrifices were offered to the defunct sovereign at stated intervals; and in this way each occupant of the Egyptian throne, unless some revolution occurred, continued to be held in perpetual remembrance.⁸¹

Life in Egypt under the early kings was simpler and less varied than it became at a later period, but not very markedly different. Towns⁸² existed at the furthest date to which our materials carry us back, and the distinction between town and country life was a necessary consequence. In the town dwelt the monarch, the courtiers, the royal attendants, the artisans, the shopkeepers; in the country, large landed proprietors, their servants, agricultural laborers, cowherds, perhaps boatmen. Landed property was hereditary,⁸³ and an upper class was thus maintained, which regarded itself as a nobility. Royal blood often flowed in the veins of these persons, who are frequently said to be *Suten-rekh*, "grandsons of a monarch."⁸⁴ Their wealth, which was considerable, enabled them to maintain a numerous household, which consisted both of male and female servants, and reached in some instances the number of thirty.⁸⁵ Little was spent by them upon personal display. The dress of the upper class, even considerably later than the time whereof we are speaking, was wonderfully simple and unpretending, presenting little variety and scarcely any ornament.⁸⁶ The grandee (Fig. 3) wore indeed an elaborate wig, but that was indispensable for the sake of cleanliness;⁸⁷ otherwise his attire is almost unparalleled in ancient times for simplicity. A short tunic, probably of

white linen, reaching from the waist to a little above the knees, was ordinarily his sole garment. His arms, chest, legs, even his feet, were naked, the use of sandals not being as yet known. The only decoration which he wore was a chain or ribbon about the neck, on which was suspended an ornament like a locket.⁸⁵ In his right hand he carried a long staff or wand, which he seems to have used as a walking-stick. Such was the great noble's ordinary apparel, his "undress" costume, to use a modern expression; when he ventured beyond this, and allowed himself to indulge in the refinement of "dress," he exchanged his tunic for a somewhat scanty robe reaching from the neck to the ankles, replaced his chain and locket by a broad collar, and, having adorned his wrist with bracelets, was ready to pay visits or to receive polite company.⁸⁶ The costume of his wife, if he happened to be married, was not a whit more elaborate. She wore her hair long and gathered in three masses, one behind the head, and the other two in front of either shoulder. On her body she had a single garment—a short gown or petticoat reaching from just below the breasts to halfway down the lower joint of the leg, and supported by two broad straps passed over the two shoulders. Her feet were bare, like her husband's, and, like him, she encircled her wrists with bracelets.⁸⁷ We have no representation or account of the houses in which these persons resided. Probably they were plain in character; but their furniture was not inartistic. The chairs on which both sexes sat—or rather stools, for they had no back—were supported on legs fashioned after those of animals, and the extremity of the seat on either side terminated in a lotus-flower.⁸⁸ Tables seem to have been round, and to have been supported by a single pillar in the centre. Couches are not represented, but they probably differed little from those of later times; and there had already been invented the peculiarly Egyptian piece of furniture known as the "head-rest."⁸⁹

The animals domesticated at this early period were, so far as appears, the dog, the cow, the goose, and perhaps the antelope. Antelopes were, however, also hunted;⁹⁰ and it is possible that those which appear to be tame⁹¹ were wild ones taken young and kept as pets. Pet animals seem to have been much affected, and included the jerboa, the hare, and the porcupine.⁹² The only animals that can be proved to have been killed for food at this date are the ox and the goose; but we may suspect that fish, whereof several species appear in the hieroglyphics of the time, were also articles of common consumption, as they certainly were in later times.⁹³ Bread no doubt

was the main "staff of life;" and attendants carrying baskets, which appear to contain loaves, are common."

The artisan class of the time must have included weavers, workers in metal, stonecutters, masons, carpenters, upholsters, wig-makers, embalmers, and probably boatbuilders. Stonecutting was an art very necessary in a country where the only timber tree was one which was valued both for its shade and for its fruit. For the shaping of blocks the saw and the chisel must have been very early invented; and a metallurgy of no small merit must have formed and hardened the implements whereby materials such as those employed by the Egyptian builders and sculptors were worked with ease and freedom. Granite, indeed, was not made use of at first; a compact limestone supplied its place, and contented the primitive constructors of tombs and towers. But it was not long ere Egyptian skill and inventiveness succeeded in finding means to subdue even the most intractable materials; and we shall find the pyramic kings employing freely such stubborn substances as syenite, arragonite, red granite, and green basalt.

To conclude this brief interview of a time on which the Egyptian remains throw but a dim and uncertain light, it must be noted that the hieroglyphical system of writing was already not only invented, but elaborated, the interior of the sepulchral chambers being covered with long inscriptions, which give the titles and employments, describe the domains, and other possessions of the deceased if not with the copiousness and verbosity of a later date, at any rate with considerable fulness of detail. The hieroglyphs themselves are somewhat rude and wanting in finish; but the language is said to be completely formed; the different kinds of hieroglyphs, symbolic, determinative, phonetic, are all in use; the values of the characters are fixed; grammatical modifications are indicated by signs which for the most part continued in use; and, in a general way, it may be said that "the hieroglyphical writing reveals itself to us in the monuments of the first dynasties with all that complication which belonged to it down to the last day of its existence."


CHAPTER XIV.

THE PYRAMID KINGS.

Reigns of Seneferu, Khufu, Shafra, Menkaura, and Asekaf, of the Fourth Dynasty, and of Usurkaf, Sahura, Kaka, Nefer-ar-kara, Ranuser, Menkauhor, Tatcara or Assa, and Unas, of the Fifth. General Condition of Egypt under these Kings. Progress of Art—of Religion—of Civilization and the Arts of Life.


“Pulcher fugatis dies tenebris.”—Hor. *Od.* iv, ll. 39–40.

HISTORIC light dawns, and truly historic personages begin to move before us, with the accession of the dynasty which Manetho styled “the fourth.” Manetho placed at the head of this dynasty a king whom he called Soris; and though the name itself corresponds rather with the “Sar” of the Turin papyrus, and of the table of Saecarah, yet, as the place assigned to him make him definitely the predecessor of Suphis (Khufu), it would seem that we may properly identify him with Seneferu, who beyond all doubt occupied that position.’ Sene-

feru  appears to have succeeded Huni, but to have exceeded him in the extent of his dominions.² He had the character of a good and beneficent king; and it is in harmony with this description of an Egyptian writer, that we find him in his lifetime taking the title of *neb mat*,³ or “lord of justice,” which was not one commonly borne by Egyptian sovereigns. Seneferu (Fig. 4) is the first Egyptian monarch who has left behind him an inscription,⁴ and the first of whom we have monumental evidence that he made war beyond his own borders, and established the power of Egypt over a foreign country. Thus he was great both at home and abroad; he dispensed justice to his subjects with such wisdom and impartiality as to acquire a character for beneficence; and he employed the Egyptian arms beyond his frontiers with such success that he could claim also the title of “conqueror.”⁵ It must always be with a profound interest that travellers contemplate that rock-tablet in the Sinaitic peninsula which contains his name and titles, together with a representation of his prowess as he engages with and fells a foreign adversary. The chief with whom he contends is the sheikh or prince of the *Mena-nu-sat*, or “Shepherds of the East,”⁶ who at that time held the mountain country between the two arms of the

Red Sea. Attracted thither by the mineral treasures of the region,⁷ the Egyptian monarch, "King of Upper and of Lower Egypt," as he proclaims himself, "Lord of Justice," and "Vanquisher of his adversary," carried all before him—defeated and dispersed the old inhabitants of the country, received their submission, and established a military and mining post in the heart of the region, which was thenceforth for centuries carefully guarded by an Egyptian garrison. The remains still to be seen in the Wady Magharah show the strong fortress within which the Egyptian troops were lodged, the deep well within the wall which secured them an un-failing supply of water, and the neighboring temples of their native deities, wherein the expatriated soldiers might have the enjoyment of the worship to which they were accustomed in their own land.⁸

It is not certain that Seneferu adorned Egypt with any buildings. The Meydoun pile has been ascribed to him,⁹ but scarcely on sufficient data. Various members of his family were interred in the tombs of Ghizeh; and it is in this way that we make acquaintance with his favorite wife, Mer-titefs;¹⁰ his son, Nefer-mat;¹¹ his grandson, Shaf-Seneferu, the son of this latter;¹² and his eldest daughter, Nefer-t-kau, who was buried in the same tomb as her brother.¹³ It has been suggested that his own mummy was perhaps deposited in the lower chamber of the Great Pyramid,¹⁴ which in that case must be supposed to have been commenced by him; but there are no sufficient grounds for this supposition.

The Turin papyrus appears to have assigned to Seneferu a reign of nineteen years. His son, Nefer-mat, is thought to have died during his lifetime, and Shaf-Seneferu, his grandson, to have been thereupon invested with the title of hereditary prince (*erpa suten sa*), which he certainly bore;¹⁵ but the royal dignity, instead of passing to this prince on his grand-sire's demise, was obtained by Khufu, , under what

circumstances it is impossible to say. Khufu can scarcely have been a son of Seneferu, for he took to wife Seneferu's widow, Mertitefs. He was perhaps a usurper, and no relation; or possibly he may have been a brother, and have inherited the throne, because Shaf-Seneferu was not thought to be old enough to exercise the functions of royalty when Seneferu died. Shaf-Seneferu seems to have held a high place at his court, and to have died, while Khufu was still living, before the accession of Shafra.

In Khufu must be acknowledged, if not the greatest of Egyptian kings, yet certainly the greatest of Egyptian builders, and a sovereign of extraordinary energy. From the conception of the step-pyramid of Saccarah, which was the highest flight of Egyptian architectural daring at the time, to that of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was so vast a stride, that the monarch who took it must be credited with a grandeur and elevation of thought approaching to genius. To more than double the height of the highest previous building, to multiply the area by five, and the mass by ten, was a venture into the untried and the unknown, which none but a bold mind could have conceived, none but an iron will could have resolved to execute. So far as conception went, Khufu may have been assisted by his architect;¹⁶ but the adoption of a plan so extraordinarily grand, the determination to embody the conception in solid stone, this must have been wholly his own act, his own doing; and it implies a resolution and a strength of mind of the highest order. The fact must ever remain one to excite our profound astonishment, that in Egypt, almost at the commencement of its history, among a people living by themselves and deriving no instruction from without, a king—for there is every reason to believe that the whole work was begun and finished by a single monarch¹⁷—conceived and carried out a design so vast, completing a structure which has lasted four thousand years, which is even now among the world's chief marvels, and remains, in respect of size and mass, the most prodigious of all human constructions.¹⁸

A description of the Great Pyramid has been already given.¹⁹ It must have been commenced by Khufu almost as soon as he ascended the throne, and must have been the occupation of a lifetime. Herodotus is not likely to have obtained an exactly authentic account; but his estimate of thirty years for the time consumed in constructing the pyramid itself, together with its subsidiary structures, and of 100,000 laborers as the number constantly employed upon the work,²⁰ is quite in accordance with the probabilities of the case, though scarcely deserving to be accepted as matter of positive history.²¹ An enormous amount of unskilled human labor, gradually advancing the work by expenditure of mere brute strength, is necessitated by the circumstances of the time, and the conditions under which the pyramid was erected. A considerable employment of very highly skilled labor upon those wonderful passages and chambers, which form the true marvel of the building,²² must also be regarded as certain; and it seems to follow that such a work could not have been carried to its

completion without engaging the energies of almost the whole talent of the state, as well as almost its whole laboring population, during the period of an entire generation. Great sufferings would naturally accompany such an interference with men's natural employments, and such a concentration of vast numbers upon a limited area. The construction of the Suez Canal in the years 1865-1869 cost the lives of thousands, who perished through want and disease. It cannot be supposed that it was possible in the infancy of the world's history to execute a far vaster work without similar calamities. Hence probably the ill-repute which attached to Khufu, and the other pyramid-builders, in after times²²—an ill-repute which, though falsely explained as resting upon religious grounds, was itself a fact, not doubtful nor disputable.²⁴

In very truth, such constructions as the Pyramids, however they may move our admiration as works of art, in their kind, utterly astonishing and unapproachable, are to the politician and the moralist miserable instances of the lengths to which a paltry egotism will go for the gratification of self at the expense of others. All Egyptians had the same belief with respect to a future life—all equally desired the safe conservation of their earthly remains through many centuries.²⁵ Yet the bulk, even of the rich, were content to have their remains deposited in a deep pit, the mouth of which was closed and concealed from view by having one of the walls of the sepulchral chamber or chapel built over it. But the Egyptian kings, or at any rate the kings of this period, because they could command the services of their subjects, being absolute and able to employ as many of them as they chose in forced labors, would not be satisfied with the common lot. Nothing less would content them than granite chambers, sealed by portcullises, and enclosed in the centre of "artificial mountains,"²⁶ formed of massive blocks of stone, moved into place with sighs and groans by impressed workmen, and too often cemented with the blood of those who were maimed or crushed to death, when a block slipped, as the attempt was being made to lift and emplace it. Such accidents must have been frequent, and have occasioned a considerable loss of life; but it was easy to replace the mutilated and the killed by a fresh conscription, and so to carry out the monarch's proud design at the cost of increased suffering to his subjects. Egyptian kings did not shrink from enforcing their will at this cost. One only seems, at a certain point, to have paused in his design, and made a change, which brought his work to an earlier termination than that originally contemplated.²⁷

It must ever therefore remain a reproach to Khufu, that by the extravagance of his egotism, of his vanity, and of his ambition to excel all who had gone before or should follow him, he held his people in an intolerable bondage for a longer term of years than any other Egyptian king. We possess no representation of him that can be regarded as approaching to the nature of a portrait, or we should expect to see in his countenance indications of an iron will, a stern pride, and a cruel hardness, such as appear in the later pictures of the first Napoleon. The only bas-relief of him which exists is one at the Wady Magharah (Fig. 5), modelled after the earlier representation of Seneferu,²⁸ which shows him clutching an enemy by the hair of his head, and about to deal him his death-stroke with a club or mace. The relief is in a bad state of preservation, but it appears to be thoroughly conventional and not to aim at truthfulness of expression. Khufu has a face little differing from that of Seneferu, to whom in character he presented a striking contrast.

We gather from the Wady-Magharah tablet, that Khufu made two expeditions into the Sinaitic peninsula, one to take possession of the mines, on which occasion he merely set up

his cartouche and his titles, calling himself "Khufu, 

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the conquering Horus,' and another—that commemorated on the opposite page—

where he gave his name as Num-Khufu.  . and

represented himself as "striking down one of the Pet or An foreigners in the presence of the ibis-headed god Tahuti or Thoth."²⁹ Both these names are found in the Great Pyramid,³⁰ and though some have supposed them to designate different individuals,³¹ it seems to be now most commonly held³² that they are merely two appellations of the same monarch, the successor of Seneferu, who, having been originally called Khufu, at a certain period of his life assumed the prefix of Num or Khnum, intending thereby to identify himself with the god whom the Greeks called Kneph, one of the chief objects of worship in Upper Egypt.³³


This fact, and some others recorded on the native monuments, sufficiently refute the legend of the Greeks³⁴ which represented the builder of the Great Pyramid as wholly irreligious, one who shut up the temples, and was opposed to the polytheism of his subjects. The very reverse appears to have

been the fact. Khufu not only took the name of Khnum, in acknowledgement of the Elephantiné deity, and placed Thoth upon the trophy of victory which he set up at Wady Maghahah, but called himself "the living Horus,"³⁶ and actually built a temple to Isis, whom (as being Horus) he called "his mother," and whose image he placed in her sanctuary, attaching at the same time to the edifice an estate by way of endowment.³⁸ He also, if we may trust an inscription of comparatively late date, found at the temple of Denderah, furnished the plan upon which the original edifice, dedicated to Athor on that site, was built.³⁷ Even the Greeks³⁹ inform us that Khufu, notwithstanding his alleged impiety, composed a religious work entitled "The Sacred Book," which continued to be highly valued in later ages. The extant remains certainly bear strong witness to his religious zeal, presenting him to us in the character of the first known builder of temples, the first king who is found to have acknowledged almost all the principal Egyptians gods,³⁹ and the first person known to have brought into use the system of religious endowments.


The family of Khufu appears to have been large. He took to wife, on his accession, Queen Mertitefs, the widow of his predecessor,⁴⁰ and had by her a number of sons and daughters whose tombs "form a crown around his pyramid."⁴¹ Merhet,




, one of his sons, is said to have been the "priest of Khufu's obelisk,"⁴² whereby we perceive that this architectural embellishment, although it may not have taken an important place in the great designs of architects until the time of the twelfth dynasty, was yet already known and employed in the fourth, though probably upon a smaller scale than afterwards. Saf-hotep, another son, was (as already mentioned⁴³) the "chief of the works of Khufu," and therefore most likely his head architect. A third son, Shaf-

Khufu, was priest of Apis.⁴⁴ A daughter, Hents , was

buried under a small pyramid in immediate proximity to the great monument of her father.⁴⁵ Two other sons, Ka-ab and Khem-tat-f, had tombs in the same vicinity.⁴⁶ Merisankh, the wife of Shafra, is thought to have been also one of his daughters.⁴⁷

Khufu was, according to the lists of Abydos and Saccarah, succeeded by a king named Rataft, , who is supposed to be Manetho's "Ratoises." There are several monumental evidences of this monarch's existence,⁴⁸ and the place as-


signed to him in the lists seems to be the correct one; but his reign must have been unimportant, and was probably extremely brief, to be counted not by years, but by months. At his demise, the throne was occupied by a son-in-law of the great Khufu, a monarch who bore the name of Shafra (Fig. 60) or Khafra, , the Chephren of Herodotus⁴⁹ and the Chabres of Diodorus Siculus.⁵⁰

Shafra is the first of the Egyptian kings whose personal appearance we can distinctly and fully realize. Two statues of him, in green basalt,⁵¹ his own gift to the temple of the Sphinx, show him to us such as he existed in life, bearing upon them as they do the stamp of a thoroughly realistic treatment. The figure of the king is tall and slender—the chest, shoulders, and upper arm well developed, but the lower arm and the lower leg long and slight. The head is smallish, the forehead fairly high and marked with lines of thought, but a little retreating; the eye small, the nose well shaped, the lips slightly projecting, but not unduly thick, the chin well rounded, and the cheek somewhat too fat. The expression, on the whole, is pleasing, the look thoughtful and intelligent, but with a touch of sensuality about the under jaw and mouth. There is no particular sternness, but there is certainly no weakness, in the face, which is that of one not likely to be moved by pity or turned from his purpose by undue softness of heart.


Like his predecessor, Shafra must have made it the main business of his life to provide himself with a tomb that should be an eternal monument of his greatness and glory. He gave to his pyramid the name of *Uer*, “the great,” “the principal,”⁵² and though the inferiority of its actual dimensions⁵³ has caused it in modern times to receive the appellation of “the Second Pyramid,” it is quite possible that he expected to deceive his subjects into the belief that it was a vaster edifice than that of Khufu, by the side of which he placed it. For the lie of the ground favors such a deception. The rocky platform on which the three pyramids are built rises towards the centre, and the central position of the Second Pyramid gives it a marked advantage over the first, causing its summit to attain actually a higher elevation above the level of the plain that is attained by the pyramid of Khufu.⁵⁴ In another respect also Shafra aimed at outdoing his predecessor. Not content with the compact limestone of the opposite or Mokattam range, from which Khufu drew the vast blocks with which he revetted his enormous monument, Shafra caus-

ed his workmen to ascend the Nile as far as Elephantiné, and there to quarry the hard granite of that distant locality, in order to encase, partially at any rate,⁵⁵ his own tomb with that better and far more costly material.

It is probable that Shafra also "built the small temple behind the great Sphinx,"⁵⁶ which he certainly decorated with his statues. The peculiarity of this temple is, that it is composed entirely of great blocks of the hardest materials—red granite, syenite, or aragonite—brought from the neighborhood of Syéné, or else of yellow alabaster. The stones are polished to a perfectly smooth surface, and fitted block to block "to a hair's breadth,"⁵⁷ with a skill and an exactness that provoke the astonishment of modern architects. Similar exactness appears in the masonry of the internal chambers and passages of the pyramid of Khufu,⁵⁸ and it is beyond question that the Egyptian builders of this early period had attained to a perfect power of cutting and shaping stones of the hardest quality—a power equal to that possessed at the present day by the most advanced nations. What tools were used, what methods were employed, we do not know, and can only conjecture; but the fact is certain that the stubbornness of the hardest materials was overcome; and we may add that there is nothing in the results produced to indicate that any greater difficulty was experienced in dealing with the harder qualities of stone than with the softer.

Among the titles taken by Shafra there are some which are remarkable, and which seem to indicate an advance on the bold and bald presentation of themselves to their subjects as the main Egyptian divinities, on which the kings ventured. Shafra not only calls himself "Horus, lord of the heart," and "the good Horus," but *neter aa*, "the great god," and *sa Ra*, "Son of Ra," or "of the Sun."⁵⁹ This famous title,  so familiar to us from the cartouches of the later Pharaohs, appears in the inscriptions of Shafra *for the first time*. To him we must therefore assign the credit, or the discredit, of having invented a phrase which, exactly falling in with the vanity of subsequent kings and the adulation of their subjects, became a standing immutable title, the necessary adjunct to the proper name of every later sovereign. Shafra also added to the ordinary royal title of "conquering Horus" the prefix of *Khem*, either in the sense of "master," "ruler," or with the intention of attaching to himself another divine name, and claiming to be an incarnation of the god Khem no less than of the god Horus.

Shafra seems to have been married to a daughter of his predecessor, named Meri-ankh-s, or Meri-s-ankh.⁶⁰ Her tomb has been found at Saccarah, and has on it an inscription, by which it appears that she bore the office of priestess to Thoth, and also to one of the sacred animals regarded as incarnations of deity.⁶¹ She claims association with the "lord of diadems,"⁶² and it is thought to be not improbable that even Shafra reigned in her right rather than in his own.⁶³ It does not appear from the monuments that he was in any way related to Khufu, or that he had in his veins any royal blood; and the conjecture is made that at this ancient epoch there was some special right of daughters to succeed their father, either in preference to sons, or in case of their being the elder children. A right of the kind is known to have obtained in Lycia⁶⁴ and other eastern countries; and the want of any indication of the succession from father to son in the monuments of this time raises the suspicion that some such practice prevailed in Egypt under the early Pharaohs. But however this may have been, Meri-s-ankh was at any rate a personage of great importance in Shafra's reign. She was "exalted to the highest degree of dignity to which it was possible for the wife of an Egyptian monarch to attain."⁶⁵ Associated with the "lord of diadems," she had the entire control of the royal gynæceum, or "house of the women," enjoyed two priesthood, and was deep in the confidence and high in the favor of her royal consort. She bore Shafra at least two sons. One of these, who had the name of Neb-m-akhu-t, is represented as his father's "heir."⁶⁶ He was a superior priest of the order of Heb, a sacred scribe, and "clerk of the closet" to his father. Five estates, of which he was the owner, had all been presented to him by his liberal parent, and had received names in which Shafra was an element.⁶⁷ Another son, S-kem-ka-ra, possessed fourteen such properties,⁶⁸ and must have been one of the wealthiest landed proprietors of the time. He enjoyed his wealth for a long term of years, living to a good old age under five successive kings,⁶⁹ whose escutcheons he displays upon his monument.

The immediate succession of Mencheres (Menkaura, ) to Shafra, asserted by Herodotus⁷⁰ and Manetho,⁷¹


is indicated on the tomb of S-kem-ka-ra,⁷² and confirmed by the table of Seti I. at Abydos.⁷³ Yet here again we are unable to trace by means of the monuments any blood-relationship, and can say nothing of the connection between Menkaura and his predecessors beyond the fact of there having been a

tradition that he descended, not from Shafra, but from Khufu,⁷⁴ the first and greatest of the pyramid kings. Born and bred up during the years when the whole thought and attention of Egypt was given to the construction of these wonderful edifices, he would have been more than human if he had not been carried away by the spirit of the time, and felt it his duty to imitate in some degree, if he could not hope to emulate, his predecessors. The pyramid in which he engaged was on a humble scale. As designed and executed by himself, it seems to have been a square of no more than one hundred and eighty feet, with an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet.⁷⁵ A sepulchral chamber of no remarkable pretension,⁷⁶ excavated in the solid rock below the monument, contained the sarcophagus and coffin of the king. The sarcophagus was of whinstone, and elaborate in its ornamentation.⁷⁷ The coffin, which was of cedar wood,⁷⁸ and shaped like a mummy, but with a pedestal on which it could stand upright, was of great simplicity, being adorned with no painting, but bearing on the front two columns of hieroglyphics,⁷⁹ which are thus read by the best scholars:—"O Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura, living eternally, engendered by the Heaven, born of Nut, substance of Seb, thy mother Nut stretches herself over thee in her name of the abyss of heaven. She renders thee divine by destroying all thy enemies, O king Menkaura, living eternally."⁸⁰ The formula is one not special to this king, but repeated on the covers of other sarcophagi,⁸¹ and probably belonging to a ritual, though not to one of very ancient date, since the ideas embodied in it can scarcely be traced back further than the time of Mencheres himself. Before this date "the god Anubis is mentioned in the tombs as the special deity of the dead, to the exclusion of the name of Osiris;" and the coffin-lid of Menkaura "marks a new religious development in the annals of Egypt."⁸² The absorption of the justified soul in Osiris, the cardinal doctrine of the "Ritual of the Dead," makes its appearance here for the first time; and we can scarcely be wrong in assigning to this monarch an important part in the doctrinal change, whereby the souls of the just were no longer regarded as retaining their individuality in the other world, but were identified each and all with Osiris himself, and were thought to be, at any rate temporarily, absorbed into his divine being.

Altogether, Mencheres left behind him the character of a religious king. According to Herodotus, he reopened the temples, which had been kept closed by Khufu (Cheops) and Shafra (Chephren), and allowed the people to resume the

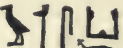
practice of sacrifice.⁸³ In the "Ritual of the Dead" it is recorded of him that one of the most important chapters of the book was discovered during his reign by his son, Hortetef, who found it at Sesennu (Hermopolis) in the course of a journey which he had undertaken for the purpose of inspecting the temples of Egypt.⁸⁴ There is such an amount of agreement in these two notices, both of which seem to imply that this monarch paid special attention to the temples, and interested himself in the cause of religion, that we shall scarcely err in assuming a foundation of truth for the king's traditional character, though the attitude of the two preceding monarchs to the established worship was certainly not that imputed to them. Mencheres was himself dedicated by his name to Ra, the sun-god, and he gave his son a name which put him under the protection of Horus. We must suppose that he sent his son on the tour of inspection mentioned in the "Ritual," thus showing himself anxious to learn what condition the temples were in; and we may conclude that he had a hand in the compilation of that mysterious treatise by the fact that Hortetef's discovery became a portion of its contents.

Nor was piety the only good quality which tradition assigned to this monarch. He was also said to have been distinguished for justice and kindness of heart.⁸⁵ The monuments of his reign are not sufficiently abundant to enable us fully to test this statement; but it is certainly in accordance with it, that we find Mencheres singling out a youth of no high birth or connection for his special favor, introducing him as an inmate into the palace, and causing him to receive his education together with his own children.⁸⁶ The youth in question, whose name was Ptah-ases, retained a lively recollection of this act of kindness, and in the inscription upon his tomb took care to commemorate the gracious favor of his royal benefactor.

Mencheres was succeeded by a monarch whose name is written , which is expounded differently by different writers, some calling it Ases-kaf and some Shepseskaf.⁸⁷ We shall adopt the former reading. Ases-kaf's immediate succession to Mencheres is indicated alike by the tomb of Ptah-ases,⁸⁸ and by that of Skemkara.⁸⁹ Ptah-ases tells us that Ases-kaf continued towards him the kind treatment commenced by his predecessor, allowed him still to receive education in the palace with the royal children, and, when he had come to years of discretion, gave him to wife his eldest daughter, Mat-sha,

preferring him as a husband for her to any other man. This first act of signal favor was followed up by such a multitude of others that the modern historian is driven to remark on the antiquity of the system of pluralities,⁹⁰ and the early date at which ecclesiastical posts were assigned to court favorites for the mere purpose of enabling their holders to draw a large revenue from benefices which they must have treated as simple sinecures. Ptah-ses was prophet of Phthah, of Sokari, and of Athor, priest of the temple of Sokari, and of that of Phthah at Memphis, prophet of Ra-Harmachis, of Ma, and of Horus, as well as overseer of the granaries, royal secretary, chief of the mines, and "chief of the house of bronze."⁹¹ He says that he was "esteemed by the king above all his other servants;"⁹² and we may therefore hope that so shameless an accumulation of offices upon a favorite as that which Ptah-ases' tomb reveals to us was unusual.

Aseskaf, like the other monarchs of this period, built himself a pyramid, and gave it the name of *Keb*, or "refreshment."⁹³ This pyramid has not at present been identified among the existing sixty-six; but it is quite possible that further research may lead to its discovery. It is probably among the group known as "the pyramids of Saccarah," which became the favorite burial-place when the Ghizeh site ceased to be thought suitable, since the enormous constructions of Khufu and Shafra could not possibly, it was felt, be exceeded, and they dwarfed all ordinary erections.


The successor of Aseskaf was Uska for Usurkaf,⁹⁴ 

who is thought to be the Usercheres of Manetho, the first king of his fifth dynasty. An unusually close correspondence is traced between the monumental names of this period and those of Manetho's list,⁹⁵ indicative of the fact that Manetho at this point of his history has for once obtained tolerably good information. His dynastic list consists of nine kings, who are made to occupy a space of 248 years, which, however, is probably too much. The Turin papyrus reduces the period to one of 141 years only, and even this number is most likely in excess, since as many as twenty-one years are assigned to monarchs of whom the contemporary monuments show no traces, and who must be regarded as secondary associated princes.⁹⁶ The line seems really to have been one of seven kings only—Usurkaf, Sahura, Nefer-ar-ka-ra, Ranuser, Menkauhor, Tatcara or Assa, and Unas; and the time which it occupied seems a little to have exceeded a hundred years. If we assign to the four or five preceding monarchs⁹⁷ a similar

term, we shall make a liberal allowance and have for the entire space from the accession of Seneferu to the death of Unas one of about two centuries.

It is difficult to conjecture any reason for Manetho's division of the kings of this period into two separate dynasties, one Memphite, and the other Elephantiné. Nothing is more distinctly shown by the monuments than the fact, that the entire series from Seneferu to Unas lived and reigned at Memphis; nor do we possess in all our ample materials the slightest trace of any break or division in the series, any change of policy, or religion, or art, to account for the fiction of two houses. It would seem that the Sebennytic priest had made up his mind to have thirty dynasties down to the close of Egyptian independence, and was not very particular how he produced them. To swell the number of years and obtain the total which he wanted, he introduced secondary associated princes into his lists by the side of the true monarchs, without distinguishing them, and from time to time he seems to have even gone the length of interpolating into his lists wholly fictitious kings. The Bicheres, Sebercheres, and Thamphthis, who close the fourth dynasty of Manetho, if not absolute fabrications, have at any rate no right to the place which they occupy. They are fictions *at that point* certainly; possibly they are fictions altogether.

The reign of Usurkaf was short and undistinguished. He built a small pyramid, which he called *Uab asu*, "the most holy of all places," and established the usual worship of his own diety in connection with it, which he committed to the charge of a priest named Khnumhotep. In this worship he associated with himself the goddess Athor.¹⁰⁰ Among his other titles he took that of *Hor ari mat*,¹⁰¹ or "Horus, the dispenser of justice," which would appear to imply that, like Seneferu,¹⁰² he regarded it as one of his chief duties to have justice carefully and strictly administered throughout the country under his rule. Only a very few monuments belonging to his reign have been as yet discovered; but his place in the list of kings, between Aseskaf and Sahura, is certain.

The succession of Sahura (Fig. 6) •  to Usurkaf is

sufficiently established by the tomb of Skemkara,¹⁰³ and is further supported by the tables of Saccarah and Abydos,¹⁰⁴ as well as by Manetho,¹⁰⁵ if we admit his "Sephres" to represent this monarch. Sepahura followed in the steps of Seneferu and Khufu by making an expedition into the Sinaitic pe-



Fig. 13.—TABLET OF MENTU-HOTEP II.—See Page 71.



Fig. 14.—DRESSES WORN UNDER THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.—See Page 92.

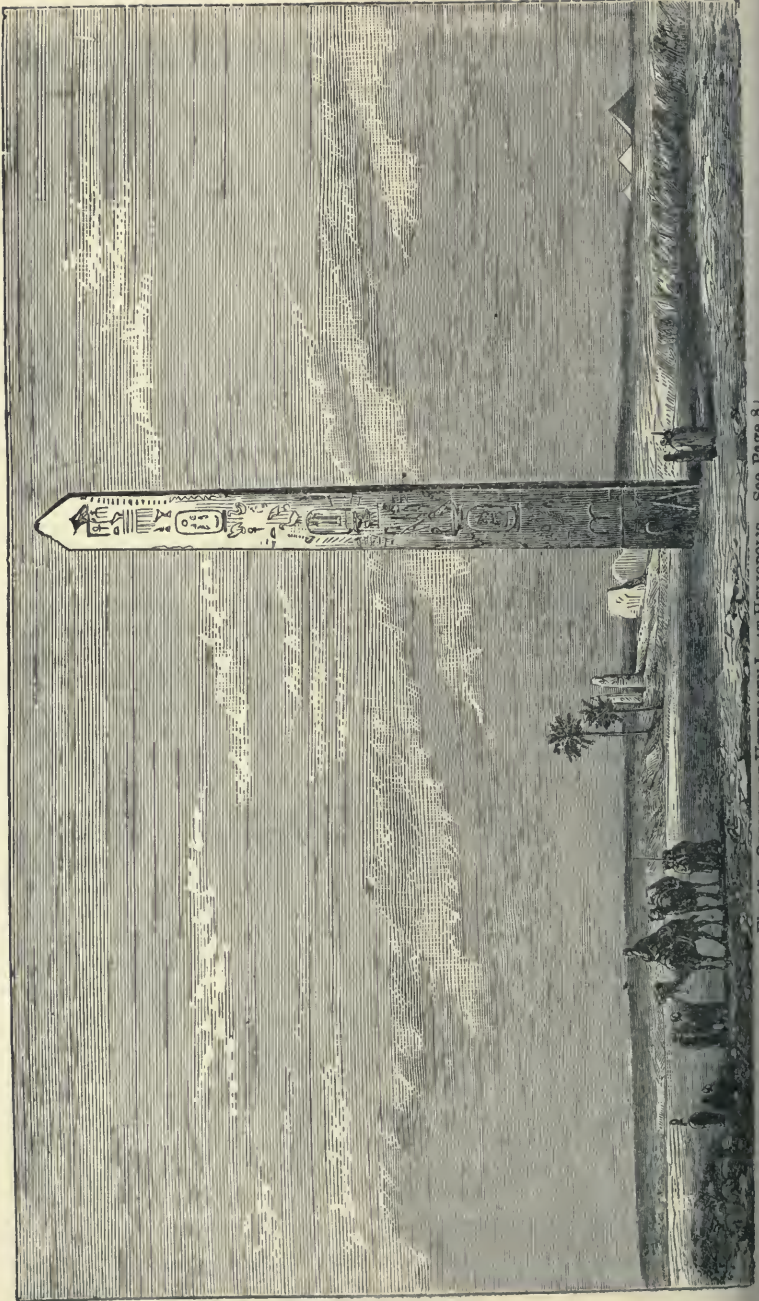



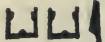
FIG. 15.—OBELISK OF USUTASEN I., AT HELIOPOLIS.—See Page 87.


ninsula, where he had to contend with a new enemy, the Mentu,  who had by this time become the ruling tribe in the vicinity of the copper mines. He appears in the usual attitude of a conqueror, smiting a half-prostrate enemy with uplifted mace,¹⁰⁶ but wears in this representation the crown of Upper Egypt only, though another figure of him, a little behind, has the other crown instead. In the text which accompanies his sculpture he calls himself "the great god, who destroys the Mentu and strikes down all nations." There is, however, no evidence beyond this statement, that he carried his arms into any other region besides that of Sinai, or warred with any other nation besides the Mentu; and it is on the whole most probable that his military achievements were limited to this people and quarter, despite the grandiloquent terms of his inscription. The Egyptian kings of the period were decidedly not warlike; and we have no reason to suppose that Sahura was an exception to the general rule, or did more than repeat the former deeds of Khufu and Seneferu.


The only other fact recorded of Sahura is his erection of a pyramid, to which he gave the name of *Sha-ba*, or "the rising of the soul," to mark his belief in the resurrection.¹⁰⁷ This building has been identified, by the occurrence of his name on some of its blocks, with the "northern pyramid of Abousir," an edifice of some considerable pretension. It was a true pyramid, perfectly square, each side measuring 150 Egyptian cubits, or 257 of our feet, and with a perpendicular height of 95 cubits or 163 feet,¹⁰⁸ being thus considerably larger than the pyramid built for himself by Menkaura.¹⁰⁹ Directly below the apex, and a little above the level of the natural ground, was the sepulchral chamber, roofed over in the usual way, with huge blocks set obliquely, the blocks measuring in some instances thirty-six feet by twelve!¹¹⁰ The sarcophagus appears to have been of basalt, but had been demolished before the modern explorations; the chambers and passages are said to have been "formed, in the most skilful and artistic manner, of vast blocks of limestone from the quarries of Turah."¹¹¹ The pyramid stood in the middle of an oblong court, surrounded by a low wall or peribolus.

Sahura established as priest of his pyramid an Egyptian named An-kheft-ka, who was also priest of the pyramid of his predecessor, Usurkaf, and held other important offices.¹¹² Sahura's worship was continued to a late date in Egypt, his priests obtaining mention in the time of the Ptolemies.¹¹³ It is conjectured that he was the builder of an Egyptian town


called Pa-sahura,¹¹⁴ but not written with the characters by which it was usual to express Sahura's name. This town was near Esneh, and is mentioned in the religious calendar of that city.

The table of Abydos places a king named Kaka,  in the place immediately following that occupied by Sahura;¹¹⁵ and, as traces of this royal name are found in the tombs of the period,¹¹⁶ it is to be supposed that there was such a sovereign, or rather perhaps such a prince, who was allowed the rank of king about this time. The real successor, however, of Sahura appears to have been Nefer-ar-ka-ra, who follows him in the table of Saecarah,¹¹⁷ in the list of Manetho,¹¹⁸ and in the inscriptions on several tombs.¹¹⁹ We possess no particulars of this monarch's reign which have more than a very slight claim on the reader's attention. He built a pyramid which he called Ba, or "the soul."¹²⁰ He raised to high position the officials Uer-Khuu and Pahenuka, whose genius was literary, but on whom were accumulated various and sometimes most incongruous offices.¹²¹ But otherwise we know nothing of him, except that he reigned, according to Manetho, twenty, or, according to the Turin papyrus, seven years.¹²² His pyramid has not been recognized.

Nefer-ar-ka-ra was followed by Ra-n-user, or User-n-ra, as some read the name (which is expressed as follows in the Egyptian, ) who bore also the name¹²³ of An,


. He followed the example of Sahura by making an expedition against the Mentu of the Sinitic peninsula, and represents himself at Wady Magharah in the usual form of a warrior armed with a mace, wherewith he threatens to destroy a shrinking and almost prostrate enemy.¹²⁴ He takes the proud titles of "the great god, lord of the two lands, king of Egypt, king of the upper and lower countries, conquering Horus, and son of the Sun." The device upon his ensign is *as het tati*, "place of the heart (*i. e.*, object of the affections) of the two lands." Ranuser built the middle pyramid of Abousir, which is the smallest of the three, having a base of no more than 274 feet, with an elevation of 171 feet 4 inches.¹²⁵ His sepulchral chamber occupied the usual position, in the centre of the base, and was guarded with jealous care by granite blocks and a porteallis, which, however, did not prevent the penetration and plunder of the tomb by the Mohammedan conquerors. These insatiable treasure-seekers "broke through

the pyramid from the top, and split up with iron wedges most of the blocks which seemed indestructible,"¹²⁶ disappointing the hopes of the builder, who had called his pyramid *men asu*, "the (most) stable of places,"¹²⁷ and at the same time disappointing their own hopes, for they assuredly found nothing therein to repay their labors. Ranuser's reign appears to have been long and prosperous. The Turin papyrus assigns him twenty-five,¹²⁸ and Manetho forty-four¹²⁹ years. A large number of magnificent tombs belong to his time,¹³⁰ and reveal to us the names, titles, and circumstances of numerous grandees of his court, who basked in his favor while living, and, by inscribing his name upon their tombs, glorified him when dead. The finest of all these monuments is that which has been called "the marvel of Saccarah,"¹³¹

the tomb of Ti, . This monument furnished to the

Museum of Boulaq some of the most admirable of the portrait-statues that it possesses,¹³² and is decorated with a series of elaborate painted bas-reliefs in the best style of the early Egyptian art. We gather from the inscriptions upon its walls that the noble who erected it had at the outset of his career no advantages of birth, but rose by merit and by the favor of successive sovereigns to the highest position whereto it was possible for a subject to attain. The tomb of Ti was commenced under Kaka and finished under Ranuser,¹³³ who must be credited with the merit of rewarding talent and good conduct wherever he found it, whether in the ranks of the nobles or among the common people.




The immediate successor of Ranuser was Menkauhor,

. (Fig. 24), who must have come to the throne


when he was quite a youth, as appears by the subjoined representation of him,¹³⁴ which was found upon a slab built into one of the walls of the Serapeum at Memphis.¹³⁵

On this monument he is called "the good god, lord of the two lands."¹³⁶ He wears the elaborate projecting tunic commonly worn by kings in the later times, and a double chain or necklace, with a broad collar, round his neck. There are traces of a bracelet upon the left wrist. Over his head hovers the protecting hawk of Horus. Almost the only other existing monument of the reign of Menkauhor is his tablet at Wady Magharah,¹³⁷ a very unpretending memorial, with no representation of his person upon it, no claim of conquest, and no title excepting the simple one "king of Egypt." Menkauhor, the Mencheres II. of Manetho,¹³⁸ must have

died while still a young man, since his reign did not extend beyond eight, or at the most nine years.¹³⁹ He was buried in a pyramid called *neter asu* "the (most) divine of places;"¹⁴⁰ but his tomb has not yet been identified.

From Menkauhor the crown passed to Tat-ka-ra, , or Assa , the second king with two names.¹⁴¹ Like his immediate predecessor, he visited, in person, or by his commissioners, the mines of Wady Magharah, where there had been some failure in one of the materials on account of which they were worked.¹⁴² The investigations undertaken by his orders were not without result; a tablet was discovered, supposed to have been written by the god Thoth, which pointed out the exact locality where the precious *mafka* was to be found. Assa further built a pyramid which he called simply *nefer*, "the good,"¹⁴³ and introduced the customary worship of his own divinity in connection with it.¹⁴⁴ His favorite title was Sa-Ra,  "son of the sun."¹⁴⁵ The tombs of Sacarah and Ghizeh contain numerous notices of him,¹⁴⁶ and show that, like the other kings of the period, he was fond of accumulating offices upon his favorites without much regard to their compatibility.¹⁴⁷

The most interesting of the extant memorials belonging to the time of Assa is a papyrus—"probably the most ancient manuscript in the world,"¹⁴⁸—written by the son of a former king,¹⁴⁹ who calls himself Ptah-hotep. The character used is the hieratic, and the subject of the treatise is the proper conduct of life, and the advantages to be derived from a right behavior. Ptah-hotep states that he was a hundred and ten years old when he composed the work, and that he wrote it "under the majesty of King Assa." We shall make further reference, in the later part of this chapter, to its contents.¹⁵⁰

The fifth Manethonian dynasty closes, and the period of Egyptian history commencing with Seneferu terminates,¹⁵¹ with a monarch called Unas, , who is no doubt the

Onnos of Manetho.¹⁵² He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus thirty, according to Manetho thirty-three, years.¹⁵³ No great reliance can be placed on these numbers; and the fact that his pyramid, the *Mustabat-el-Faraoun*, is truncated, or in other words unfinished,¹⁵⁴ would seem to imply that his life came to an untimely end. This edifice is an oblong building, constructed of enormous blocks of limestone, and

was named by its builder *nefer asu*, "the best place."¹⁵⁵ Its original length from north to south was 309 feet, and its breadth 217. The height to which it had been carried up when the work ceased was no more than sixty feet.¹⁵⁶ There are no traces of Unas at Wady Magharah; and his reign would, on the whole, seem to have been short and inglorious.

From the brief and bald account which is all that can be given of these kings, unless we surrender the reins to the imagination, and allow ourselves to depict from fancy the scenes of their life, and their civil or military employments, we may pass once more to the general condition of Egypt during the period, and its progress in arts, in religion, and in refinement of manners.

It is the glory of the period that it carried its own proper style of architecture to absolute and unsurpassable perfection. The weak and tentative efforts of primitive times were suddenly thrown aside; and the early kings of the period advanced by an audacious leap from buildings of moderate dimensions—not beyond the constructive powers of architects in most civilized countries—to those gigantic piles which dwarf all other structures, and for size and mass have, up to the present time, no rivals. Khufu and Shafra found builders willing and able to carry out their desires for tombs that should shame all past and reduce to despair all future architects. They found men who could carry up solid stone buildings to the height of nearly 500 feet,¹⁵⁷ without danger of instability or even any increased risk from pressure or settlement. These builders were able, first of all, to emplace their constructions with astronomical exactness; secondly, to employ in them, wherever it was needed, masonry of the most massive and enduring kind; thirdly, to secure the chambers and passages, which were essential features of such structures, by contrivances of great ingenuity, perfectly adapted to their purpose;¹⁵⁸ and fourthly, by their choice of lines and proportions, to produce works which, through their symmetry and the imposing majesty of their forms, impress the spectator even at the present day, with feelings of awe and admiration, such as are scarcely excited by any other architectural constructions in the whole world.¹⁵⁹

It is not surprising that the extraordinary burst of architectural power under Khufu and Shafra was followed by a reaction. Fashion, or religious prejudice, still required that the body of a king, should be entombed in a pyramid;¹⁶⁰ and from Menkaura to Unas every successive monarch gave a portion of his time and attention to the rearing of such a mon-

ument. But, as all felt it hopeless to attempt to surpass the vast erections which the builders of the First and Second Pyramids had piled upon the rocky platform of Ghizeh, they not unnaturally gave up all idea of even vying with those "giants of old time," and were content with comparatively moderate and unpretending sepulchres. Menkaura set the fashion of constructing for himself a modest tomb;¹⁶¹ and his example was followed by the remaining kings of the period. The monuments distinctly assignable to the later kings of Manetho's fourth, and to those of his fifth dynasty, are not any more remarkable than those which may be best referred to the times anterior to Khufu.

Besides their pyramids, the kings of the fourth and fifth dynasties built temples in a solid and enduring fashion; and within the last twenty years one of these has been dug out of the sand so far as to show what were its internal arrangements and general form and design. An account of this building, together with its ground-plan, has been given in the first volume of this work.¹⁶² It possesses the merit of great solidity and strength, and exhibits the employment of piers for the support of a roof, the original out of which grew the column. It is altogether without sculpture of any kind, the walls being perfectly plain and flat, and deriving their ornamentation entirely from the material of which they are composed, which is yellow alabaster, syenite, or aragonite. Still we are told that the effect of the whole is good. "The parts are pleasingly and effectively arranged;" and the entire building has "that lithic grandeur which is inherent in large masses of precious materials."¹⁶³

The sculpture of the pyramid period is also remarkable. Shafra, the probable builder of the temple just described, ornamented it with several statues of himself, which at a later time were thrown into a pit or well within the building, and for the most part, most unfortunately, broken. One, however, survives, perfect in all its parts except the beard;¹⁶⁴ and the upper half of another is in tolerable preservation;¹⁶⁵ so that the glyptic art of the time can be pretty fairly estimated. Some statues belonging to the reign of the later king, Ranuser, have also been furnished by the tomb of Ti, and afford the critic further material upon which to form a judgment. The opinion of experts seems to be, that all the specimens have considerable merit.¹⁶⁶ The figures are well proportioned; the faces carefully elaborated with all the minuteness of a portrait; the osseous structure and the muscles are sufficiently indicated; the finish is high, and the expres-

sion calm and dignified. There is however, as universally in Egyptian sculpture, a certain stiffness, and an undue formality. The two feet are equally advanced; the arms repose side by side along the thighs; the head has no inclination to either side; the face looks directly in front of the figure; the beard is wholly conventional. If we compare the statues in question with even the archaic Greek,¹⁸⁷ we shall find them exceedingly inferior in all that constitutes the excellence of art. But it may be questioned whether Egyptian art, in the matter of statuary, ever went beyond, or even equalled, the productions of this early period "Art at this time," as Lenormant justly says,¹⁸⁸ "attains the most remarkable degree of perfection. It is thoroughly realistic; it aims, above everything, at rendering the bare truth of nature, without making any sort of attempt to idealize it. The type of man which it presents is characterized by something more of squatness and of rudeness than are seen in the works of the later schools; the relative proportions of the different parts of the body are less accurately observed; the muscular projections of the legs and arms are represented with too much exaggeration. Still, in this first and absolutely free development of Egyptian art, however imperfect it was, there lay the germs of more than Egypt ever actually produced, even in her most brilliant epochs. The art had life—a life which at a later date was choked by the shackles of sacerdotal tyranny. If the Pharaonic artists had preserved this secret to the time when they acquired their unequalled excellences of harmony of proportion and of majesty—qualities which they possessed in a higher degree than any other people in the world—they would have made as much progress as the Greeks; two thousand years before it was reached by the Greeks, they would have attained to the absolute perfection of artistic excellence. But their natural aptitudes were to a certain extent smothered in the cradle; and they remained imperfect, leaving to others the glory of reaching a point which will never be surpassed in the future."

The principles laid down in this extract will apply, to a certain extent, to the bas-reliefs of the period, and not merely to the sculptures "in the round." While these fall short considerably of the later Egyptian efforts in variety, in delicacy of touch, and in vigor of composition, they have a simplicity, a naturalness, and an appearance of life which deserve high praise, and which disappear at a later date, when the inflexible laws of the hieratic "canon of proportions" come into force, and the artists have to walk in fetters.¹⁸⁹ Not-

withstanding a coarseness and clumsiness in some of the human forms, and an occasional uncertainty in the delineation of the animal ones, the sculptures which ornament the tombs of Ghizeh and Saccarah, and which can be assigned almost with certainty to this period, are both interesting and pleasing. They show that Egyptian art is alive, is progressive, is aiming at improvement. The forms, especially the animal forms, are better as we proceed; they show greater freedom and variety of attitude; and the new attitudes are both graceful and true to nature. At the same time, there is no straining after effect; the modesty of nature is not outraged by the artists; there is still abundance of the simple and the conventional; the whole effect is quiet, tranquil, idyllic; we seem to see Egyptian country life reflected as in a mirror. Delicacy may be sometimes shocked by the result; but what is lost in refinement is gained in truthfulness and accuracy of representation.

In religion there is also an advance, but one that is less satisfactory. The Pantheon increases in its dimensions. Besides the gods of the primitive time,¹⁷⁰—Ra, Set, Thoth, Hor or Harmachis, Osiris, Isis-Athor, Phthah or Sokari, and Anubis—we find distinct traces of the worship of Nut, Seb, Khem, Kneph, Neith, Ma, Saf, and Heka.¹⁷¹ Athor also is recognized as a substantive goddess, distinct from Isis;¹⁷² and Sokari appears to be distinguished from Phthah.¹⁷³ The esteem in which Ra is held has grown, and one half of the kings have appellations which are composed with his name.¹⁷⁴ The title *sa Ra*, “son of the Sun,” begins to be used as a royal prefix,¹⁷⁵ though not yet regularly. The divinity of the kings is more pronounced. They take the designations of “the great god,” “the good god,” “the living Horus,” “the good Horus,” as well as those of “conquering Horus,” and “son of the Sun.” They add divine titles to their original names, as Khufu did when in the middle of his reign he became Num-Khufu. They institute the worship of their own divinity in their lifetime, appoint their sons or other grantees to the office of their prophet or priest, and load the persons so appointed with further favors. At the same time, however, they themselves worship the gods of the country, build temples to them, and assign lands to the temples by way of endowment.¹⁷⁶ Priests and “prophets” are attached to these buildings, and the “prophets” include persons of both sexes. The doctrine of the future life and of the passage of the soul through the Lower World acquires consistence; Osiris takes his place as the great Ruler of the Dead;¹⁷⁷ Anubis sinks

to a lower position; and the "Ritual" receives fresh chapters.¹⁷⁸ Finally, the animal-worship comes to the front; Apis has his priests and priestesses;¹⁷⁹ and a "white bull" and a "sacred heifer" are also mentioned as invested with a divine character.¹⁸⁰

An advance is also made in civilization and the arts of life. Dress, on the whole, continues much the same; but the tunic of the higher classes becomes fuller, so as to project in front, and latterly it is made considerably longer, so as to descend half way between the knee and the ankle.¹⁸¹ Its color is either yellow or white, or partly one and partly the other, the yellow portion in such cases being often striped with lines of red.¹⁸² The collars worn by men (Fig. 10) become more complicated, and have sometimes a chain and pendant attached in front. Men are also seen with fillets adorning their heads;¹⁸³ and women have headdresses (Fig. 9) of various kinds, some of which are exceedingly elegant. Their long gowns continue as scanty as ever, and are represented as either red or yellow. They wear broad collars, very much like those of the men, and have sometimes bracelets and anklets. The collars are commonly blue, or blue and white. The feet of the women are still in every case naked; those of the men show sometimes an incipient sandal (Fig. 8), which is at first a mere strap passed under the heel and secured upon the instep,¹⁸⁴ but afterward has a sole extending the whole length of the foot.¹⁸⁵

The division of classes, and the general habits of life, continued nearly as before, but the wealth of the upper class increased, and with it the extent of their households, and the number and variety of their retainers. Large landed estates descended from father to son, of which the cultivation necessitated the employment of hundreds of laborers or slaves. These required numerous superintendents; and the general business of the farm necessitated the services of some ten or a dozen scribes,¹⁸⁶ who rendered their accounts to a steward or bailiff. The chief trades needed for providing the necessaries of life were established upon the estate; and the carpenter, the potter, the tailor, the worker in metal, the furniture-maker, and even the glass-blower,¹⁸⁷ seem to have had their place among the dependents of every opulent family, and to have worked for a single master. The estate itself consisted of two portions—arable and pasture lands; the former cultivated in grain and vegetables with great care, the latter utilized for the breeding and fattening of cattle. Domestication had by this time brought into subjection not only cows and

oxen, but goats, sheep, several kinds of antelope,¹⁸⁸ asses, and at least seven kinds of birds.¹⁸⁹ These included geese, ducks, pigeons, and cranes or herons,¹⁹⁰ together with other species not to be distinctly recognized. The domestic fowl was, however, still unknown, and indeed remained a stranger to Egypt throughout the entire period of independence.¹⁹¹ The wealth of some landowners consisted to a large extent in their animals; we find one at a very early date who possessed above a thousand cows and oxen, besides 2,235 goats, 974 sheep, and 760 asses.¹⁹² Pet animals were also much affected, and included, besides dogs, the fox, the hare, the monkey, and the cynocephalous ape.¹⁹³

An important produce of the farm was wine. Vines were trained artificially,¹⁹⁴ and the juice was expressed from the grapes either by treading,¹⁹⁵ or by means of a wine-press.¹⁹⁶ After passing through the vat, it was drawn off and stored in amphoræ. Profit was also derived from the wild creatures which frequented the marshes or the waters included within the property. Fish were caught, split, and dried in the sun,¹⁹⁷ after which they became an article of commerce; wild fowl were taken in clap-nets, and either killed or subjected to a process of domestication.

The ass was the only beast of burden; horses were unknown.¹⁹⁸ There were no wheeled vehicles; and the burdens which the asses were made to bear appear to have been excessive.¹⁹⁹ For heavy commodities, however, water carriage was preferred; and the Nile with its canals formed the chief means for the transportation of farming produce. Large boats were in use from a very early period, some being mere row-boats,²⁰⁰ while others were provided with masts, and could hoist a big square mainsail.²⁰¹ The number of rowers was in the early times from eight or ten to eighteen or twenty, but at a later date we find as many as forty-six.²⁰² When the sail was hoisted, the rowers ordinarily rested on their oars, or even shipped them and sat at their ease; but sometimes both sail and oars seem to have been employed together. A heavy kind of barge without a sail was used for the transport of cattle and of the more weighty merchandise,²⁰³ and was propelled by six or eight rowers. Light boats were also employed to a large extent for the conveyance of animals, for the saving of cattle from the inundation, and for sporting and other purposes.²⁰⁴

The amusements of the upper classes seem to have consisted mainly in hunting, fowling, and listening to music. Dogs were still of one kind only—that which has been called

the "fox-dog" or "wolf-dog,"²⁰⁵ which has long pricked-up ears, a light body, and a stiffly curled tail.²⁰⁶ This was admitted into the house, and is commonly seen sitting under the chair of its master; but it was also frequently employed in the chase of wild animals. The antelope was no doubt the beast chiefly hunted, and the dogs must have been exceedingly fleet of foot to have run it down; but the chase appears to have included other animals also, as hares, jerboas, porcupines, lynxes, and even hedgehogs!²⁰⁷ In some of the hieratic papyri, packs of hounds, numbering two or three hundred, are mentioned;²⁰⁸ but these belong to a later age; under the fourth and fifth dynasties we have no evidence that any individual hunted with more than three or four dogs at a time, or indeed possessed a greater number. Dogs had names, which are often written over or under their representations,²⁰⁹ *e. g.*,

Abu, , Ken, , Tarm, , Akna, 

etc., as horses had at a later time; but the other domestic pets would seem not to have enjoyed the distinction.

Fowling was practised in the way already described,²¹⁰ by entering the reedy haunts of the wild fowl in a light skiff, provided with decoy birds, probably taught to utter their note, and thus approaching sufficiently near them to kill or wound them with a throw-stick. The throw-stick of the earlier times is either the curved weapon common later, or a sort of double bludgeon presenting a very peculiar appearance.²¹¹

Music was an accompaniment of the banquet. It was always concerted, and in the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties consisted ordinarily of the harmony of three instruments, the harp, the flute and the pipe. Bands numbered about four or five persons, of whom two were harpers, one or two players on the flute, and one a piper. Two or three others assisted to keep time, and increased the volume of sound by the loud clapping of their hands.²¹² All the musicians were men. Sometimes dancing of a solemn and formal kind accompanied the musical performance, both sexes taking part in it, but separately, and with quite different gestures.

An amusement, but a very occasional amusement, of the upper classes at this time would seem to have been literature. The composition of the ordinary inscriptions upon tombs, and in sepulchral chambers, belonged probably to a professional class, who followed conventional forms, and repeated with very slight changes the same stereotyped phrases upon monu-

ment after monument. But now and then there was a production of something which approached more nearly to a literary character. The "Book of the Precepts of Prince Ptah-hotep," though the only extant work of the kind which can be referred to this period, is probably a *specimen* of performances, not very uncommon, wherewith the richer and more highly educated classes of the time occupied their leisure, and solaced their declining years. It is stated to be "the teaching of the governor, Ptah-hotep, under the majesty of King Assa—long may he live!" The object aimed at by the work was "to teach the ignorant the principle of good words, for the good of those who listen, and to shake the confidence of such as wish to infringe." It lays down, primarily, the duties of sons and of subjects, who are alike exhorted to obedience and submission. "The obedience of a docile son," says Ptah-hotep, "is a blessing; the obedient walks in his obedience. He is ready to listen to all which can call forth affection; obedience is the greatest of benefits. The son who accepts the words of his father will grow old in consequence. For obedience is of God; disobedience is hateful to God. The obedience of a son to his father, this is joy . . . such a one is dear to his father; and his renown is in the mouth of all these who walk upon the earth. The rebellious man, who obeys not," he goes on to say, "sees knowledge in ignorance, the virtues in the vices; he commits daily with boldness all manner of crimes, and herein lives as if he were dead. What the wise know to be death is his daily life; he goes his way, laden with a heap of imprecations. Let thy heart," he adds, "wash away the impurity of thy mouth; fulfil the word of thy master. Good for a man is the discipline of his father, of him from whom he has derived his being. It is a great satisfaction to obey his words; for a good son is the gift of God." And the upshot of all is—"The obedient will be happy through his obedience; he will attain old age, he will acquire favor. I myself have in this way become one of the ancients of the earth; I have passed 110 years of life by the gift of the king, and with the approval of the aged, fulfilling my duty to the king in the place of his favor." The moral level attained cannot be regarded as high; but as a composition the work is not devoid of merit. The balance of ideas and of phrases recalls the main essential of Hebrew poetry;²¹³ the style is pointed and terse, the expressions natural, the flow of the language easy and pleasing. If Ptah-hotep is not a great moral philosopher, he is a fair writer; there are passages in his work which resemble the Proverbs of Solomon or

the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach.²¹⁴ We can well understand that in the infancy of literary composition, when there were no models to follow, or standards with which to fear comparison, men of education would find the *rôle* of author agreeable, and would devote to it a portion of their leisure time with a feeling of great satisfaction.

The advance of luxury is seen in the number and variety of the dishes served at the sacrificial feasts, where the joints may be counted by the dozen, ducks and geese by the half-dozen, loaves by the score, cakes and rolls by the hundred, amphoræ by the dozen, and where the viands provided comprised also fish, hares, onions, eggs, and fruit of a variety of kinds.²¹⁵ According to the best English authority, the Egyptian lord of this time "no more disdained the hyena for food than a modern epicure the semi-carnivorous bear; but he abhorred that universal animal, the pig, and neglected the sheep; veal and beef, not pork or mutton, were the principal meats that appeared at his table. The different kinds of venison were much prized; cranes and herons he sometimes ate, but his principal poultry consisted of different kinds of ducks and geese, the *chenalopex* or vulpanser amongst them. The dove and the pigeon passed into his flesh-pots, nor was the insipid fish of the Nile unknown to him. His bread was made of barley, but conserves of dates and various kinds of biscuits or pastry diversified his diet; and of fruits he had grapes, figs, dates; of vegetables, the papyrus, the onion, and other greens. Wine and beer were both drunk at the period, in addition to water and milk."²¹⁶ Among the elegancies of the banquet was the use of flowers. Lotuses were carefully gathered by his servants in the ponds and canals, were wreathed round the wine-jar and the water-jar, twisted in garlands about the head of the host and his guests, decorated many of the dishes, and were held in the hand as a nosegay.²¹⁷ Instead of the stool which had contented his ancestors, he indulged not unfrequently in a chair with a low back and a square arm, on which he rested his hand or elbow.²¹⁸ When he left the house for an airing, he was sometimes conveyed in a species of palanquin, which was placed between two poles like a sedan-chair, and borne on the shoulders of his servants.²¹⁹ He encouraged art, and employed sculptors on portrait-statues of himself or his wife,²²⁰ which were either of wood or stone, and in the latter case were occasionally colossal. These last were sometimes erect, sometimes sitting figures, and after completion were dragged into proper position by a number of men.²²¹

The condition of the lower orders was probably not very different in the primitive and in the pyramid periods, except during two reigns. While Khufu and Shafra were on the throne there must have been considerable oppression of the poor,²²² and suffering caused thereby, through the forced labor which they must have employed, the unhealthy concentration of vast masses of men on particular sites, and the accidents inseparable from the elevation into place of huge blocks of stone, when human rather than mechanical power was the motive force applied. But the lesser erections of the other kings may have been reckoned an advantage by the laboring class, as furnishing an occupation unattended with much danger, and raising the rate of wages by the demand which it produced upon the labor market. The increased wealth of the nobles, arising as it did chiefly from the great productiveness of the soil, and from skill in its cultivation, together with success in the breeding and treatment of cattle, must also have tended to raise the laborer's position, and place him above the fear of want or even of real poverty. There is reason to believe that up to this period of Egyptian history there was no large employment of slaves; wars were of rare occurrence, and when they took place, not many prisoners could be made, for the tribes upon the Egyptian borders were none of them numerous; slaves might occasionally be bought, but these passed commonly into domestic service;²²³ and the result was that both the cultivation of the soil, and most of the other industrial pursuits, were in the hands of the native Egyptians, and furnished them with an ample variety of not disagreeable careers. We do not see the stick employed on the backs of the laborers in the early sculptures; they seem to accomplish their various tasks with alacrity and almost pleasure. They plough, and hoe, and reap; drive cattle or asses; winnow and store corn; gather grapes and tread them, singing in chorus as they tread; cluster round the wine-press or the threshing-floor, on which the animals tramp out the grain; gather lotuses; save cattle from the inundation; engage in fowling or fishing; and do all with an apparent readiness and cheerfulness which seems indicative of real content. It is true that the sculptures are not photographs; they *may* give a flattering picture of things, and not represent them as they were; but we do not generally find that oppressors care to conceal their oppression, or to make out that the classes which they despise are happy under their yoke. Add to this, that the Egyptian moral code required kindness to be shown towards dependents;²²⁴ and the conclusion would seem to be

at least probable, that the general contentment and cheerfulness of the laboring classes, which we seem to see in the sculptures of the pyramid period, was a reality.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY—CULMINATION AND DECLINE.

Marked Division between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—Shift of Power to the South. First Evidence of a united Egypt. Group of four Monarchs—Teta, Pepi (Merira), Merenra, and Neferkara. Probable Position of Ati. Reign of Teta. Reign of Pepi—First great War—Reflections to which it gives rise—Pepi's Pyramid and Titles—Position of Una under him—Family of Pepi. Reign of Marenra. Reign of Neferkara. Traditions respecting Nitocris. Sudden Decline of Egypt at the Close of the Sixth Dynasty. Culmination of the early Egyptian Art, and Advance of Civilization under it.

“La première civilisation de l’Égypte finit avec la sixième dynastie.”—LENORMANT, *Manuel d’Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 347.

BOTH Manetho and the author of the Turin papyrus regarded the death of Unas as constituting a marked division in Egyptian history. Manetho, who made the fifth dynasty Elephantiné,¹ declared the sixth to be Memphitic,² thus affirming a separation of locality, and so probably of blood, between the two. The existing remains confirm the fact of such a separation, but exactly invert Manetho's local arrangement, connecting as they do in the strongest way the monarchs of the fifth dynasty with Memphis and its vicinity,³ while they attach those of the sixth to Middle and Upper Egypt,⁴ and exhibit them as at any rate visiting Elephantiné,⁵ if not holding their court there. The Turin papyrus is content to draw a strong line of demarcation at this point, without expressing the ground of it. On the whole, it would seem to be certain that, down to the death of Unas, Memphis was the great seat of Egyptian empire; while with the accession of the sixth dynasty there was a shift of power to the southward. Abydos, or some place in its neighborhood, became the residence of the kings; the quarries of El-Kaab and Hammamât were worked instead of those of Mokattam; the vicinity of Abydos became the great burial-place of the time. There was, however, no disintegration of the empire; Memphis continued subject to the kings who ruled in Middle Egypt; and both

the extreme north and the extreme south owned their power. Their monuments are found at Tanis and at Assouan, as well as at Hammamât, El-Kaab, and Sauiet-el-Meitin;⁶ and they were evidently masters of Egypt in its widest extent, from "the tower of Syéné" to the Mediterranean.

What was the extent of the Egypt ruled by the great pyramid kings and the other monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties is more doubtful. As these monarchs worked the mines of Wady Magharah, we must suppose them to have held under their sway the entire low tract east of the Nile from Memphis to the Syrian Desert; and they *may* have been masters also of the Delta, and of the Nile valley as far as the cataracts. But it is important to note that we have no proof that they were. The monarchs of what we have called "the Pyramid period" are only proved to have possessed the tract about Memphis, and the line of country connecting that tract with the mines of Wady Magharah—there are no memorials of them in the Delta, none in Upper Egypt,⁷ none even in Middle Egypt—and it is possible that those tracts were not under their rule. With the sixth dynasty we have the first evidence of a united Egypt, of monarchs who reign over the entire Nile valley from Elephantiné to the marsh tract bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea.⁸ At the same time we come upon the first evidence of a decidedly martial spirit,⁹ of expeditions on a large scale, of elaborate military training, of the attention of the nation being turned to arms from agriculture. It is a reasonable conjecture that the kings of the sixth dynasty, more warlike than their predecessors, may have been the first to make that united Egypt which we find existing in their day, and that their foreign conquests may have been the result of a previous internal consolidation of the Egyptian power in its own proper territory.

The sixth dynasty is mainly composed of a group of four monarchs, who bore the names of Teta, Pepi or Merira, Merenra, and Neferkara.¹⁰ The last three were near relations—Pepi being the father of both Merenra and Neferkara, who succeeded in due order to their father's sovereignty. Whether Teta belonged to the same family is uncertain. The Egyptian kings of the early period very rarely note their relationship one to another,¹¹ and it is quite an exceptional circumstance that we are able to trace the family connection of three consecutive monarchs in this dynasty.

Besides the four chief monarchs of the time, around whom the history clusters, we have three other monumental names, apparently belonging to the same period, the exact position



MAP OF THE FAYOUM.—(Showing the Birket-el-Keroun, and the artificial Lake Moeris.—See Page 89.

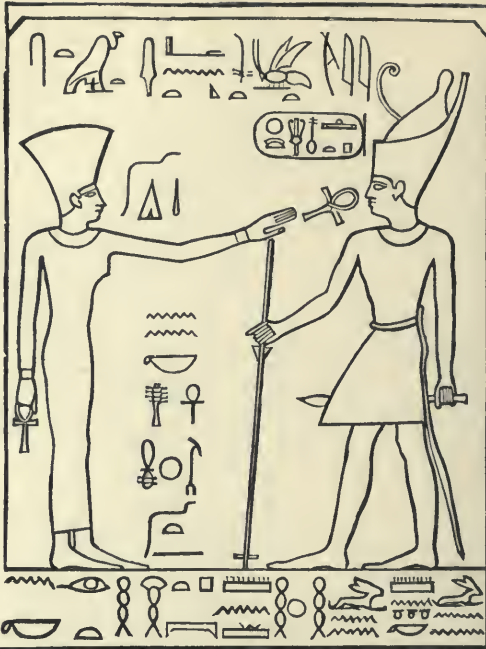


Fig. 16.—NEFER-HOTEP RECEIVES LIFE FROM ANUKA.—See Page 97.

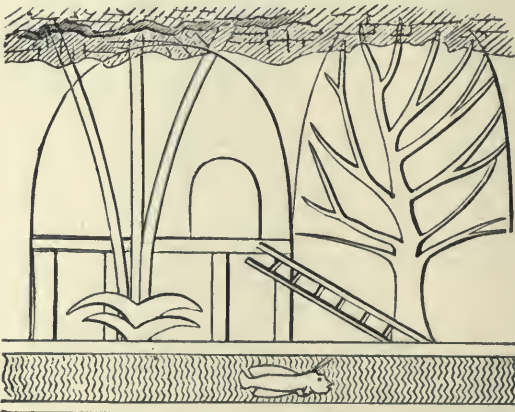





Fig. 17.—HOUSE ON PILES IN THE LAND OF PUNT.—See Page 120.


of which in the list it is difficult to determine. These are Ati, Userkara, and Imhotp. Ati, , appears in an in-



scription at Hammamât, set up in his first year,¹² which shows him to have built a pyramid called Bai-u, or that "of the souls." In style the inscription so closely resembles those of other kings of this time that it is supposed to prove him a monarch of the dynasty,¹³ though probably one whose reign occupied but a short time and was not of any importance. What exact position should be given him is open to question. Some critics, assimilating his name to that of the Manethonian Othoës, are inclined to put him first, and to regard him as the founder of the sixth dynasty.¹⁴ Others would give him the second place in the dynasty, directly after Teta,¹⁵ in which case it would be natural to regard him as identical with User-

kara, , to whom the table of Seti I. at Abydos assigns that position. Inhotep, , might in that case

be relegated to the period following Neferkara, if indeed he were really a king of Egypt, which scarcely appears from his inscription.¹⁶

Omitting from further consideration these insignificant and doubtful monarchs, we shall regard the sixth dynasty as consisting of four chief kings—Teta, Pepi (=Merira), Merenra, his son, and Neferkara, Merenra's brother, and of a single queen, Nitocris (Net-akert), who terminated the series.

Teta, , who succeeded Unas, either directly or after a very short interval,¹⁷ was not a monarch of any distinction. He built a pyramid which he called *Tatasu*,¹⁸ "the (most) lasting of places;" and he conferred favors on an officer named Sabu, or Abeba, whom he made his companion in his voyages, and otherwise distinguished above all the rest of his courtiers.¹⁹ He also must be allowed the credit of having recognized the promise of more than ordinary talent in a youth of the official class named Una, whom he selected from the mass of candidates and attached immediately to his person. Una, who became the right hand of Teta's successor, Pepi, and of Pepi's son, Merenra, received his first promotion from King Teta, who conferred upon him the dignities of "crown-bearer," "superintendent of the storehouse," and "registrar," or "sacred scribe, of the docks."²⁰

Pepi (Fig. 7), the probable successor of Teta, rejoiced in the two names of Pepi, , and Merira, , by which

he seems to have designated himself indifferently. In one tablet²¹ we see two representations of him, seated back to back, and accompanied by inscriptions equally descriptive of royalty, in one of which the name of Pepi, and in the other the name Merira, is attached to the "image of his majesty." Pepi had a prosperous and a long reign, though certainly not the hundred years assigned him by Manetho,²² since Una, who was grown to manhood and held high office in the reign of his predecessor, outlived him by several years, and was after his death in the employment of his son and successor.²³ His eighteenth year is the highest mentioned on the monuments;²⁴ but it is probable that he reigned longer. Pepi is the first king of Egypt who exhibits a marked warlike tendency. In his second year²⁵ he made an expedition against the Mentu, who had recovered possession of the Sinaitic peninsula, and, having reduced them, set up his tablet in a somewhat unusual form²⁶ on the rocks of the Wady Magharah. Not long after, he turned his arms against the Amu and the Herusha, two peoples living in the sands of the desert to the east of Lower Egypt.²⁷ Regarding these enemies as really formidable, Pepi exerted himself to collect and drill an army of unusual size, counted by tens of thousands.²⁸ His first levies were made in the north among the native Egyptians; but looking upon the forces thus raised as insufficient, he determined to obtain the strength that he deemed requisite by calling on the negro tribes of the south to furnish him with a contingent. The date at which these tribes were made subject to Egypt is uncertain, but it was clearly before the time of Pepi; and his power over them was so completely established that he had only to demand troops and they were furnished. From Aret, from Zam,²⁹ from Amam, from Ua-uat, from Kaau, and from Tattam, the swarthy bands gathered themselves together, and entering southern Egypt placed themselves at the disposition of the Pharaoh. They were no doubt a wild and disorderly crew; and it was of the first necessity to set officers over them, and subject them to a course of drill, in order to render their services of any value. The persons entrusted with this duty were a somewhat motley assemblage. They consisted of "the nomarchs, the chancellors, the close friends of the palace, the superintendents, the rulers of the nomes of the North and of the South, the superintendents of the gold

region, the superintendents of the priests of the South and of the North, the superintendents of the register," and of various other "officers of the South, and of the North, and of the cities." ³⁰ Whether the drill which took place under their auspices was effectual or not it is impossible to say. The troops, however, when regarded as sufficiently trained, were concentrated. Una, the official above mentioned, and the historian of the campaign, prepared the commissariat, "wearing out his sandals" in his assiduous performance of the task allotted him; after a march of some considerable length, the country of the Herusha was reached, and the war began. "The warriors came," says Una, "and destroyed the land of the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they came again, and took possession of the land of the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they came and demolished the fortresses of the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they cut down the vines and the fig-trees, and returned fortunately home; and they set fire to the houses, and returned fortunately home; and they killed the chief men by tens of thousands, and returned fortunately home. And the warriors brought back with them a great number of living captives, which pleased the king more than all the rest. Five times did the king send me out to set things right in the land of the Herusha, and to subdue their revolt by force; each time I acted so that the king was pleased with me." ³¹ Even yet, however, the war was not over. The enemy collected in a tract known as Takheba, to the north of their own proper country, and took up a threatening attitude. Once more the Egyptian army was sent against them, this time conveyed in boats, and gained a complete victory; the country was subdued to the extreme frontier towards the north, and acknowledged the supremacy of Pepi. ³²

The locality of this campaign is somewhat doubtful. It has been regarded as either Syria or some portion of Arabia Petraea, ³³ and Pepi has been supposed to have sent his troops to their destination *by sea*. ³⁴ But the latest critic suggests a district of the Delta as the true scene of the struggle, believing that the more northern portion of this tract, the country round Lake Menzaleh, was at this time occupied by the ancestors of the Bedouin tribes who now inhabit the desert of Suez. ³⁵ In this case the boats employed would merely have descended the Nile, or have traversed portions of the lake just mentioned.

The circumstances of the expedition give rise to certain reflections. In the first place, it is remarkable that we find

the negro races of the south already subdued without any previous notice, in any of the Egyptian remains, of the time or circumstances of their subjugation. One writer, seeing the difficulty, boldly states that "Pepi reduced these enemies to obedience;"³⁶ but this fact which is not mentioned by any authority, has been evolved out of his inner consciousness. We find the negroes already obedient subjects of Pepi when they are first mentioned as coming into contact with him; and his enlistment of them as soldiers to fight his battles would seem to imply that their subjugation had not been very recent. It is necessary to suppose that some monarch of the fourth or fifth dynasty had made them Egyptian subjects, without leaving behind him any record of the fact, or at any rate without leaving any record that has escaped destruction.

In the next place, it may raise some surprise, that, when there is a mention of so many nations as near neighbors to Egypt upon the south, nothing is said respecting the Cushites or Ethiopians. In later times Cushite races bordered Egypt on the south, and fierce wars were waged between the Pharaohs and the Ethiopian monarchs for the mastery of the valley of the Nile. But in the time of Pepi the Cushites were evidently at a distance. The conjecture is made that they had not yet immigrated into Africa, but still remained wholly in their original Asiatic seats, and only crossed at a later date, by way of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, into the tract upon the middle Nile which they subsequently inhabited.³⁷ But perhaps this is too violent a supposition. The negro races mentioned in the inscription of Una need not have inhabited a very large tract of country; and the Cushites may have held all Abyssinia without obtaining mention in the inscription of Una or even attracting the attention of Pepi.

Thirdly, the question may be asked, Who were the Herusha? De Rougé translates the word "lords of the sands," and suggests that they were a Syro-Arabian race,³⁸ but can give no geographic or other illustrations. Of course, if the word is Egyptian and descriptive, not ethnic, it is in vain to look for parallels to it among real ethnic appellatives. Later mentions of the Herusha place them towards the north, and give them a productive land,³⁹ such as can scarcely be found in this direction nearer than Palestine.

Like his predecessor, Teta, and like most monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties, Pepi constructed a pyramid, to receive his remains when he should pass from earth. The pyramids of Pepi, and his son, Mercnra, have lately been identified. They belong, as might have been expected, to the

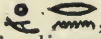
Saccarah group, and correspond to Nos. 1 and 2 on Colonel Howard Vyse's plan. The sepulchral chambers, which contained the bodies of the kings, are covered with hieroglyphics of a religious and funereal character. The name which he gave to it was Mennefer, "the good abode"—the same designation as that of the old capital, Memphis, which had now probably ceased to be the residence of the court. The white stone sarcophagus, which he intended to occupy the sepulchral chamber of this edifice, and which no doubt ultimately received the royal mummy, was conveyed by Una, at his order, from the Mokattam quarries in "the great boat of the inner palace," "with its cover, a door, two jambs, and a basin or pedestal, to the site chosen for the tomb. Other works assigned to Pepi are repairs to the temple of Athor at Denderah," and one or more edifices at Tanis in the Delta, which he adorned with blocks of pink syenite brought from the quarries of Upper Egypt." He also caused sculptures to be carved on the rocks of Wady Magharah⁴³ and Hammamât;⁴⁴ and made use of the quarries of El-Kaab,⁴⁵ where numerous inscriptions contain his name, and record his greatness. It was probably in connection with these many works that Pepi received with such extreme satisfaction the prisoners taken by his troops in their campaigns against the Herusha; he obtained thereby a most welcome addition to the body of laborers which was engaged constantly in his buildings.

The titles assumed by Pepi possess in some cases a peculiar interest. Besides the usual epithets of "King of Egypt" and "lord of the double diadem," he calls himself "lover of the two lands," "lover of his race," "son of Athor, mistress of Denderah," "lord of all life" and "the triple conquering Horus." The "two lands" are no doubt Upper and Lower Egypt, and the "race" intended may be either his own family or the nation of the Egyptians; the claim to be "son of Athor" recalls the similar claim of Khufu, who, like Pepi, adorned the temple of that goddess at Denderah;⁴⁶ "lord of all life," though not a usual title,⁴⁷ is one to which we can quite understand an Egyptian king laying claim; the only title difficult to explain is that of "the triple conquering Horus," which does not occur either earlier or later. De Rongé, who notes that many of the later kings assume the title of "double conquering Horus," in connection with their sway over the two Egypts,⁴⁸ suggests that the "triple Horus" of Pepi contains an allusion to his having extended his rule over the negro territory south of Upper Egypt;⁴⁹ but it is perhaps more probable that a triple division of Egypt itself is glanced


at,⁵⁰ and that Pepi, who held his court in Central Egypt—the later Heptanomis—meant to indicate his sovereignty over the Delta and the Thebaïd, as well as over that region.

The glories of Pepi's reign were, it is probable, due in some degree to his ministers. Una, who had owed his first elevation and promotion to Pepi's predecessor, Teta, continued in high favor during the whole of Pepi's reign, and held under him a number of most important appointments. He was "prophet of the royal pyramid," "royal secretary" and "keeper of the secrets," "sole companion," "superintendent of the dock," and "superintendent of the land of Khent."⁵¹ After being employed in the procuring of the royal sarcophagus with its appurtenances, he was given a commission of a military character, which associated him closely with the various expeditions against the Herusha, and gave him some ground for claiming the final success as his own.⁵² Ankh-Merira, buried at Saccarah, was "governor of the quarries opposite Memphis," and "chief director of public works" under Pepi; Pepi-Nekht was "chief *heb*" and "governor of the town of the pyramid."⁵³

In his family relations Pepi was fairly fortunate. His first wife, Amtes,⁵⁴ appears indeed to have died before him; but he did not prove inconsolable. He contracted a second marriage after a time with Ankhnes-Merira, a noble lady, though not of royal birth, who bore him at least two sons, Merenra and Neferkara, and outlived him by several years. Ankhnes-Merira was buried in the cemetery of Abydos; and her tomb bears an inscription, in which she is called "royal wife of Merira, great in favor, great in grace, great in all things, companion of Horus, mother of Merenra, king of the two Egypts; and mother of Neferkara, king of the two Egypts."⁵⁵ Her father, Khua, was loaded with favors by his son-in-law and his grandsons, who made him "chief of the town of the pyramid," "lord of the diadem," "commander of the great men both of the North and of the South," "commandant of the chief cities of Lower Egypt," and "chief of every dignity in things divine."⁵⁶

On the death of Pepi, Mer-en-ra, , the elder of his two sons, became king. Merenra's disposition seems to have been altogether peaceful. Scarcely had he mounted the throne when he gave directions to Una, whom he had made governor of Upper Egypt, to employ himself in the quarrying of blocks of stone for the pyramid, Sha-nefer, which he was bent on constructing for his own tomb, and in the obtaining of a handsome sarcophagus, together with a granite doorway

and doors for the sepulchral apartment of the pyramid." This commission executed, Una was immediately ordered to procure a great slab of alabaster from the quarries of Hat-nub (Ombos?), to form a sepulchral table or altar,⁵⁵ such as appears commonly in the representations of the sacrificial feasts in tombs. At the same time he was required to begin the construction of docks in the country of the Ua-uat, which were no doubt connected with the Nile, and were intended to shelter the transports which it was necessary to employ in the conveyance of the granite needed for the royal pyramid. Wood was plentiful in the Ua-uat country and its neighborhood; the negroes were friendly; and the chiefs of Areret, Ua-nat, Amam, and Ma furnished timber in such abundance that four transports—probably great rafts⁵⁶—were constructed in the course of a year. These were loaded with the granite blocks prepared for the pyramid, and, safely passing the cataracts at the height of the inundation, conveyed their burden to the site which Merenra had chosen.⁵⁷ It was probably during the progress of Una's labors that the king in person visited the quarries of Assonan near Elephantiné, and set up the tablet, still to be seen in that locality, on which he distinctly states that "the king himself both came there and returned."⁵⁸

It is thought that Merenra did not rule very long.⁵⁹ He was succeeded by his younger brother Nefer-ka-ra, 

to whom the fragments of the Turin papyrus appear to assign a reign of twenty years.⁶⁰ He too made a pyramid, to which he gave the name of Menankh, "the abode of life," in order to show his belief that life really, and not death, dwelt in the tomb. Neferkara maintained the Egyptian dominion in the Sinaitic peninsula, and sent a commission there in his second year, which consisted of twelve persons, who have left a memorial which is still to be seen upon the spot.⁶¹ It is remarkable that this memorial places the king and his mother almost upon a par, as if they were both reigning conjointly. Neferkara is characterized as "King of the two Egypts, master, and conquering Horns," his mother as "royal wife of Merira, king of the two Egypts, and royal mother of Neferkara, king of the two Egypts."⁶² She appears to be figured upon the rock,⁶³ while he is not figured at all; and altogether her position on the tablet is quite as important and prominent as his. We seem here to have evidence that female influence was making itself felt in Egypt more than formerly; and that the way was being paved for the admission, as constitutional,⁶⁴ of exclusive female sovereignty.

The succession after the death of Neferkara is doubtful. The contemporary records fail at this point; but Manetho,⁶⁸ Herodotus,⁶⁹ and the Turin papyrus,⁷⁰ agree in referring to about this period a queen called Nitoeris,



the only Egyptian female to whom a sole reign is assigned; and modern critics are inclined to accept the reign as a fact,⁷¹ and as belonging to this dynasty. The chief event of the reign, if it be admitted as historical, is the completion of the third pyramid, begun by Mencheres. Manetho makes Nitoeris its builder;⁷² Herodotus who assigns it to Menkaura (Mykerinus), reports a tradition, as prevalent,⁷³ which made it the work of a woman. The peculiar construction of the pyramid lends itself to the theory that in its present shape it is the work of two distinct sovereigns.⁷⁴ If Nitoeris is to be regarded as really the finisher of the edifice, she must be considered a great queen, one of the few who have left their mark upon the world by the construction of a really great monument. The pyramid of Mencheres, as designed and erected by him, was a building of but moderate pretensions, considerably less than many of those at Abousir and elsewhere,⁷⁵ which have conferred no fame on their constructors. It was the addition made to the pyramid by its enlarger which alone entitled it to take rank among "the Three," that ever since the time of Herodotus, have been separated off from all other edifices of the kind, and placed in a category of their own. It was, moreover, the casing of the enlarged pyramid, which was of a beautiful red granite up to half the height,⁷⁶ that caused this pyramid to be especially admired; and the casing was necessarily the work of the later builder.

The other traditions attaching to the name of Nitoeris, resting as they do on the sole authority of Herodotus, can scarcely be regarded as historical. She is said to have succeeded a brother, who had been murdered by his subjects, and to have avenged his death in the following extraordinary fashion:—"Having constructed a spacious underground chamber, under pretence of inaugurating it, she invited to a banquet there those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have had the chief share in her brother's murder, and, when they were feasting, suddenly let the river in upon them by means of a secret duct of large size." Having so done, she smothered herself in a chamber filled with ashes, to escape the vengeance which she regarded as awaiting her. It is difficult to imagine that any sovereign would, under any circumstances, have pursued so roundabout a method of avenging a prede-

cessor ; it is certain that the Egyptians were wholly averse to suicide ; such a suicide as that related has no parallel in mundane history, and is about as unlikely a death for any one to select as could be imagined.

Still, it is thought that, however incredible the details, they may yet mark an historic fact, viz., that about this time "murder and violence prevailed in the Egyptian kingdom,"—there were many "competitors for the throne," and their rivalry produced convulsions, amid which "the vessel of the State continually approached nearer" and nearer "to destruction,"—the monarchy was disintegrated ; several small kingdoms were formed ; civil war raged, and monuments wholly ceased ; it was only after a considerable interval—an interval which there are no means of measuring⁷⁹—that once more a flourishing community arose in Egypt, located in a new place, which has left undying traces of itself in tablets, brick pyramids, rock sculptures and *stelæ* or tombstones, and is the not unworthy successor of the earlier kingdom, which can be traced, almost without a break, from Senoferu to Nitocris.

Before, however, the decline set in, the early civilization reached its culminating point under the kings of Manetho's sixth dynasty. Some of the best Egyptian statues, as one on which the gallery of the Louvre especially prides itself, are of this period.⁷⁹ The subjects of the bas-reliefs, the modes of representation, and the general drawing of the figures are much the same as during the previous dynasties ; but the treatment is in some respects better. True relief occasionally takes the place of the peculiarly Egyptian *cavo-rilievo* of the earlier time,⁸⁰ where the whole outline is deeply incised, with a hardness of effect that is displeasing. Something more of freedom is also observable in the animal forms, and something more of life and action in the human figures.⁸¹ Architecture, however, does not advance ; the best pyramid of the period—that completed by Nitocris upon the nucleus afforded by the small construction of Mencheres—is very inferior, both in size and constructive skill, to the great monuments of Khufu and Shafra. There are no temples now remaining which can be referred to the time ;⁸² nor is there any novelty in the plan or ornamentation of the tombs. The forms of the gods are still absent from the "eternal houses," though they appear on the sculptured tablets of the kings.

In the arts of life we observe two or three small advances. Stools are for the most part superseded by chairs with a low back.⁸³ The use of sandals spreads from the grandees to their

upper servants.⁸⁴ The somewhat dangerous sport of spearing the crocodile from a light boat is indulged in;⁸⁵ and the domestication of dogs (Fig. 11) has produced a new type.⁸⁶ In another direction we observe a change that is scarcely a mark of progress. War has become an element in the life of the people, and the manufacture of arms has grown into a trade. We see the fashioning of spears and bows in the sculptures,⁸⁷ and meet with occasional instances of figures where a dagger is worn in the belt.⁸⁸ Armorers are noticed as a distinct class,⁸⁹ and drove no doubt a brisk trade. The division of labor continued to extend itself; and we have mention, or representation, of at least thirty different employments.⁹⁰ Literature grew in repute, as a profession; and the skilful scribe might hope for advancement to posts of high importance. If the "Praise of Learning" is rightly ascribed to the sixth dynasty,⁹¹ we may note as an advance the increased length of literary compositions, and the employment of a form of poetry which did not consist merely in the balance of sentences. We have also to note as belonging to this period the birth of history in the shape of a biographical memoir of some length, composed by an official of high rank, and inscribed upon his tomb.⁹²

A further advance of the religion in the way of expansion and the multiplication of gods is also discernible. An altar dedicated by King Pepi, which is now in the Turin Museum,⁹³ seems to contain something like a full account of the gods recognized at this period, and something approaching to an account of the estimate which was commonly made of their relative importance. The altar is dedicated to Phthah under the form of Sokari;⁹⁴ and this god, with his wife Sekhet, occupies naturally the foremost position on the monument. It would be unsafe, however, to conclude from this, that Phthah was recognized as the chief god, since the divinity to whom an object was dedicated could not but hold the first place on that object. Next to Phthah is placed Thoth, and next to Thoth a rare deity, called Pctmutf, who is said to "dwell in the houses of the Ocean."⁹⁵ These three gods are figured, and not merely named, on the monument: they occupy the first column of the inscription, which may be called "the column of the dedication," and thus stand quite separate from the remaining deities, with whom they do not enter into comparison. Thoth, however, has his place among these, appearing not in the first column only, but also in several of the remaining ones; and thus his place among the gods can be determined.

The gods generally appear to be divided into two classes, the universal and the local. The universal, or those worshipped in common by all the Egyptians, are, besides Satemi, "Hearing" (who seems to be placed first because through her the gods *hear* prayers), Tum, Khepra, and Shu, the Sun-Gods,⁹⁶ Shu being accompanied by his wife, Tafné or Tefnut;⁹⁷ then, the deities of the Osirid legend, Seb, Netpé, Osiris himself, Isis, Set, Nephthys, and Horus;⁹⁸ next Ra, with whom are joined three abstractions, Renpa, "the Year," Het, "an Age," and Jeta, "Eternity;" after these, three other abstractions—Ankh, "Life," Tat, "Stability" and Aut, "Triumph;" then, Thoth under two forms;⁹⁹ and finally, an unnamed god, called "the Great One of the five in Api-Sekhet." These deities seem to admit of the following arrangement:—

PERSONS.	ABSTRACTIONS.
	Satemi.
1. Tum.	
2. Khepra.	
3. Shu.	
4. Tafné.	
5. Seb.	
6. Netpé.	
7. Osiris.	
8. Isis.	
9. Set.	
10. Nephthys.	
11. Horus.	
12. Ra.	{ Year. Age. Eternity.
	Life. Stability. Triumph.
13. Thoth.	
14. The Great One of the Five.	

Among the local gods, who are enumerated after these, many occur more than once, as being objects of worship in more than one city.¹⁰⁰ The most important of them are Phthah, worshipped in Memphis; Num or Khnum, in Elephantiné; Sabak, at Letopolis and elsewhere; Athor, at Mensa and Denderah; Bast, at Bubastis; Mentu, at Uas or Hermonthis; Neith, at Tena or This; Anubis, at Sep; Nishem,¹⁰¹ at Aukaf; and Kartek, a form of Taourt,¹⁰² at Patek. The gods of the first list also occur in the second, since many of them were the objects of a *special* local worship. Abstractions also occur in this list, and genii, such as "the Four of Amenti."¹⁰³ Altogether, including manifest abstractions, there seem to be about fifty objects of worship mentioned, of which some twenty-five or thirty are proper deities.

The list is important, as well for what it omits as for what it contains. It is very noticeable that still, though the court has moved to Abydos, and has Thebes under its sway, there is no mention of Ammon. It is also very curious that Khem is omitted, especially as Pepi is seen worshipping him in his grossest form in a tablet at Hammamât.¹⁰⁴ Other omissions, less surprising, but still noticeable, are those of Maut, Sati, Aten, Khonsu, Onuris, Aemhept, Anuka, Ma, Heka, and Bes. Rapid as the growth of the Pantheon has been since the date of the great pyramid kings,¹⁰⁵ it is not yet complete. Not only have numerous local worships yet to be absorbed into the general Egyptian religion, but fresh deities have still to be invented or discovered, fresh ideas to be developed. Ancient polytheism is a Proteus, always varying its form, and abhorrent of finality. The religion of Egypt had to pass through many different phases before it reached its final shape; and we shall still have to note various other important modifications of it in that portion of the Egyptian history with which we have to deal in these volumes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE SIXTH AND THE TWELFTH.

No Monuments left by any Dynasty between the Sixth and the Eleventh, which were, however, separated by an Interval. Disintegration of Egypt—Parallel Kingdoms of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Thebes. Causes of the Disintegration and Decline; and probable Length of the Interval. Situation of Thebes. Its Antiquity, Name, and Primitive Position. Rise of Thebes to Independence. Dynasty of the Antefs and Mentuhoteps. Reign of Sankhkara. Expedition to Punt. Close of the Dynasty. Features of the Early Theban Civilization.

“After the sixth dynasty a monumental gap, which can neither be filled up nor bridged over, occurs till the eleventh dynasty.”—Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 56.

OF the five dynasties which Manetho placed between the sixth and the twelfth, one only—the eleventh—has left any monumental traces. It has been argued by some that this dynasty was contemporary with the sixth, if not even with the fourth;¹ but the latest discoveries seem to render this theory untenable. The sixth dynasty, as was shown in the preceding chapter,² bore sway over the entire Nile valley, and cannot have allowed the existence of an independent monarchy in the Thebaid, which would have cut it off from the

South. There are, moreover, signs of development and advance in certain respects, under the kings of Dynasty XI., which render it almost certain that an interval of some not inconsiderable duration must have separated off the second Egyptian civilization from the first.³

It would seem that, at the death of Nitocris, the centrifugal force, which had long held the various provinces of Egypt asunder, proved stronger than the centripetal, and a disintegration of the empire took place. Memphis re-established its independence, and dynasties ruled there, to which Manetho assigned in his list the seventh and eight places. Another kingdom sprang up in the Delta, having its capital at Heracleopolis Parva, in the Sethroite nome.⁴ Here again were two successive dynasties, Manetho's ninth and tenth. In central Egypt a new power developed itself at Thebes, which rapidly acquired a superiority over the rival kingdoms, and ended by absorbing them. The eleventh dynasty has left considerable traces of itself; but of the other four there are no contemporary records, and, beyond some names of kings in the Turin papyrus, and in the lists of Karnac, Saccarah, and Abydos, which may be guessed to belong to them, we are entirely without details with respect to this period of Egyptian history.⁵

The causes of the sudden decline which accompanied the close of the sixth dynasty, and of the suspension of animation during a term variously estimated at from 166 to 740 years,⁶ are obscure, and can only be conjectured. M. Lenormant suggests⁷ an invasion and conquest of Egypt by some foreign people, which held the real dominion of the country during the interval, whatever it was, but allowed native subject monarchs to maintain a precarious and inglorious sway at Memphis and in the Eastern Delta; but Dr. Birch observes⁸ with reason, that it is "difficult to believe" in a conquest, of which there is no historical record, no trace upon the monuments. The assertion that the skulls of mummies belonging to the eleventh and later dynasties are sensibly different from those of the period terminating with Dynasty VI., and indicate a decided modification of *physique*, such as would naturally follow on the introduction into the population of a new element, with which M. Lenormant supports his theory,⁹ lacks corroboration by other writers, and is certainly not the statement of a fact generally admitted by Egyptologists. M. Lenormant himself allows the dubiousness of his theory, and winds up his remarks upon the subject with an alternative view: "It would be rash," he says,¹⁰ "to assert that the sud-

den eclipse which shows itself in the civilization of Egypt immediately after the sixth dynasty had not solely for its cause one of those almost inexplicable crises of weakness, wherewith the life of nations, like that of individuals, is sometimes crossed." It would seem to be best to acquiesce, for the present at any rate, in this view; and to suppose that the great burst of vigor and energy, which commencing with Seneferu, terminated, perhaps seven centuries later,¹¹ with Nitocris, was followed by a period of exhaustion and enfeeblement, during which no works of any magnitude were constructed, no wars of any importance carried on, no inscriptions of any sort or kind set up. Such a pause in the life of an ingenious and active people like the Egyptians cannot be supposed to have been long; and we should incline, therefore, to the lowest estimate which has been hitherto made of the probable duration of the interval.

When Egypt, after this period of torpor, once more aroused herself and began to show new signs of life, the renascent civilization developed itself from a new centre. In the long and rich valley of the lower Nile, which extends above five hundred miles from Syéné to Memphis, almost any situation might furnish a site for a great city, since, except at Silsilis and at the Gebeleïn, the valley is never less than two miles wide, the soil is always fertile, good quarries are always at hand, and lavish Nature is so bounteous with her gifts that abundant sustenance can at any point be obtained for a large population. But, in this wealth of eligible sites, there are still degrees of eligibility—spots which Nature has distinguished by special favor, and as it were marked out for greatness and celebrity. Such a position is that which the traveller reaches, when, passing through the gorge of the Gebeleïn, he emerges upon the magnificent plain, at least ten miles in width, through which the river flows with a course from southwest to northeast for a distance of some forty miles between Erment and Qobt. Here, for the first time since quitting the Nubian desert, does the Nile enter upon a wide and ample space.¹² On either side the hills recede, and a broad green plain, an alluvium of the richest description, spreads itself out on both banks of the stream, dotted with *dom* and date palms, sometimes growing single, sometimes collected into clumps or groves. Here, too, there open out on either side, to the east and to the west, lines of route, offering great advantages for trade, on the one hand with the Lesser Oasis and so with the tribes of the African interior, on the other with the western coast of the Red Sea, and the spice region of the op-



Fig. 18.—BUST OF AMENÔPHIS I.—See Page 115.



Fig. 19.—HEAD OF THOTHMES II.—See Page 118.



Fig. 20.—BUST OF THOTHMES I.—See Page 116.



Fig. 21.—HEAD OF QUEEN HATASU.—See Page 119.



Fig. 22.—HEAD OF QUEEN MUTEMUA.—See Page 141.



Fig. 23.—HEAD OF SENEFERU.—See Page 162.


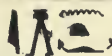


posite shore.¹³ In the valley of Hammamât, down which passed the ancient route to the coast, are abundant supplies of *breccia verde* and of other valuable and rare kinds of stone,¹⁴ while at no great distance to the right and left of the route lie mines of gold, silver, and lead,¹⁵ anciently prolific, though exhausted now for many ages. Somewhat more remote, yet readily accessible by a frequented route, was the emerald region of Gebel Zabara, where the mines are still worked,¹⁶ though not at present very productive.

In this favored position, partly on the left but principally on the right bank of the stream, had grown up, probably from a remote antiquity, a flourishing provincial town, to which its inhabitants gave the name of Apet,¹⁷ Apé, or, with the feminine article, Tapé, which form the Greeks represented by Thebaî,¹⁸ whence our "Thebes." The city had for ages been only one out of the many populous towns which the early Pharaohs had held under their sway; it had been, no doubt, as it always continued to be, the head of a nome;¹⁹ it had its own local peculiarities of religion, manners, speech, nomenclature, even perhaps its own modification of the generally received hieroglyphical system of writing.²⁰ But hitherto it had drawn no special attention, it had attained no notoriety. One among some scores of considerable Egyptian towns,²¹ it had been content with a subject position, had refrained from asserting itself, and had consequently remained undistinguished.

When, however, at the close of the sixth dynasty, Egypt became disintegrated, and monarchies of no great strength were established in the Delta and at Memphis, it occurred to the authorities of Apt that the city over which they presided had as much right to exercise sovereignty as Heracleopolis Parva, and that a bold assertion of independence would probably be successful, might even be undisputed. The Memphitic kings of the seventh and eighth dynasties were too weak, the Heracleopolitans of the ninth and tenth too remote to attempt interference; and Thebes became a free city, the capital of an independent monarchy, apparently without a struggle.

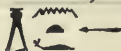
Who the individual was by whom this feat was accomplished, and the foundations laid of that second and more brilliant Egyptian civilization which eclipsed the glories of the first, it is impossible even to conjecture. According to the Turin papyrus the eleventh or "first Theban" dynasty comprised six, according to Manetho²² it consisted of sixteen, Pharaohs. The monumental traces of the dynasty, discovered hitherto, appear to show a series of either six or eight mon-



archs²³ who bear alternately the names of Enantef or Antef,

 or , and Ment-hept or Mentu-hotep,
 or . But it is quite possible that the series

is incomplete, and far from certain that the alternation of name was scrupulously maintained from the beginning to the end of the dynasty. A king named Sankh-ka-ra seems to have belonged to it,²⁴ who is not proved to have borne, besides, either of the usual appellations.


The first king of the dynasty who is known to us was an Antef, whose coffin was discovered by some Arabs in the year 1827, near Qurnah to the west of Thebes.²⁵ He called himself "king of the two Egypts;" and his mummy, which was found inside the coffin, bore the royal diadem on its head.²⁶ It was enveloped in the pasteboard covering which has been called a "cartonnage," and the coffin was of a primitive character, being scooped out of the trunk of a tree.²⁷ He is supposed to have been succeeded by a Mentu-hotep whose name occurs in the "Table of Karnak," but of whom we have no contemporary monument. This first Mentu-hotep was followed by Antefaa or "Antef the Great," who reigned at least fifty years,²⁸ and was buried in a simple pyramid of brickwork at the foot of the western or Libyan mountains, in the valley known as El-Assasif, near the ruins of Thebes.

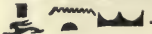
The tomb of Antefaa, , ornamented by a sculptured tablet, of which the upper portion is lost, was recently discovered by M. Mariette. The tablet²⁹ shows him standing among his dogs, and waited on by his chief huntsman; from which we may conclude that, like more than one of the ancient Assyrian monarchs,³⁰ he delighted in the chase, and regarded with affection and pride the faithful animals who were the companions of his amusement. Each has his name engraved above him, accompanied by a brief explanation, which shows that the dogs were valued for their hunting qualities, and used in the pursuit of the antelope and other quadrupeds. They are four in number, and each is of a different kind.

A second Mentu-hotep, the fourth king of the dynasty (according to Dr. Birch),³¹ who bore also the names of Nebkher-ra, , and Ra-neb-tau, , is thought to have succeeded Antefaa. By an inscription which he set up on the rocks of Konosso, quite close to Philæ, it is shown

that his dominion was not confined to the Thebaid, but extended over the whole of Upper Egypt; and at the same time it appears, by the relief chiselled upon the stone, that he claimed to be the conqueror of thirteen foreign nations,³² probably negro tribes of the country bordering Egypt to the south. He is exhibited in the act of worshipping Khem, the special god of Kebtu, or Coptos, which appears by another tablet to have been, at any rate, his occasional residence.³³ This place commanded the entrance of the valley of Hammamât, the importance of which as a line of traffic was now for the first time fully recognized. Mentu-hotep II. sank wells in the valley, to provide water for the caravans which passed to and fro between Coptos and the Red Sea;³⁴ and carved a tablet on the rocks above to commemorate his operations. He also procured from a quarry in this quarter a huge sarcophagus, destined to serve as his tomb; its length was eight cubits, or twelve feet; its breadth four cubits, and its height two. The services of 3,000 men were required to transport the enormous monolith from the spot where it was quarried to the nearest wharf upon the great stream.³⁵ Mentu-hotep (Fig. 13) Nebkher-ra was also a patron of glyptic art. A statuary, named Iritisen, who lived under him, has left it on record in the inscription upon his tomb, that he "occupied the inmost recess of the king's heart, and made his delight all the day long."³⁶ This artist worked not merely in stone and marble, but "in gold, and silver, and ivory, and ebony,"³⁷ and was thus able to provide his royal master not only with statues, but with a vast variety of *objets de luxe*.

Mentu-hotep II. is thought to have been followed by an Antef who has left no record of his reign, but who appears in the "Table of Karnak" at this point.³⁸ His successor, Mentu-hotep III., continued to work the quarries of the Hammamât valley; and commissioners of his appointment set up several engraved tablets and inscriptions in that "beautiful" district.³⁹ These show that this monarch claimed to be the son of the god Khem, whose worship he, in common with the other kings of the dynasty, specially affected. No wars are recorded at this time, though soldiers were employed to protect the sculptors and quarrymen employed in the Hammamât district, which would seem to imply the vicinity of some enemy.

The last monarch of the dynasty appears to have borne the name of Sankh-ka-ra, . He occupies the fifty-eighth place in the "New Table of Abydos."⁴⁰ An impor-

tant inscription belonging to this reign has been recently discovered, and has received interpretation from M. Chabas. Sankh-ka-ra, it appears, not content with the land-trade, which had now for some time enriched the Theban monarchs and brought them in abundance the treasures of the African interior, resolved to open a new traffic by way of the Red Sea with the fertile and productive region known to the Egyptians as Punt, . This tract has generally

been regarded as a portion of "Happy Arabia;"⁴¹ but the geographical researches of Dr. Brugseh have convinced him that Punt is to be sought, not on the Arabian but on the African side of the gulf, that in fact it is identical with the modern territory of the Somoauli.⁴² "Punt," he observes,⁴³ "was a distant land, washed by the ocean, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, balsam, precious metals, and costly stones; rich also in beasts, as camelopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long-tailed monkeys. Birds with strange plumage rocked themselves on the branches of wonderful trees, especially the incense tree and the cocoa palm." Other authorities speak of it as producing benzoin, cassia, *kohl* or *stibium*, emeralds, ivory, and dogs of a good breed.⁴⁴ Sankh-ka-ra entrusted the expedition, which he sent to bring from Punt its precious wares, to a certain Hannu (Hanno?), who gives the following account of his proceedings. "I was sent," he says,⁴⁵ "to conduct ships to Punt, in order to bring back to his majesty the odoriferous gums which the princes of the red land had collected under the influence of the fear inspired by him in all countries. Behold, I left Coptos His majesty ordained that the troops which were to accompany me should be drawn from the southern parts of the Thebaid. . . . I set forth with an army of 3,000 men. I passed through the red hamlet and a cultivated territory. I prepared the skins and the poles needed for the transport of the water jars to the number of twenty. Half my men each day carried loads; the other half placed the loads upon them. I dug a reservoir of twelve perches in a wood, and two reservoirs at a place called Atabet, one measuring a perch and twenty cubits, and the other a perch and thirty cubits. I made another at Ateb, measuring ten cubits each way, to contain water a cubit in depth. Then I arrived at Seba and constructed transports for the conveyance of all kinds of productions. I made a great offering there of oxen, cows, and goats. When I returned from Seba, I executed the orders of his majesty; I

brought him back every sort of product that I met with in the havens of the holy land. I came back by way of Uak and Rohan, and brought with me from those places precious stones for statues in temples. Never was such a thing done since there were kings. Never was anything of the kind accomplished by any member of the royal family since the reign of the Sun-God, Ra. I acted thus for the king on account of the great affection which he entertained for me." The route pursued by Hannu as far as Seba appears to have been that which leads from Qobt or Qoft, by way of La Guitta, to Cosseir.⁴⁸ From Seba, where he built his transports, he must have proceeded southward along the African coast until he reached the fertile region with which it was his master's object to establish communications. He there probably found an *entrepôt* at which he was able to procure not only the products of the Somauli country itself, but also those which nations of the far East brought from Arabia, Persia, and perhaps even India, to be exchanged for the commodities of the regions watered by the Nile. Yemen and Hadramaut, Ophir, Bahrein,⁴⁹ Babylon, perhaps even Taprobané and Malacca, here found a mart for their valuable wares, and purchased with them the manufactures of Egypt, the hard woods of the African forests, and the swart and stalwart slaves of Nubia and Dongola. The line of traffic thus established continued in use during the whole of the Egyptian period, and even into Greek and Roman times. "It was the highway which, leading to the harbor of Lencos-limen (now Cosseir), on the Red Sea, brought the wonders of India and Arabia to Europe; it was the road of the merchants of all countries in the ancient world—the nations' bridge between Asia and Europe."⁴⁸

A special interest is added to Sankh-ka-ra's establishment of communications with the land of Punt by the circumstance that, according to Egyptian tradition Punt was the country from which they had derived some, at any rate, of their principal gods. Athor especially, "the mother," then "mistress of heaven," was "Queen of the Holy Land," "Mistress and Ruler of Punt."⁴⁹ Ammon was sometimes called the "Hak" or "King" of Punt, and Horus was honored as "the holy morning star which rose to the west of the land of Punt."⁵⁰ According to Brngseh, the hideous dwarf, Bes, "misshapen, and with apish countenance," was also originally a denizen of Punt, the "oldest form of the godhead" there, imported into Egypt at an early date from this distant region, and thenceforward a favorite object of domestic worship, recognized as "the god of joy, of music, and of pleasure, the di-

vinity who chases away evil," and therefore as suited to preside over the toilet tables of great dames, and the arts by which beauty is preserved and enhanced.⁶¹

The eleventh, or first Theban dynasty seems to have ended in bloodshed and confusion. The first king of the twelfth dynasty tells us that, before he established himself upon the throne, Egypt had forgotten all her traditions⁶²—had "become like a bull which had lost all memory of the past"⁶³—that during a long term of civil war and disturbance the people of the land had suffered "affliction," and "there had been stability of fortune neither for the ignorant nor for the learned man."⁶⁴ The details of the troubles are wanting; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding private ambition as the disturbing force at work, and rival pretenders to the crown as responsible for the calamities of the period. The Antefs had not the prestige of long hereditary royalty; and their establishment of themselves in the kingly position might naturally create hopes and arouse jealousies, which some favorable occasion stimulated into action. Perhaps the Antef family died out; perhaps Sankh-ka-ra had no male issue, and the husbands of his daughters disputed the succession among them. Opportunity would then arise for other claimants to come forward; the quarrel would become more complicated, and civil war rage throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is certain that the Amen-em-hats and Usurtasens claim no connection with the Antefs and Mentu-hoteps, and all but certain that they were a new race, unconnected with their predecessors.

The "second Egyptian civilization," as it has been called,⁶⁵ differed in many respects from the first. The first was egoist, self-seeking, stately, cold, cruel. The second was utilitarian, beneficent, appealing less to the eye than to the mind, but judicious, far-sighted in its aims, and most successful in the results which it effected. The encouragement of trade and commerce, the establishment and improvement of commercial routes, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of the roads by troops, the building of ships, the exploration of hitherto unknown seas—such were the special objects which the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty set before them, such the lines of activity into which they threw their own energies and the practical ability of their people. No longer aiming, like the old Memphitic kings, at leaving undying memorials of themselves in the shape of monuments that reached to heaven, but content with rude coffins and humble sepulchres, often not even of stone,⁶⁶ they were en-

abled to employ the labor of their subjects in productive pursuits, and to increase largely the general prosperity of the country by adding to the agricultural wealth of Egypt the luxuries and conveniences which an extensive commerce is sure to introduce. The full development of the new ideal was reserved for the dynasty which succeeded them, and is especially to be traced in the great works of utility connected with the Lake Mœris and the control of the Nile waters by means of sluices and reservoirs; but the eleventh dynasty set the example of seeking the welfare of their subjects rather than their own glorification; and when Amen-em-hat I., the founder of the twelfth, boasts that all the commands which he had ever issued had but increased the love which his people had for him,⁵⁷ he does but show that he had carried out the principles of governmental administration introduced by the Antefs and Mentu-hoteps.

It was natural that art, when such principles were in vogue, should be turned into new channels. No longer did king vie with king in the piling up of a monumental mountain; no longer was it the first aim of a monarch to "leave a memorial of himself."⁵⁸ Architecture consequently declined. The eleventh dynasty is scarcely commemorated by a single Egyptian building; and even the twelfth only left one of any great size.⁵⁹ Artistic energy was directed to statuary, to works in relief, to amulets, furniture, and ornaments of various kinds.⁶⁰ In these branches considerable progress was made. The statues of the time have no small merit; ⁶¹ the reliefs are drawn with delicacy, though wanting in variety and force. Animal forms however, are depicted with some spirit. The four dogs of Antefaa offer a marked contrast the one with the other, and express with precision distinct canine types.⁶² Two antelopes on another tomb of the same period are vigorous;⁶³ while the tracings of the hieroglyphs on the stelé of Iritisen, which comprise numerous figures of birds and beasts, are said to be of quite first-rate excellency.⁶⁴ Altogether, one is more struck perhaps by the persistency of Egyptian art in the same forms than by anything else in the remains of the eleventh dynasty, since even after an interval of some length, and in an entirely new and previously unknown locality, the artists give us almost identically the same designs, the same positions of the human figure, the same arrangement of their subjects, the same faces, the same furniture. Evidently, originality was either unthought of, or repressed; the canons of ancient times were considered binding; and novelty was only allowed within very narrow limits.

A greater variation from the usages of primitive times, a more distinct trace of local coloring, is to be seen in the religion of the period. From a deep and thick obscurity, the god Ammon at last begins to emerge, not yet with any distinctness, much less with that transcendent glory which made him in the best times of Thebes, most decidedly the leading god of the entire Egyptian Pantheon, but just making himself apparent as a god to whom parents think it worth while to dedicate a child.⁶⁵ Perhaps he was now for the first time introduced from Punt, which was always regarded as the locality whereto he specially belonged, and from which he made excursions from time to time,⁶⁶ like those of the Greek Zeus from Olympus. Another peculiarity of the period is the prominence given to Mentu⁶⁷ and Khem, who have hitherto been very subordinate and insignificant deities. Mentu, the god of Hermonthis, a sort of suburb of Thebes, may be called the tutelary divinity of the whole dynasty, half the kings placing their sons under his protection, and the other half bearing his name. Khem, hitherto kept for the most part in obscurity, though the special god of Coptos, takes suddenly a leading position, rears his figure upon the rocks in various quarters,⁶⁸ and shows himself in the gross and coarse form which no author of the present day could reproduce without incurring general reprobation. Other deities worshipped at the time, but with ordinary and not peculiar honors, were Osiris, Anubis, Kneph, Horus, Phthah-Sokari, Thoth, and Neith. The Sothiac festival is now also for the first time noted as in use; and feasts are also held, at stated periods, to Khem, Phthah-Sokari, and Thoth.⁶⁹

The monuments distinctly referable to the eleventh dynasty are not sufficiently numerous to furnish us with much information as to the progress of civilization and the arts of life. There is some indication that shoes now began to take the place of sandals,⁷⁰ that glass and pottery increased in elegance,⁷¹ and that the façades of houses were ornamented with patterns.⁷² Special attention seems to have been paid to the breeding of dogs, which occur of at least four different kinds, corresponding to our greyhound, mastiff, wolf-dog, and ordinary hound.⁷³ The first named was used in the chase of the gazelle or antelope; the second is a house-dog, and sits at the foot of his master: he is of a black color, and is called *Mahats*, which is explained as meaning "blacky." The other two are employed to hunt game of various kinds. A special domestic is appointed to attend to the kennel, who seems to be regarded as an upper servant, since he wears an elegant collar.


CHAPTER XVII.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

Period of Disturbance. Accession of Amen-em-hat.—His Military Expeditions—His great Works—His Addiction to Field Sports—He associates his Son Usurtasen, and leaves him written "Instructions." Reign of Usurtasen I.—His Obelisks—His Temples—His Cushite War—His Chief Officers, Ameni and Mentu-hotep—His Association of Amen-em-hat II. Reign of Amen-em-hat II. Reigns of Usurtasen II. and Usurtasen III. Conquest of Ethiopia, and construction of Forts at Semneh and Koommeh. Usurtasen III. the Original of the mythic Sesostris—Estimate of his Character. Reign of Amen-em-hat III.—His Throne Name—His great Irrigation Scheme—His Nilometer—His Palace and Pyramid—His other Works. Reigns of Amen-em-hat IV. and Sabak-nefru-ra. Civilization of the Period—Arts of Life. Architecture and Glyptic Art—Changes in the Religion.

"L'époque de la douzième dynastie fut une époque de prospérité, de paix intérieure et de grandeur au dehors."—LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Historie Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 349.

It has been observed in the last chapter, that the eleventh, or first Theban dynasty expired in bloodshed and confusion. A time of general disturbance followed upon the death of Sankh-ka-ra; and it was probably not till some years had elapsed that Thebes was once more able to establish her supremacy over Egypt and to give the afflicted land the blessing of a settled rule. We do not know the circumstances of the outbreak, or the causes which led to revolution; but there is some reason to suspect a general disaffection of the lower orders, terminating in open rebellion and civil war. Amen-

em-hat, , the individual who succeeded ulti-

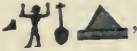
mately in re-establishing tranquillity, warns his son against seeking to win the affections of the landed lords and noblemen only, and bids him associate himself with the mass of his subjects and essay to obtain their good will.' It is at least probable that he had seen the evils of a contrary course, and had been induced to make himself the patron and protector of the weak and humble² by experience gained in the school of adversity, before he attained to sovereign power.

There is no indication of any relationship between the kings of the twelfth and those of the eleventh dynasty; and it is a conjecture³ not altogether improbable, that the Amen-em-hat who was the founder of the twelfth was descended from the functionary of the same name, who under Mentu-hotep II. executed commissions of importance.' At any

rate, he makes no pretension to a royal origin, and the probability would seem to be that he attained the throne not through any claim of right, but by his own personal merits. Amid a multitude of pretenders, he fought his way to the crown, and was accepted as king, because he had triumphed over his rivals. On one occasion, he tells us, his life was in extreme danger. He had taken his evening meal, and had retired to rest—stretched upon a carpet in the inner chamber of his house, he was courting sleep—when, lo! a clash of arms resounded; foes approached, hoping to assassinate him as he slumbered; he roused himself; he “woke up to fight” and the conspirators fled in haste without waiting to exchange blows.⁵ It is not quite clear whether this event occurred before or after his accession to the throne; but it reveals the stuff whereof he was made, and sufficiently explains his easy triumph over his competitors.

Once established in power, Amen-em-hat showed activity and energy. He carried on wars on every side—with the Petti, or bowmen of the Libyan interior,⁶ the Sakti or Asiatics,⁷ the Maxyes of Mazyes of the northwest,⁸ and the Uauat and other negro tribes of the south.⁹ Eagerly seconded by his young son, Usurtasen, who from his earliest youth showed an unmistakable talent for war and a positive love of fighting,¹⁰ he inflicted blow after blow upon these enemies, and forced them to acts of submission. Still his military expeditions do not seem to have resulted in conquests, and their aim was perhaps rather to protect Egypt from predatory incursions by striking terror into the tribes upon the frontier, than to extend the bounds of the Egyptian dominion. Amen-em-hat was content to “stand on the (old) boundaries of the land, and keep watch on its borders;”¹¹ to rule all Egypt “from Abu (Elephantiné) to the Athu” (the marsh region of the Delta) was enough for him;¹² we do not find him establishing any military posts in the countries which he invaded; on the contrary, we find that, in one quarter at any rate, he followed up his victories by building a wall, or defensive work, upon his own frontiers, for the purpose of “keeping off the Sakti,”¹³ or, in other words, of checking and repelling their incursions. This post was probable a little to the east of Pelusium, near the western extremity of the Lake Serbonis.¹⁴

Among extant monuments none of any great importance can be assigned to Amen-em-hat, though his activity was shown in buildings no less than in warlike expeditions. There are indications that he commenced the temple of Ammon at Kar-

nak opposite Thebes, where fragments of a granite statue have been found on which the sculptor had engraved his name.¹⁵ Another statue, also representing him, was erected in the Fayoum.¹⁶ He worked the quarries of Mokattam and Hammamât,¹⁷ adorned Memphis,¹⁸ and constructed two considerable edifices, which have perished—a palace, supposed to have been situated at Heliopolis,¹⁹ and a pyramid, known as Ka-nefer, , “Lofty and Handsome.”²⁰ Of the


former, he tells us that it was “adorned with gold; its roof was painted blue; the walls and the passages were of stones fastened together with iron cramps;”²¹ it was “made for eternity,” he says, and not for time; but unluckily it has not fulfilled the intention of its constructor. The other, notwithstanding its proud title, was probably of moderate dimensions, like the pyramids of the Mentu-hoteps and Antefs; it was erected to contain a stone sarcophagus cut in the Hammamât quarries by Antef, son of Sabek-nekht, chief priest of the god Khem, who has commemorated the fact on the rocky wall of the Wady.²²


A third field in which the activity of this energetic king found employment was that of the chase. He “hunted the lion,” he tells us, “and brought back the crocodile a prisoner.”²³ Lions, which are now not found north of Nubia, frequented in these early times the deserts on either side of the valley of the Nile,²⁴ and furnished a sport in which even a great king did not feel it beneath him to indulge. Crocodiles were more common, and had long been objects of pursuit to the Egyptian sportsman, who generally speared them from a boat,²⁵ but sometimes fished for them with a baited hook,²⁶ and in this way might catch them alive. Probably Amen-em-hat adopted this latter method of procedure, and on returning to his palace exhibited the victims of his skill and prowess to the nobles and officials of his court.

As he approached old age, and felt its infirmities creeping upon him, Amen-em-hat resolved to associate his son Usurtasen in the government. This prince had, as already remarked, exhibited from his earliest youth high military capacity; and it would seem that there was a party at the Court which pressed on Amen-em-hat his own abdication in favor of a successor of such merit.²⁷ But the aged monarch was unwilling to erase himself altogether, and saw no necessity for so extreme an act of self-abasement. Association had probably been practised from ancient times by the Egyptian kings; and it seemed to Amen-em-hat that by having recourse to this plan


of action he might reconcile the demands of the discontented with his own personal inclinations. Accordingly, without descending from the throne, he allowed Usurtasen to assume the royal dignity;²⁸ and henceforth, for the space of ten years,²⁹ the father and son reigned conjointly.

Finally, before descending into the tomb, Amen-em-hat resolved to leave to his son a legacy of political wisdom in the shape of "Instructions,"³⁰ by the observance of which he might reign prosperously, and guide his life to a happy termination. Representing himself as speaking from the Lower World, he enjoined upon Usurtasen the practice of justice and virtue, the admission of all classes of his subjects to his presence and his affections, the avoidance of pride and exclusiveness, together with care in the selection of his intimate friends and counsellors. Briefly recapitulating the chief events of his own life, and the principles which had actuated him, he recommended to his successor persistence in the same course—the protection of the weak and humble, the relief of the afflicted, the punishment of the rebellious, the exercise of continual watchfulness and care against possible calamities, the defence of the frontier, the encouragement of agriculture, and the chastisement of foreign enemies; urging him to act even better than any of his predecessors, and reminding him that he too would have ere long to "enter the boat of Ra," and make the dread passage across the "Great Pool" into the presence of Osiris.³¹ Perhaps we may attribute in some measure to this document the satisfactory and in certain respects brilliant reign which followed, and of which we have now to give an account.

Usurtasen, , who assumed the prænomen of

Khepr-ka-ra, , upon his association,³² after reigning ten years conjointly with his father in perfect amity and agreement, entered upon his sole reign when Amen-em-hat died, and continued to exercise the royal authority from that date for thirty-five years. He is remarkable at once for his constructions and for his conquests. Thebes, Abydos, Heliopolis or On, the Fayoum, and the Delta, were equally the scenes of his constructive activity; and traces have been found at all these various sites, indicative of his religious zeal and architectural eminence. Of these various works the best known, though by no means the most interesting, is the obelisk of pink granite which still stands upon the site of Heliopolis (Fig. 15), lifting itself above the verdure of the cornfields into

the soft sleepy air, and pointing with silent finger to heaven. Obelisks were not previously quite unknown. We meet with


the hieroglyphic form  as early as the times of the fifth dynasty;³³ and a small obelisk, erected by one of the Antefs of the eleventh, has been discovered by M. Mariette at Drah-abou'l-neg-gah.³⁴ But the erection of Usurtasen I. is the earliest monument of the kind, possessing any considerable grandeur,³⁵ which is known to us; and it has the rare advantage of still remaining on the spot where it was originally set up, and where it has witnessed the events of at least thirty-seven centuries. It rises to a height of sixty-six feet³⁶ above the surrounding plain, is formed of the hardest and most beautiful rose-colored granite, and contains a deeply-cut hieroglyphical legend, exactly repeated on each of its four faces. The inscription runs as follows: "The Horus-Sun, the life of those who are born, the king of the Upper and the Lower lands, Khepr-ka-ra; the lord of the double crown, the life of those who are born, the son of the Sun-God Ra, Usurtasen; the friend of the spirits in On, ever-living golden Horus, the life of those who are born, the good god, Khepr-ka-ra, has executed this work in the beginning of the thirty years' cycle, he the dispenser of life for ever-more."³⁷ Originally, it was beyond all doubt one of a pair³⁸ placed in front of the great entrance to the Temple of the Sun, the "Jachin and Boaz"³⁹ of the Egyptian sanctuary.

A far more interesting memorial of Usurtasen than his Heliopolitan obelisk, with its tautological epigraph, is the work of the same kind, which now lies, broken and prostrate, on the soil of the Fayoum. Considerably inferior in size, since its complete height did not much exceed forty feet,⁴⁰ this monument excels the other alike in the variety and in the artistic value of the sculptures which are engraved upon it. Usurtasen is represented, on the upper portion of the only broad face which is visible, in the act of worshipping twenty of the principal deities. Among these the most honorable positions are assigned to Ammon and Phthah, while Mentu, Ra-Harmachis, Isis, Nephthys, Sabak, Thoth, Kneph, Shu, Khem, Athor, and Sefkh are among the other objects of the monarch's adoration. The narrow sides have inscriptions, which resemble each other to a certain extent, but are far from being duplicates. In these the gods Mentu and Phthah are alone commemorated.

At Thebes Usurtasen continued the construction of the

great temple of Ammon which his father had begun, and is thought to have completed the remarkable cell,⁴¹ which formed the inner sanctuary, or "Holy of Holies," in the temple as it existed at a later date. The original building of Usurtasen, which was probably of sandstone, appears to have been removed by Thothes III., who, however, reproduced it in granite, and commemorated the original founder by inscribing his name upon the walls. The edifice is remarkable for the extreme simplicity of its plan, and the absence of all architectural embellishment. Usurtasen also built chambers for the priests attached to the edifice, and especially one for the "chief seer" of the temple, which continued to the time of Rameses IX., when it had to be restored, having fallen into decay.⁴²

At Tanis in the Delta,⁴³ at Abydos,⁴⁴ and at Eileithyia,⁴⁵ Usurtasen appears to have constructed temples, which were adorned with sculptures, inscriptions, and colossal statues.⁴⁶ He also—in person or by his agents—erected memorials in the Wady Magharah,⁴⁷ and at Wady Halfa on the Nile,⁴⁸ a little above the Second Cataract. This last-named monument commemorated his principal conquest, and will conveniently introduce an account of his chief military expedition.

We have seen that, under the sixth dynasty, Egypt began to stretch out her arm towards the south,⁴⁹ and that the negro tribes of Northern Nubia were already subject to her authority. But at this time the monuments made no mention of the Cushite or Ethiopian race, which in the later period of the independent monarchy played so important a part, sometimes even ruling Egypt and coming into contact with Assyria. So late as the reign preceding Usurtasen's when Egypt warred in this quarter, the Ua-uat were still the principal tribe, and Amen-em-hat I. claimed it as his greatest military glory that he had fought with them.⁵⁰ But under Usurtasen we find a different condition of things. The Ua-uat and their immediate neighbors, have, we must suppose, been subjected; and the Egyptians, passing further south, come into contact with the veritable Cushite race—the dark-skinned nation which had early peopled the whole northern shore of the Indian Ocean, from the mouth of the Indus to the vicinity of Cape Guardafui. Usurtasen coveted the possession of the gold region, from which Nubia derived its name,⁵¹ and, proceeding southward along the course of the Nile from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-second parallel, came into hostile collision with the Kashi, , or Cushites, who now


for the first time make their appearance in Egyptian history, and gave them a severe defeat.⁶² The tribes who fought on the Ethiopian side were, besides the Cushites themselves, the Shemik, the Khesa, and the Sheat, the Akherkin,⁶³ all of whom are mentioned on the tablet which the victor set up to preserve the memory of his success. The Second Cataract was probably now made the boundary of Egypt to the south, Terminus being advanced in this direction a distance of nearly a hundred and fifty miles.


The inscription of Ameni, a general employed in this expedition, is chiefly remarkable for its statements concerning the small number of the troops under his command. They are given as 400, or at the utmost 600;⁶⁴ yet they seem to have been irresistible and to have carried all before them. We are reminded of modern African expeditions under a Stanley, a Baker, or a Gordon, where a few hundred porters and camp-followers easily disperse all the hostile forces that gather to oppose their march, and by superiority of weapons and of discipline are enabled to triumph over thousands. The account given by Ameni reveals an extreme weakness on the part of the tribes assailed, and leads us to suppose that the great nation of the Cushites was only very partially engaged in the war. Ameni's object, moreover, seems to have been booty as much as territory; he prides himself on "conducting the golden treasures" to his master,⁶⁵ and on capturing and carrying off a herd of 3,000 cattle.⁶⁶

Another remarkable personage, who claims a part in the subjugation of the tribes of the south during the reign of Usurtasen, bore the name of Mentu-hotep. This official, whose tombstone is among the treasures of the museum of Boulaq, appears to have held a rank in the kingdom second only to that of the king. He filled at one and the same time the offices of minister of justice, home secretary, chief commissioner of public works, director of public worship, and perhaps of foreign secretary and minister of war.⁶⁷ "When he arrived at the gate of the royal residence, all the other great personages who might be present bowed down before him, and did obeisance."⁶⁸ He was judge, financier, general, administrator, artist. He preserved internal peace and routed foreign enemies; instructed men in their duties, and upheld the honor of the gods. No doubt his merits had endeared him greatly to his royal master; but we may question whether he does not take too favorable a view of human nature when he says that he was equally beloved by his colleagues and the other great men.


After a sole reign of thirty-two years, Usurtasen associated on the throne his son Amen-em-hat, conjointly with whom he continued to reign for either three or four years longer.⁶⁰ He must have died at a tolerably advanced age, since, from the time of his own association by his father, he had held the royal dignity for forty-five years, and it is not likely that he would be associated before the age of twenty or twenty-five.

Amen-en-hat II., who, took the official title of Nub-kau-ra,

◉  was, comparatively speaking, an undistinguished prince; and but little is known of Egypt under his reign, though it extended over (at least) thirty-eight years.⁶⁰ He appears to have continued the war against the black races of the south,⁶¹ while at the same time he extended the sphere of the Egyptian operations in the northeast. In this quarter he not only worked the old mines of the Wady Magharah, but established a new mining station at Sarabit-el-Khadim,⁶² where there is a tablet which he set up in his twenty-fourth year. He repaired the tomb of one of his predecessors, called Amenu,⁶³ erected a statue in black basalt to his queen, Nefert, "the virtuous,"⁶⁴ and executed repairs of public buildings in several cities of the Delta. The chief official of his time was Khnum-hotep, whose rock-tomb at Beni-Hassan is one of the most remarkable and most richly adorned of those extensive excavations.⁶⁵ Amen-em-hat II. appears to have admitted the hereditary rank of this great noble, on whom he conferred a government which had been held by his maternal grandfather⁶⁶ under Amen-em-hat I. Following the example of his predecessors, Amen-em-hat II. elevated his son Usurtasen to the royal dignity, and reigned conjointly with him for six years, before he entered "the eternal abodes."

Usurtasen II., who was distinguished by the prænomen of Sha-khepr-ra;⁶⁷ ◉ , had a sole reign of thirteen years only, during which time it does not seem that there occurred any events of much importance. Egypt was flourishing, and was sought by emigrants who quitted their own less favored countries to fix their abode in the fertile valley of the Nile. Among those whose coming is recorded was a family of Amu, Semitic by all appearance, perhaps from Midian, who, to the number of thirty-seven, entered Egypt in a body, carrying their "little ones" upon asses, and sought the protection of the reigning Pharaoh through his minister.⁶⁹ Various circumstances of the scene illustrate the arrival in Egypt of the

sons of Jacob; but it is not now supposed by any one to represent that occurrence.⁷⁰ Khnum-hotep remained in favor under the second Usurtasen, who appointed his son Nekht to the governorship of the Cynopolitan canton.

A third Usurtasen, distinguished by the additional name of Sha-kau-ra, , now mounted the throne. We do not

know his relationship to his predecessor, but it may be assumed as probable that he was either his son or his nephew. He reigned, according to Brugsch,⁷¹ twenty-six, according to Birch,⁷² thirty-eight years, and was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the twelfth dynasty. Manetho says,⁷³ that he was regarded by the Egyptians as the greatest of their (early?) kings after Osiris; and it is certain that he was in such high repute with the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty, that they worshipped him as a god and built temples in his honor.⁷⁵ It would seem that these exceptional distinctions were assigned to him mainly for one reason. He was regarded as the conqueror of Ethiopia. Whatever success had previously attended the efforts of his predecessors in this direction, Usurtasen III. was the king who broke the Ethiopic power, at any rate for a time, inflicted on "the miserable Kush" a series of defeats, and permanently attached to Egypt the tract known as Northern Nubia, or the entire valley of the Nile between the First and the Second Cataract. Usurtasen began his military operations in his eighth year, and starting from Elephantiné in the month Epiphi (May) moved southward with a fixed intention, which he expressed in an inscription set up upon the Elephantiné island," of reducing to subjection "the miserable land of Kashi." His expedition was so far successful that in the same year he established two forts, just below the Second Cataract, one on either side of the Nile, and set up two pillars with inscriptions warning the black races that they were not to proceed further northward, except with the object of importing into Egypt cattle, oxen, goats, or asses.⁷⁴ As, however, the tribes upon the east and south were still unsubdued, further efforts were needed. Between his eighth and his sixteenth year, Usurtasen III. continued the war with perseverance and ferocity in the tract between the Nile and the Red Sea, killing the men, carrying off the women and the cattle, setting fire to the standing crops, and otherwise conducting the struggle in a way that "reminds us of the most infamous razzias in the recent history of African warfare."⁷⁶ Far from being ashamed of these severities, he gloried in them, and pictured them on the stone

columns of victory which in his sixteenth year he set up to commemorate his successes. Finally, in his nineteenth year, he again made an expedition southwards, chastised "the miserable Kush" once more, and left a record of his victory at Abydos.

The forts built by Usurtasen to protect his conquests are still visible on either bank of the Nile, a little below the Second Cataract, and bear the names of Koommeh and Semneh. They are massive constructions; built of numerous square blocks of granite and sandstone,⁷⁷ and placed upon two steep rocks which rise up perpendicularly from the river. The columns on which he commemorated his conquests are also visible,⁷⁸ and are covered with inscriptions deeply cut into the stone. One of the inscriptions tells us that the king had permitted the erection of his statue at Semneh or the neighborhood;⁷⁹ but up to the present time no traces of this interesting monument have been found. Usurtasen worked the inexhaustible quarries of Hammamât, and set up memorials there, in which he professed himself a worshipper of the god Min, or Khem.⁸⁰ In the island of Sehel he exhibited himself as a devotee of Anka or Anuka.⁸¹ His name appears also at Assouan (Syéné) and elsewhere.

It is not necessary to suppose that Usurtasen III., though regarded by the Egyptians themselves as one of their greatest kings, and consequently deified, was in reality a man of extraordinary ability. His actions may have contributed to form the character of that ideal Sesostris⁸² whom the Egyptians paraded before the eyes of the Greeks and Romans as their great heroic monarch; but there was nothing really astonishing in them, nothing really admirable. At the head of disciplined troops he gained repeated victories over the half-armed and untrained races, in part negro, in part Ethiopic, of the south. By a "continued merciless persecution,"⁸³ he so far intimidated them, that they were induced to submit to Egyptian supremacy, and to endure the loss of freedom and independence. And he understood the value of fortresses as a means of establishing a dominion, of rivetting a detested yoke on a proud nation's neck, and of making revolt hopeless, if not impossible. He was also so far ambitious, so far desirous of posthumous fame, that he took care to have his deeds declared in words, and "graven with an iron pen in the rock for ever."⁸⁴ But in this respect he merely followed the previous traditional practice of the Egyptian kings, while in his conquests he only a little exceeded the limits reached by more than one of his predecessors. What gave him his fame was

Fig. 24.—BAS-RELIEF OF MENKAUTHOR.—See Page 41.

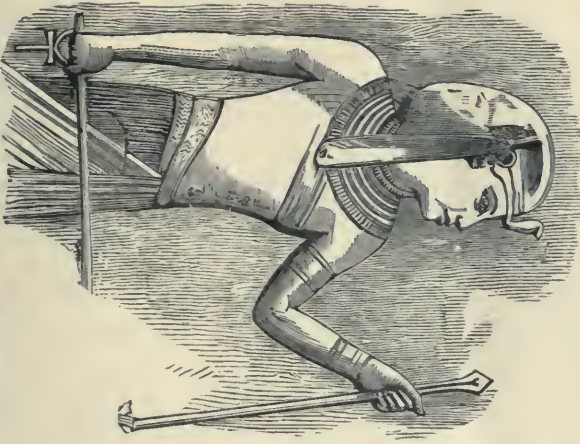


Fig. 25.—BAS RELIEF OF QUEEN TH OR TALA.—See Page 142.

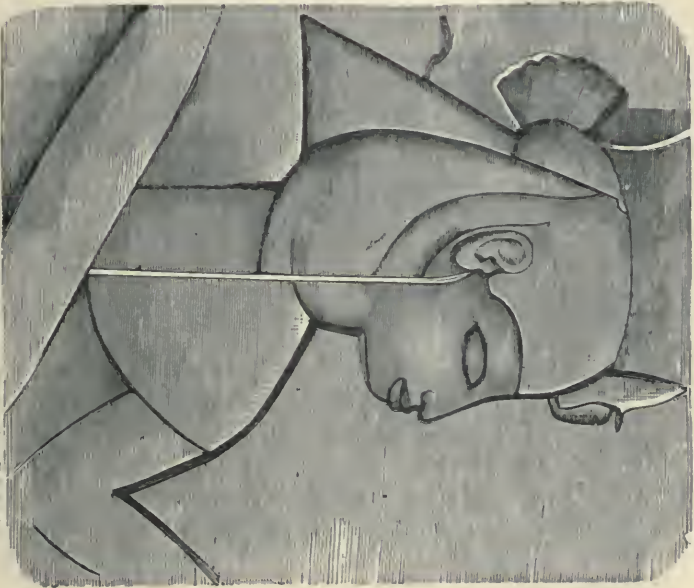




Fig. 26.—BUST OF HOREMHEB.—See Page 152.



Fig. 27.—BUST OF THOTHMES III.—See Page 133.

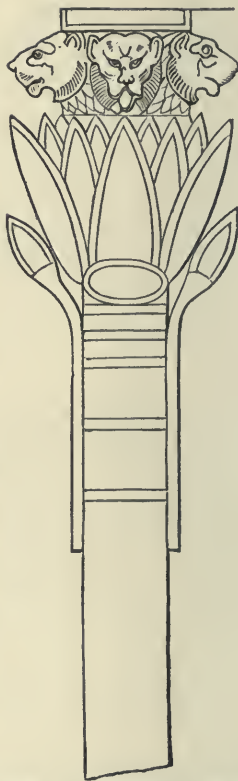



Fig. 28.—REMARKABLE CAPITAL.
—See Page 192.

the fact that, having finally settled Ethiopia, he was the king to whom its conquest was attributed;⁸⁶ and as this was the only considerable tract which the monarchs of the old empire subjugated, those of the new, bent upon conquest themselves, singled him out for approval and admiration. When temples had been built in his honor, and he had been put on a par with the gods Totun and Kneph,⁸⁷ mythic details naturally clustered about his name; the Sesostris legend grew up; Usurtasen became a giant more than seven feet high,⁸⁸ and the conqueror of Ethiopia, Europe, and Asia; his *stelæ* were said to be found in Palestine, Asia Minor, Scythia, and Thrace;⁸⁹ he left a colony at Colchis;⁹⁰ dug all the canals by which Egypt was in its most flourishing period intersected; invented geometry; and set up colossi above fifty feet in height!⁹¹

According to M. Lenormant,⁹² Usurtasen III. was buried in one of the brick pyramids at Dashoor; but this is not generally admitted by Egyptologists. The fragment of a cartouche found by Perring in the *débris* of the north pyramid is quite insufficient to prove the supposed interment, since the terminal element of a royal name, which was all that the cartouche contained, was one common to many monarchs.⁹³

The successor of Usurtasen III. was another Amen-em-hat, the third of the name. There is monumental evidence that he held the throne for forty-two years,⁹⁴ and, as this is the exact number of years assigned to him by the Turin papyrus, we may conclude that such was the full length of his reign. The official name which he assumed on ascending the throne was Ra-n-mât, . This title is one of greater significance than usual, since it may be translated "the sun of justice" or "of righteousness," and would naturally imply a special desire, on the part of the monarch who bore it, to rule justly and equitably over all his subjects. Amen-em-hat's reign corresponded to this taking announcement. Instead of following in his predecessor's footsteps, and directing the forces of Egypt to the occupation of new territory, he, after one war with the negroes,⁹⁵ which was perhaps provoked by an incursion, threw the whole energy of himself and people into the accomplishment of an enterprise from which no glory was to be derived beyond that which is justly due to the conception and prosecution of wise measures tending to increase greatly the prosperity of a numerous people. Egypt depends for its productiveness wholly upon the Nile, which each year at the time of the inundation spreads a

fresh deposit of the richest alluvium over the entire region to which the waters extend at their highest. The uniformity of nature, even in those operations which seem most irregular, is surprising; and the inundation not only occurs without fail year after year, but begins and ends at the same time of year almost to a day, and for the most part observes a remarkable regularity in the height to which it reaches, and the limits whereto it extends.⁹⁶ Still, there are occasions when this uniformity is broken in upon. Now and then the rains in Abyssinia, which are the true cause of the annual overflow, fall less plentifully than usual, and the rise of the river is somewhat, or even considerably, below the average. The hearts of the Egyptians under these circumstances grow faint. Only the lands close to the river bank are inundated; those at a greater distance lie parched and arid throughout the entire summer, and fail to produce a blade of grass or a spike of corn. Famine stares the people in the face; and unless large supplies of grain have been laid up in store previously, or can be readily imported, the actual starvation of thousands is the necessary consequence.⁹⁷ On the other hand, sometimes, though rarely, the fountains of the heavens are opened, and, the Abyssinian rainfall being excessive, the river rises beyond the expected height. Calamitous results at once ensue. The mounds erected to protect the cities, the villages, and the pasture lands, are surmounted or washed away; the houses, built often of mud, collapse; cattle are drowned; human life itself is imperilled, and the evils suffered are almost worse than those which follow upon a deficient flood.⁹⁸ To save Egypt from the two opposite dangers arising from an excessive and a defective Nile, hydraulic works are required on the largest scale; reservoirs have to be provided of vast extent, wherein the superfluous water of an overabundant inundation may be hoarded and detained, the pressure upon embankments being thus relieved; and from which again the precious fluid may be dispensed in the case of a deficient Nile, and the niggardliness of nature compensated by the providence and care of man. It is doubtful whether all has ever been done in this matter that might be done; but at any rate it is clear that Amen-em-hat III. made one great effort in the right direction, accomplished one most important work of the kind, and that with an engineering skill and ability that are above all praise. Taking advantage of the existence of a natural depression in the desert to the west of Egypt,⁹⁹ extending over an area of nearly 400 square miles, he formed in the southeastern part of this space a vast artificial

basin or lake—known to the Greeks as Lake Mœris¹⁰⁰—which extended from north to south a distance of fourteen miles,¹⁰¹ and from east to west a distance varying from six miles to eleven. The area of the lake is estimated at 405,479,000 square mètres,¹⁰² or about 480,000,000 square yards. It occupied an elevated position between two comparatively low tracts, the valley of the Nile on the one side, and the north-western portion of the Fayoum upon the other (Fig. 16). A canal, derived from the *Bahr Yousuf*, or western branch of the Nile, cut partly in the rock,¹⁰³ supplied the lake with water, when the Nile was high, and afforded a sensible relief in times of pressure from high flood. Through the same canal water could be drawn from the lake when the Nile was low, and a large tract along the base of the Libyan range would thus be irrigated, which a low inundation did not reach.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, all that portion of the Fayoum which lay outside the lake, to the north and west, or about three-fourths of its surface, might be kept under constant cultivation by means of the water which could be supplied to it from the great reservoir. A vast dam or dyke, forty feet high in places, partly of solid masonry, partly of earth and pebbles, formed the boundary of the reservoir to the north and west, while southward and eastward it extended to the range of hills which separates between the basin of the Fayoum and the Nile valley. The artificial barrier ran a little east of north, from Talut in the south to Biamo in the centre of the Fayoum, a distance of fifteen miles; at Biamo it made a right angle, and was then carried in a line a little south of east from Biamo, past El Ellam and El Edoua, to the eastern range in about lat. $29^{\circ} 26'$, making a distance of about twelve miles more. Thus the entire dyke had a length of twenty-seven miles, and, if it be regarded as averaging thirty feet in height, and at least the same in width,¹⁰⁵ would have contained a mass of material amounting to nearly forty-eight millions of cubic yards, or three-sevenths more than the cubic contents of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh.¹⁰⁶ In connection with the canal and reservoir, a system of sluices and flood-gates was set up, whereby the flow of the water was regulated as the interests of agriculture required.¹⁰⁷

At the same time special pains were taken to ascertain beforehand what the rise of the Nile was likely to be; and for this purpose a Nilometer was established at the newly occupied station of Semneh, where from the time of Amen-em-hat III. the height of the inundation was duly marked upon the rocky bank of the river, with a short inscription giving

the regnal year of the monarch.¹⁰⁸ It is a remarkable fact that the average annual rise under Amen-em-hat at Semneh in Nubia exceeded that of the present day by more than twenty-three feet.¹⁰⁹ As the rise in Egypt itself seems to be nearly the same now as under the twelfth dynasty,¹¹⁰ we must account for the difference at Semneh by local causes; the course of the Nile must have been anciently blocked by rocks which have given way, and the water must thus have been held back in Nubia, and prevented from flowing off rapidly. No great difference would have been produced in Egypt by the removal of the obstacles, except perhaps that the inundation would have come on somewhat more rapidly, and its duration have been a little diminished.

While engaged in the completion of his great work of utility in the region of the Fayoum, Amen-em-hat also undertook some constructions, in its neighborhood, of an ornamental and artistic character. At a point on the eastern side of this reservoir, projecting into it towards the west, he built what seems really to have been a palace, but what the Greeks and Romans called a "Labyrinth,"¹¹¹ and believed to be an architectural puzzle.¹¹² It was constructed of white silicious limestone and red granite,¹¹³ and comprised, we are told,¹¹⁴ 3,000 chambers, half above ground, and half below it. Besides chambers, it possessed numerous colonnades and courts, covered with sculptures, and roofed, Herodotus says,¹¹⁵ with stone. At one corner was a pyramid, 240 feet high, according to our authority, and according to modern measurements, 300 feet square at the base.¹¹⁶

To supply the materials for his constructions, Amen-em-hat had recourse to the quarries at Hammamât, where inscriptions belonging to his reign¹¹⁷ record the instructions which he gave to his officers on various occasions, and in one instance his own personal presence in connection with ornamental work for the Fayoum, including a colossal statue of himself to be set up at the provincial capital.¹¹⁸

He also worked the mines of the Sinaitic region, both those of Wady Magharah and the more recently established ones of the Sarabit-el-Khadim. At both places there are tablets executed during his reign; and at the former they are numerous, and cover the period extending from his second to his forty-second year.¹¹⁹ At the Sarabit-el-Khadim, they include a notice of the erection of a temple to Athor,¹²⁰ the reputed "mistress" of the country, who at once presided over the copper mines and was the "lady of turquoises."¹²¹

Amen-em-hat III. was succeeded by another monarch of

the same name, who Manetho calls Ammenemes,¹²² and to whom he assigns a reign of eight years. The Turin papyrus gives him nine years, three months, and seventeen days, which is probably the true duration of his reign. His sister,

Sabak-nefru-ra,  whom he seems to have asso-

ated, reigned conjointly with him during the last four years of this period. Both appear to have interested themselves in the works of the Fayoum, where their names are found,¹²³ and where they are thought by some to have been interred.¹²⁴ The two pyramids crowned with colossal statues, seen by Herodotus to rise out of the waters of the Lake Mœris,¹²⁵ are identified with the stone bases now existing at Biamo,¹²⁶ at the northwestern angle of the lake, and are thought to have borne the effigies of these monarchs, whose names have been found on various blocks of stone in this region. Amen-em-hat IV. seems also to have worked the mines of the Wady Magharah and the Sarabit-el-Khadim,¹²⁷ where the labors of the workmen were still rewarded by rich yields of copper and *mafka*.¹²⁸ But the period is, on the whole, one upon which the monuments throw little light. As so often happens, a dynasty of unusual vigor and energy expires amid clouds and darkness; abnormal effort is succeeded by dulness and inaction, life and movement by exhaustion; nor is it until a considerable space has passed that the roll of history once more unfolds to us events of interest and personages of importance.

It has been said that Egypt under this dynasty enjoyed its apogee, and that its civilization attained now the fullest expansion which it ever reached under the Pharaohs.¹²⁹ There is considerable difficulty in balancing one period against another in the history of a civilized state, and in deciding when, on the whole, the highest perfection was arrived at. In our own country the Elizabethan age has its admirers; the reign of Queen Anne is by some regarded as the true Augustian period; while there is a class which maintains that no former period equals the glories of the present day. There are various grounds on which the times of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties may be upheld as the culminating period of Egyptian greatness, alike in arms and in arts; but the eulogy which has been passed upon the period of the twelfth, even if it be undue, has beyond a doubt some important grounds on which it may support itself.

Civilization, as observed in the preceding chapter,¹³⁰ took from the time of the eleventh dynasty, and under the presi-

dency of Thebes, a practical and utilitarian turn. The great efforts of the principal monarchs of both the eleventh and twelfth dynasties had very markedly this character. New openings were made for trade, new routes established and provided with wells and guards, forts built to check invasion, mines worked, the Nile carefully watched and measured, and finally a huge reservoir made, and a gigantic system of irrigation established in the Fayoum and along the whole of the western bank of the river from Beni-Soeuf to the shores of the Mediterranean. Commercial intercourse was at the same time established with the Nubians, who furnished cattle, gold, and slaves; with the East African tribes (and through them with Arabia and perhaps India) for spices, gums, rare woods, precious stones, and wonderful animals; and with the Syrians for *kohl* or stibium,¹³¹ ladanum, and balsam.¹³² Foreign emigrants were readily received into the country, and brought with them novelties in dress and customs, perhaps sometimes new inventions or even new arts.¹³³ Luxury increased. Palaces were painted and adorned with gold;¹³⁴ carpets were spread upon their floors;¹³⁵ and the number of courts and chambers was multiplied beyond former precedent.¹³⁶ Varieties in dress were introduced. While the simple linen tunic still contented the great mass of men, there were some who affected a more elaborate style of costume (Fig. 14), and wore, besides the tunic, a cape over their shoulders, and a second tunic, of a thinner material, over the first, or even a long robe, reaching nearly to the ankles.¹³⁷ Bracelets and anklets were inlaid with precious stones, and the former worn by both men and women, but the latter by women only.¹³⁸ Men had sometimes artificial beards, which seem to have been attached to the wig.¹³⁹ The low-backed chair without arms was still in common use, but another is seen, which has a high back, and also arms.¹⁴⁰ Houses began to be adorned with colonnades, the pillars of which imitated the lotus blossom. Field sports were pursued with increased ardor. Gentlemen of the highest rank not only indulged in fowling, as formerly, but speared fish with their own hand, and hunted the lion¹⁴¹ and the antelope. Great attention was paid to the breed of dogs (Fig. 12), and several new types were produced, more especially one with short legs, resembling the modern turnspit.¹⁴² In moving about their estates, the grandees had themselves carried in highly ornamented litters, which were slung on two poles and borne on the shoulders of four men.¹⁴³ To amuse their leisure hours in their homes, they admitted into their apartments profes

sional tumblers,¹⁴⁴ who were generally fair-haired and light-complexioned, and are thought to have been Libyans from the northern parts of Africa.¹⁴⁵

Architecture somewhat lowered its pretensions. Instead of the enormous pyramids of the early period, the kings now constructed for their tombs either pyramids of moderate size, or merely underground chambers,¹⁴⁶ upon which they emplaced other buildings. The style of their temples seems to have been massive, but wanting in ornamentation. They, however, introduced certain new features into their architectural works which were striking, and employed others upon a scale which had not been previously adopted. Of the latter kind was their use of the obelisk,¹⁴⁷ while under the former head must be classed their erection of colossal statues upon the top of truncated pyramids.¹⁴⁸ In some of their buildings they fastened the stones together with metal cramps.¹⁴⁹ If the Labyrinth, as seen by Herodotus, was really the work of a king of the twelfth dynasty,¹⁵⁰ we must ascribe to the period a certain amount of architectural magnificence, though in any case the admiration of Herodotus for the edifice seems to have been overstrained and beyond its merits.¹⁵¹

The fluted columns, which have been called "Proto-Doric,"¹⁵² belong to the times whereof we are speaking,¹⁵³ and were used in the façades of excavated tombs constructed for themselves and their families by the nobles. These tombs were of extraordinary dimensions, and in some instances most elaborately carved and painted with scenes from real life, similar in their general character to those of the Pyramid periods.¹⁵⁴ The reliefs are remarkable for harmony, elegance, and delicacy of workmanship,¹⁵⁵ but have less vigor, less reality and life, than those of the first period. Conventionalism is more apparent in them; hieratic canons are in force; and each figure is designed with strict regard to an established law of proportions. Sculpture "in the round" reaches a higher degree of excellence; and a fragment from a colossal statue of King Usurtasen I., discovered at Tanis, and now in the Berlin Museum, is viewed as "the *chef-d'œuvre* of the art of the first empire," and as leaving little to be desired.¹⁵⁶

The chief modifications of the religion worthy of remark are, first, the distinct elevation of Ammon to the headship of the Pantheon, indicated by the erection in his honor of the *great* temple at the capital, by the position which he occupies on the obelisk of Usurtasen I. in the Fayoum,¹⁵⁷ and by the frequent employment of his name as an element in the appellation of kings and other great personages;¹⁵⁸

secondly, the advance of Sabak from a local and subordinate position to one of high rank among the universal divinities of the country;¹⁵⁹ and thirdly, the more positive and general recognition of the absolute divinity of the kings. Sabak's advance is the natural consequence of the prominence given to the canton of the Fayoum by the later monarchs of the dynasty, since the crocodile-headed god had been from a very ancient date the special local deity of that district, and the crocodile itself was always viewed as sacred there. Ammon's elevation is more difficult to account for, since he does not appear to have been *anciently* of much account in Thebes,¹⁶⁰ if he was even known there, which is doubtful. His position seems the result of the accident that a private individual, in whose name his was the chief element, happened to raise himself to the throne. Amen-em-hat I. at once began the temple, which gradually became the greatest in Egypt; his son, Usurtasen I., continued this work, and assigned to Ammon the first and highest place on his Fayoum obelisk; he also gave to his eldest son the name of Amen-i,¹⁶¹ and to another, apparently, that of Amen-em-hat. Henceforth Ammon's place at the head of the Theban gods was well ascertained, and the predominance of Thebes in the later history gave him ultimately a pre-eminence over all the other deities throughout Egypt.

The *quasi*-divinity of the kings had always been asserted by themselves, and no doubt in the language of adulation familiar to courtiers it had occasionally been admitted, even from an early date. But it is not till the time of the twelfth dynasty that acknowledgments, made in the most *naïf* and innocent fashion, become common and seem to be a matter of course. "When I was brought to Egypt," says Saneha, "it was as though a god was in it—a land such as one which a beneficent god presides over—he spake to me, and I answered him, saying, 'Save us!' His son comes home . . . he also is a god."¹⁶² And again, he addresses the Pharaoh as follows,—“Thy majesty is the good god . . . the great god, the equal of the Sun-God.”¹⁶³ And when, at the invitation of the monarch, he returns to Egypt from Edom, he remarks,—“When I came near him, I fell upon my my belly amazed before him. *The god* addressed me mildly.”¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Khnum-hotep declares of Usurtasen I., “The god Tum he is himself.”¹⁶⁵ How far these acknowledgments were mere flattery, how far they represented the sincere belief of the Egyptians, it is impossible to determine; but in either case they must have exerted an injurious in-

fluence upon the minds of the monarchs themselves, who were puffed up by the high titles bestowed on them, and became impressed with an undue sense of their own importance and dignity. The pride which made the Pharaoh of the Exodus, time after time, "harden his heart," and oppose himself to the declared will of Jehovah, was the natural consequence of a system which caused weak men to believe in the reality of their own divinity, and strong-minded men to feel an extreme contempt for others.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE TWELFTH AND THE SEVENTEENTH.



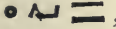
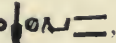
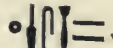
The Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty in part contemporary with the Fourteenth (Xoïte) and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth (Shepherds). Decline of Egypt at this period. Names and scanty Memorials of the Kings. Permanent Semitic Pressure on the Northeastern Frontier. Invasion brought about by previous disturbance and disintegration.

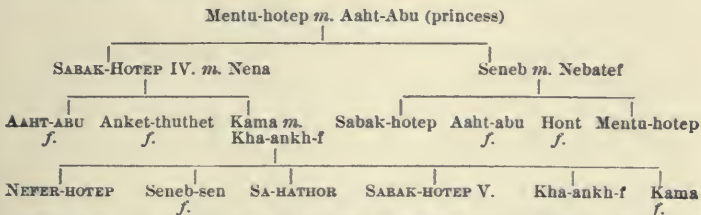
"Vana versare in omnes opiniones licet."—Lrv. iv. 20.

THE four dynasties, wherewith Manetho filled this interval, are regarded by most Egyptologists as ruling contemporaneously in either three or four places.¹ The thirteenth dynasty bore sway in Thebes, and held possession of Middle and Upper Egypt, while the fourteenth maintained itself at Xoïs in the centre of the Delta,² and the fifteenth and sixteenth ruled, either consecutively or contemporaneously, over some portion of the more eastern districts. Manetho's numbers for this period are untrustworthy, and, where not false, are misleading. The thirteenth dynasty may, for instance, have included sixty royal personages;³ but we gather from the Turin Papyrus that they were pretenders to the throne, rather than real kings, and that the average time during which each one of them bore the royal title was about three or three and a half years.⁴ It is not unlikely that in many instances they contended one against another; and some of them certainly, many of them possibly, reigned no more than a few months or a few days. On the other hand, there seem to have been, in the earliest part of the thirteenth dynasty, some monarchs of note; and it is thought that for a certain num-


ber of years the dynasty bore sway over the whole country, disruption not having set in until they had held the throne for two centuries or two centuries and a half.⁵ Such calculations of time are, however, exceedingly uncertain. The kings of the period, as a general rule, left no monuments; and, until forced by the curiosity of the Greeks to make chronological conjectures, the Egyptians themselves had no estimate of the duration of any dynasty, much less of these undistinguished ones.



It is difficult to conjecture the causes which, after so glorious a dynasty as the twelfth, suddenly reduced Egypt under the thirteenth to impotence and dumbness. There is no indication of foreign invasion, at any rate for a century or two after Amen-em-hat IV. and Sabak-nefru-ra set up their monuments at the edge of the Lake Mœris, but from some cause or other a gap occurs in the Egyptian records, and if it were not for a single fragile document—the papyrus of Turin—the very names of the kings would have been blotted out. Internal troubles are suggested as the most probable cause of the long silence; and the latest writer on the subject ventures to lay it down as “almost certain, that the history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and murders and assassinations, by which the life and length of reign of the princes was not subjected to the ordinary conditions of human existence.”⁶ The kings appear to have maintained the practice of ruling under two names—a real personal appellative, and a throne-name, or title of honor assumed at their accession; though it is not often that both designations have come down to us. They must have maintained persistently the worship of Sabak, the crocodile-headed god, affected by the preceding dynasty, since at least seven of them bore the name of Sabak-hotep, which is translated “servant of Sabak” by Dr. Brugseh;⁷ and they must also have been devoted adherents of Ra, the Sun-God, whose name is found to have formed an element in at least two-thirds of the royal appellations of the period. Ammon, on the other hand, unless identified with Ra, of which there is no evidence, must have been in comparative disfavor, since his name occurs but once in the entire list, and then nearly at the commencement, where we come upon a Ra-Amen-em-hat. Nut and Nefer-Tum seem also to have received recognition from the dynasty, who, so far as the evidence of their names goes, admitted but a narrow Pantheon.



The dynasty commences with a Sabak-hotep,  or , who bears the throne-name of Ra-khu-taui, , and may possibly have been a son of Sabak-nefrura, but who has left no monument, and is only known to us from the Turin Papyrus. He was followed after an interval by Ra-Sabak-hotep or Sabak-hotep II., whose throne-name is not known. A third Sabak-hotep, distinguished as Ra-sokhem-khu-taui, , mounted the throne soon afterwards, and left an inscription recording the height of the Nile, at Semneh, which he set up in the third year of his reign.⁹ Four kings intervened between this Sabak-hotep and the next, who was known as Ra-sokhem-sut-taui, , and left granite statues inscribed with his name at Tanis in the Delta.¹⁰ This monarch appears to have been the son of a certain Mentu-hotep who was not of royal race, and to have derived his claim to sovereignty from his mother, a princess called Aahtabu.¹¹ He married a wife, whose name was Nena, and had by her three children, all of whom were daughters. The eldest received the name of her royal grandmother, and this name is found surrounded with the cartouche, but the crown descended in the line of the third daughter, Kama, whose son Nefer-hotep appears in the Turin Papyrus as the immediate successor of Sabak-hotep IV. The genealogical tree of this family may be drawn out as follows:¹²—






Sabak-hotep IV., Nefer-hotep, Sa-hathor, and Sabak-hotep V. appear as consecutive monarchs in the Turin Papyrus list.

More than a common interest attaches to Nefer-hotep,  (Fig. 17). He bore the throne-name of Sha-seses-ra,

◦  , and has left various monuments, principally in Upper Egypt. One of these is a tablet to Khem and Kneph, bearing the figures of those gods, which he set up in the island of Konosso.¹³ Another, from the same locality, represents Khem, Mentu, and Sati;¹⁴ while a third, in the island of Schel near Philæ, represents the monarch himself receiving "life" as a gift from the goddess Anka or Anuka.²⁵ He also set up an inscription at Assouan,¹⁶ on which he commemorated the members of his family.

Sabak-hotep V., who succeeded his brother Sa-hathor, and took the throne-name of Sha-nefer-ra, ◦  , left an inscription in the island of Argo near Dongola, and set up his statue at Bubastis in the Delta,¹⁷ thus showing that he held possession of the whole valley of the Nile from the borders of Ethiopia to the Mediterranean. He was followed after a short interval by Sabak-hotep VI., who reigned as Sha-ankh-ra, and dedicated a memorial to the god Khem at Abydos, which is now in the museum of Leyden.¹⁸

The immediate successor of Sabak-hotep VI. was another king of the same name, distinguished by the additional designation of Sha-hotep-ra, ◦   . This is the last monarch of the dynasty who bore the favorite designation. He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus, somewhat less than five years; and after his decease the crown seems to have passed to a different family.

It may have been about this time, when the dynasty had held the throne for one or two centuries, that pressure began upon the eastern frontier. A nomadic race, whose proper habitat was Syria or Northwestern Arabia, increased rapidly in power and population on this side of Egypt, and, assuming an aggressive attitude, threatened to effect a lodgment in the more eastern portion of the Delta. Already, for a considerable period, there had been on this side an influx of Asiatic immigrants chiefly of Semitic origin, Egypt offering a ready asylum to discontented or needy fugitives, who saw in the great monarchy of the South a sort of "fairyländ of wealth, culture, and wisdom."¹⁹ The immigration of Jacob's sons with their extensive households²⁰ is but a single instance of what was perpetually occurring in this quarter. We have already noticed²¹ another example in the arrival of the thirty-seven Amu welcomed by Khnum-hotep in the sixth year of

Usurtasen II. So numerous were the incomers that Semitic names obtained a place in the geographic nomenclature of this part of the country,²² and a certain number of Semitic words even crept into the Egyptian language.²³ The Semite deities also secured a certain amount of recognition from the Egyptian hierarchy,²⁴ who were never averse to an increase in the number of objects of worship, and gave as hospitable a reception to Baal, Ashtoreth, Anaïtis, Reseph, and Kiun, when they knocked at the doors of the Pantheon, as the civil rulers did to the kinsmen of Joseph or to the Amu under Abusha.²⁵

The state of things thus existing was well calculated to facilitate a hostile occupation of the more eastern portion of the Delta. Already the population was half-Asiatic, and prepared to submit itself readily to Asiatic rule. So long, however, as peace reigned at Thebes, and monarchs, acknowledged as such by the whole of Egypt, had it in their power to direct the entire force of the country against an invader, invasion was not likely to take place. The Amu of the East, whether Mentu, Kharu, Khita, or Shasu, would have been powerless against a united Egypt, and their undisciplined forces would have dashed themselves in vain against the serried phalanx of the trained Egyptian troops. But when at Thebes pretender rose up against pretenders, when disturbance followed disturbance, and scarcely any prince succeeded in maintaining even the semblance of authority for more than two or three years,²⁶ then the failure of vital power at the heart of the nation was not slow in communicating itself to the extremities. Whether the first result was the revolt of the Western Delta, and the second the conquest by foreigners of the more eastern tract, or whether the order of these two movements was inverted, and foreign invasion produced a domestic revolt, there are no sufficient data to determine; but it would seem that, long before the feeble and multitudinous princes of the thirteenth dynasty had ceased to reign in Thebes, the Western Delta had become independent under a line of native princes who held their court at Xoïs,²⁷ and the Eastern Delta had been occupied by invaders of nomadic habits and probably of Semitic race. At Xoïs we are told that there were seventy-six kings in a hundred and eighty-four years,²⁸ which would imply a state of continual disturbance in that locality. Towards the East two Shepherd dynasties bore rule, Manetho's fifteenth and sixteenth, either contemporaneously in two adjacent kingdoms, or consecutively over the whole Eastern Delta. But

the main seat of empire was still supposed to be Thebes. It was not till a fresh movement took place among the tribes upon the eastern frontier, and a fresh invasion was made in force, that the Old Empire was regarded as destroyed, and a foreign people as established in possession of the entire country.

CHAPTER XIX.


THE MIDDLE EMPIRE—CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE HYKSOS.


Certainty of the Hyksos Conquest. Growing Power of the Tribes to the East of the Delta—the Sakti—the Kharu—the Shasu. Temptations offered by Egypt to Invaders. First Lodgments effected in her Territory. Consequent Excitement among the Eastern Tribes. Question of the Nationality of the Hyksos. Circumstances of the Conquest. Character of the Hyksos' Rule. Advantages which it conferred on Egypt. Reigns of the Hyksos Kings. Apepi's Quarrel with Ra-Sekenen. War ensues and ends in the Expulsion of the Hyksos. Suppose Synchronism of Joseph with Apepi.

Ξένοι βασιλείς, οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον, καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῶ πόλιν ἐκτίσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἄρμώμενοι Ἀἴγυπτιούς ἐχειρῶσαντο.—MANETHO ap. SYNCCELL. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 61, B.

THE conquest of Egypt by an alien people, who continued to be the dominant power in the country for above two centuries, was asserted by Manetho in the most positive terms,¹ and, though long misdoubted by modern critics,² has become through recent discovery an acknowledged fact. The Middle Empire of Manetho—a time of humiliation for the Egyptians, a time of stagnation, barren of art, barren of literature, barren of monuments—is at the present day admitted on all hands,³ and controversy is shifted to the questions of the nationality of the conquerors, the true character of their domination, and the real length of the time that it lasted. Two native documents, one on stone, the other on papyrus,⁴ have proved beyond a question the fact of the foreign rule; two names of the alien rulers have been recovered from the inscriptions of the country; and though a deep obscurity still rests upon the period, upon the persons of the conquerors and the circumstances of the conquest—an obscurity which we can scarcely hope to see dispelled—yet “the Middle Empire” has at any rate now taken its place in history as a definite reality requiring consideration, inquiry, and, so far as is possible, description.

It would seem that a dark cloud had long lain along the northeastern frontier of Egypt, in that tolerably broad tract which joins Africa to Asia, where alone the land of Mizraim was readily assailable,⁵ and which it was impossible to block against a determined enemy. On this side Egypt had had her first wars. To gain and hold the mineral treasures of the Sinaitic peninsula, it had been necessary to reduce to subjection its existing occupants; and so far back as the time of Seneferu,⁶ the natives of these parts, called by the Egyptians sometimes Anu, sometimes Pet, sometimes Mentu, had been attacked by the arms of the Pharaohs, despoiled of territory, and forced to make acknowledgment of subjection. At this early date the Asiatics were few and weak, and the Egyptians experienced no difficulty in maintaining their authority over the Sinaitic region and the line of road which led to it. But by the time of the twelfth dynasty population has greatly increased in these parts; and we have found Amen-em-hat I. compelled to build a "wall" or fortress upon his northeastern frontier, for the purpose of "keeping off the Sakti," who had, previously to his reign, occupied the tract directly to the east of the Delta. Subsequently two other races are noticed as making their appearance in the same quarter. These are the Kharu or Khalu, a maritime and commercial people, who seem to have made their way along the coast from Philistia, or perhaps from even further north, and the Shasu, a nation of nomads, whose main habitat was the tract directly south and

southeast of the Dead Sea. The word Kharu, 

is perhaps connected with the Hebrew, "Cherethite," but the ethnographic application is wider, and the Kharu may be best regarded as the Syrians generally,⁷ or the inhabitants of the maritime tract extending from the mouth of the Orontes to Lake Serbonis. The Shasu, 

were most likely Arabs, and corresponded to the modern Bedouins of this region;⁸ they are especially connected with Atuma or Edom,⁹ and appear to have roamed over the whole of the desert region between Palestine on the one hand and Egypt upon the other, which at this time was far more productive than at present, and could support a considerable population.

Between the Kharu and the Egyptians there had long been commercial dealings;¹⁰ and this Asiatic people had come to be well acquainted with the productiveness of Egypt and the accumulated wealth of the Egyptians, which was such as natur-

ally to provoke the cupidity of their less fortunate neighbors. The Shasu, and the other Asiatic tribes, who were in close contact with the Kharu, and probably allied to them in blood, though differing in manner of life, would learn from these last what a variety of tempting treasures was stored up in the Egyptian palaces and temples, what countless flocks and herds cropped the rich pastures of the Delta and of the valley of the Nile, what delicate fare constituted the ordinary diet of the inhabitants, what magnificence of apparel and furniture was to be seen in their dwellings. Egypt had for centuries exercised a fascination upon the Asiatic mind, and, as we have seen,¹² had attracted to herself a continual flow of immigrants, who hoped, by adopting the Egyptian mode of life, to participate in the wealth and the luxury of the old inhabitants. The feeling which led individuals and households to quit their homes, renounce their countries, and throw in their lot with the sons of Mizraim, must have been shared in some degree by whole tribes and nations, who could not expect to be welcomed if they presented themselves *en masse* at the frontier towns, or to obtain a lodgment within Egyptian territory otherwise than by force of arms. Two such lodgments, as observed in the last chapter,¹³ seem to have been effected while the thirteenth dynasty still occupied the Theban throne—at least this appears to us the most probable account that can be given of Manetho's first and second Shepherd dynasties—but the great invasion did not arrive till later. The great invasion, which resulted in a conquest of the entire country, is connected with a certain Saïtes, or Set, who belongs to a dynasty the last king of which was Apophis, a monarch whose reign almost immediately preceded that of Aahmes, the first king of the New Empire. It is impossible that two dynasties of shepherds can have followed after Apophis. We must therefore either place these dynasties in the troubled time which preceded the great invasion, or look upon them as wholly fictitious.

If some small nomadic tribes had succeeded in establishing themselves in independence within the limits of Egypt Proper, either in the Sethroïte nome, or further to the south, in the vicinity of the Bitter Lakes or of Lake Timsah, a great encouragement would have been given to the other races of the neighborhood, who had hitherto looked upon Egypt as invulnerable, and, however their cupidity may have urged them, had been prevented by their fears from venturing upon an attack. Desires long repressed would have had the rein given them, and would have blossomed into hope; a vague feeling of ex-



FIG. 29.—THE TWIN COLOSSEI OF AMENOPHIS III.—See Page 144.



Fig. 31.—HEAD OF AMENOPHIS IV. (Khuenaten).—See Page 147.

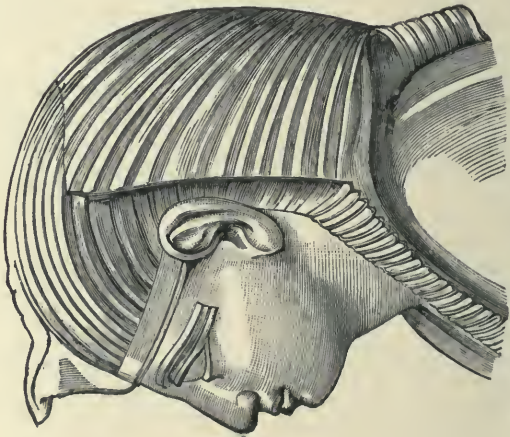


Fig. 30.—HEAD OF THOTHMES IV.—See Page 141

pectation would have been awakened among the tribes; a willingness to coalesce, a tendency towards union, would have shown itself; and, when any powerful tribe put itself forward and assumed the lead, there would naturally have been a wide-spread inclination to support the bold adventurer, and rally to a standard which was regarded as about to conduct to victory, plunder and happiness. Something like a confederacy would have been readily formed, and force would thus have been gathered which no single nation of those parts could have raised, and with which the full power of Egypt might have found a difficulty in contending, if the circumstances had been such as to allow of her full power being put forth to meet the danger.

But, as we have already seen, this was not the case. Egypt had suffered disintegration. Two native dynasties were maintaining themselves in different parts of the territory, one at Thebes, the other in the Delta. One foreign kingdom, if not two, had been set up within her borders. These kingdoms were hostile to each other, and, it is probable, were continually at war. Moreover, at Thebes certainly, and most likely at Xoïs also,¹⁴ the state of affairs was unsettled—tumult, disturbance, civil war, open murder, secret assassination prevailed. A prey to internal disorders, Egypt invited attack from without, seeming to offer herself as a ready prey to the first comer, if only he had at his command a military force of fair quality and tolerably numerous.

That an attack came, and a conquest was made, from the tract which joins Africa to Asia, is certain, but it is not easy to determine who were the real invaders. Manetho appears to have made two conflicting statements upon the subject: he represented the invaders as Phœnicians,¹⁵ and he represented them as Arabs.¹⁶ The Egyptians of the time of Herodotus seem to have considered that they were Philistines.¹⁷ Moderns have regarded them as Canaanites, Syrians, Hittites.¹⁸ It is an avoidance, rather than a solution, of the difficulty, to say that they were “a collection of all the nomad hordes of Arabia and Syria,”¹⁹ since there must have been a directing hand; some one tribe must have taken the lead, and have furnished the commander. Some have thought that the word “Hyksos,” which comes to us from Manetho, was the best clue to the puzzle, and, expounding that word as “Shasu-kings,” have settled it that the conquerors were Arabs.²⁰ But Manetho himself seems to have understood by “Hyksos,” not “Arab-kings,” but “Shepherd-kings,”²¹ so that the term did not to him contain the idea of nation-

ality. And the term itself is not found upon the monuments. Phœnicians, in the strict sense of the word, are scarcely to be thought of, since they were at no time "shepherds," and it is scarcely probable that they had as yet effected their migration from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean.²² The invaders may well have been "Syrians in a large sense of that word, and may have come from Palestine, or even from the region north of it. They may have belonged to the Canaanite portion of the Syrian population, and to have been called "Phœnicians" by Manetho from that confusion between the two words which naturally followed from the Phœnician power succeeding the Canaanite in the same tract of country."²³ Among the Canaanite nations the most powerful was that of the Khita or Hittites; and, on the whole, there seem to be better grounds for regarding the invaders of Egypt at this time as predominantly Hittite than for identifying them with any other special tribe or people. Set, the leader of the invasion, bore a name identical with that of the god chiefly worshipped by the Hittites;²⁴ and the exclusive worship of this god is noted in the Sallier papyrus as one of the principal results of the Shepherd rule.²⁵ The Hittites were a really powerful people, as appears by their after struggles, both with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, and would so be more capable of measuring their strength against that of the Egyptians, and for a time obtaining the upper hand, than any other of Egypt's neighbors. A Babylonian conquest is scarcely conceivable at this early date, and is precluded alike by the name of the Shepherd kings and the peculiarities of their worship.²⁶

On the whole, therefore, we lean to the belief that the so-called Hyksos or "Shepherds" were Hittites, who, pressed for room in Syria, or perhaps merely excited by a desire of conquest, moved southward, and obtaining allies from the countries along their line of route, burst like an avalanche upon Egypt. The reduction of the country was, according to Manetho, effected with the greatest ease. "Men of ignoble race," he says, "coming from the eastern regions unexpectedly, had the courage to invade Egypt, and conquered it easily without a battle."²⁷ They took Memphis, built themselves a city in the Sethroïte nome, and established a great fortified camp on the eastern frontier, which they called Auaris or Avaris, and occupied with a permanent garrison of 240,000 men.²⁸ It is not to be supposed that really no resistance was offered to the invaders by the Theban and Xoïte kings of the time; but it was readily overcome; no great

battle was fought ; and in a comparatively short space of time the country was subjugated, and accepted the foreign yoke. Wherever the Hyksos penetrated, they spread ruin and desolation around, massacred the adult male population, reduced the women and children to slavery, burnt the cities and demolished the temples.²⁹ But they do not appear to have cared permanently to occupy the Nile valley much beyond Memphis. After subjecting the whole of Egypt, they allowed the Theban kings to exercise a qualified sovereignty over the upper part of the Nilotic region, establishing their own court at Memphis, and from thence ruling Middle and Lower Egypt at their discretion.


The character of their rule was at the first barbaric and cruel. Professors of a religion which was monotheistic, or nearly so, the conquerors took an extreme aversion to the Egyptian polytheism, and vented their hatred by an indiscriminate destruction of all the Egyptian temples, which, according to Manetho, they absolutely "razed to the ground."³⁰ Considering how closely connected were the priests with the historical literature of Egypt, which had from the first been chiefly in their hands, we must conclude that this general demolition of edifices was accompanied by an almost complete destruction of the records of the country, which, except in the inscriptions of unopened tombs, and in papyruses buried in tombs, suffered at the hands of the Hyksos something like obliteration.³¹ Thebes, it may be, retained its monuments ; but these dated only from the time of the eleventh dynasty.³² Elsewhere the flood of conquest engulfed the early literature of the country ; the old civilization was, as it were, "annihilated ;"³³ and a blank was produced which the clever *littérateurs* of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties found it impossible, excepting by the free employment of conjecture and invention, to fill.

But this purely destructive time was followed by one of reaction, and to some extent of reconstruction. The "Tartars of the South," after a certain term of years, during which they devastated Egypt from the Mediterranean to Thebes, or perhaps to Elephantiné, suffered themselves by degrees to be subjected by the superior civilization of those whom they had conquered,³⁴ and adopted their art, their official language, their titles, and the general arrangement of their court ceremonial. In Tanis especially, temples were built and sculptures set up under the Shepherd kings differing little in their general character from those of the purely Egyptian period.³⁵ The foreign kings erected their own effigies at this site, which

were sculptured by native artists according to the customary rules of Egyptian glyptic art; and only differ from those of the earlier native monarchs in the headdress, the expression of the countenance, and a peculiar arrangement of the beard.³⁶ They built stone temples on the Egyptian model at Tanis and Avaris, wherein they worshipped Set-Nubti, or "Set the Golden," in the place of Ammon or Phthah, bringing the materials for their constructions from Assouan or Syêné,³⁷ and only slightly modifying established Egyptian forms, as by adding wings to the Sphinx. They lived on amicable terms with the contemporary Theban dynasty of subordinate kings, allowed their worship of Ammon-Ra,³⁸ and held intercourse with them by frequent embassies.

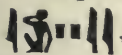
There are even certain respects in which the Shepherd monarchs appear to have been in advance of the people whom they conquered, so that "the Egyptians were indebted to the stay of the foreigners" in their country, "and to their social intercourse with them, for much useful knowledge."³⁹ The Shepherds had the conception of an era, and introduced into Egypt the practice of dating events from a certain fixed point, apparently the first regnal year of the first king, Set or Saïtes,⁴⁰ a practice which, had it been generally adopted, would have cleared Egyptian chronology from that uncertainty and confusion which are now its acknowledged characteristics. They "enlarged the horizon of the Egyptian artistic views"⁴¹ by the introduction of new forms and of greater realism into glyptic art; and they are even thought to have affected for good the language and literature of the country.⁴² The language was to a considerable extent Semiticized, and an impulse was given to literature which resulted in a vastly increased activity and prolificness. Again, the Shepherds seem to have possessed a power of governmental organization not uncommonly displayed by barbaric conquerors, as by the Mongols in India and the Turks in Europe. They established throughout the territory a uniform system for military and revenue purposes, and did much to crush out that spirit of isolation and provincialism which had hitherto been the bane of Egypt,⁴³ and had prevented its coalescing firmly into a settled homogenous monarchy. The monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty inherited from them a united and centralized Egypt, accustomed to be directed by a single head from a single fixed centre.⁴⁴ Thus the blow by which the power of Egypt had seemed to be shattered and prostrated worked ultimately for its advancement, and the Hyk-

sos domination may be said to have produced the glories of the Later Empire.

Of the individual monarchs belonging to the Hyksos line we know but little. According to Manetho, Set or Saïtes was not the original leader of the invasion, but a monarch whom the successful invaders placed at their head after they had overrun and conquered the entire territory.⁴⁵ He established himself at Memphis, placed garrisons in every city of importance, and fixed the tributes to be paid to him both by the Upper and the Lower country. The bulk of his troops he stationed in a city, or rather perhaps in a great fortified camp, on the eastern frontier, at Avaris, an old Egyptian town, which he rebuilt and strongly fortified. They amounted to nearly a quarter of a million of men, and were placed in this position for the purpose of repelling any attack which might be made upon the Hyksos kingdom by the Assyrians (?).⁴⁶ Set visited them every summer, with the object of renewing their supplies of grain, discharging their arrears of pay, and practising them in military exercises and manœuvres, calculated to inspire a wholesome fear among the neighboring peoples. Set took the additional title of *Aapehti*, , "great and glorious," and seems also to have called himself Nubti,⁴⁷ thus identifying himself with certain deities, as had been the practice of the previous Egyptian monarchs, who had called themselves Horus, Khem, or Kneph,⁴⁸ and had been called by their wives Horus and Set.⁴⁹

Set reigned, we are told, for nineteen years,⁵⁰ and was succeeded by a monarch whose name is given in the different manuscripts under the three forms of Anon, Bnon, and Beon. Bnon is the form generally preferred by scholars,⁵¹ and, if accepted, may be compared with the Hebrew Benoni,⁵² but the monuments have not hitherto revealed the native form of the word, and, until or unless they do, speculation upon the subject is idle. Bnon is said to have reigned either forty or forty-four years,⁵³ and to have been succeeded by Pachnas, or Apachnas—a king of whom we are told absolutely nothing beyond the length of his reign, which is variously reported as sixty-one years and as thirty-six years and seven months.⁵⁴


Josephus declares that Manetho placed Apophis, or Apepi,



, immediately after Apachnas; but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius are agreed that Apophis was in the Manethonian list the last king of the dynasty; and as this arrangement accords with the monumental mention of Apepi

hereafter to be noticed,⁵⁶ it would seem best to follow Africanus, rather than Josephus, at this point. Africanus reported Manetho as placing between Apachnas and Apophis two kings, Staan and Archles, the former of whom reigned fifty, and the latter forty-nine years.⁵⁶ Josephus calls these kings Jannas and Assis, and places them after Apophis. Consequently, both their names and their position are to some extent doubtful; though, on the whole the representations of Africanus, who had no purpose to serve, must be regarded as more worthy of credit than those of the Jewish historians.

It results from Manetho's numbers, as reported by Africanus, that the dynasty occupied the Egyptian throne for 284 years,⁵⁷ which gives the extraordinary average of forty-seven years to a reign, or, omitting the first king, the still more extraordinary one of fifty-three years! If we regard the numbers as in any sense historical, it seems necessary to suppose that each king, soon after he came to the throne, associated a successor, and that the reigns are counted in each case from the date of the association.⁵⁸ Supposing this to have been the case, the real average of the *sole* reigns needs not have been more than about twenty-seven years; nor need the real duration of the entire dynasty have much exceeded a hundred and sixty years.⁵⁹

Apepi, the last monarch of the line, having (it is probable) reigned in conjunction with Archles for some thirty or thirty-two years, became sole king at a mature age. Unlike Set, who had made Memphis his capital and only visited Avaris occasionally,⁶⁰ Apepi held his court permanently at the last-named city,⁶¹ and there received the homage and tribute which were offered to him by all the various districts both of the Upper and Lower country. In Upper Egypt was established, with his consent and concurrence, a dynasty of native princes, who affected the family name of Taa, and the throne name of Ra-Sekenen, . Two princes thus designated, Ra-Sekenen I. and Ra-Sekenen II., had already reigned at Thebes and been buried there in tombs which modern exploration has discovered somewhat recently.⁶² A third Ra-Sekenen had succeeded, whether immediately or after an interval is uncertain, and now occupied the position of tributary dynast, at the southern capital.⁶³ Apepi seems, for some cause or other, to have taken a dislike to his princely vassal, and to have resolved to pick a quarrel with him by preferring unreasonable demands. First of all he sent an embassy from his own court to that of the southern king, re-

quiring him to relinquish the worship of all the Egyptian gods, except Amen-Ra, whom he probably identified with his own sole divinity, Set, or Sutech.⁶⁴ This proposition was declined, as one with which it was impossible to comply; but the refusal was couched in such terms that umbrage could scarcely be taken at it. Hereupon Apepi consulted with the most experienced of his advisers, and with their help concocted a second message, the exact purport of which is not quite clear. According to one translator,⁶⁵ it had reference to a "well for cattle;" according to another,⁶⁶ it was a demand for the stoppage of a canal. The messenger who carried the missive had orders to journey at his utmost speed, and boasts that he did not rest by day or by night till he had delivered it. Whatever the exact requirement was, it threw Ra-Sekenen into a state of extreme perplexity. He communicated the proposal to the principal men of his court—"his mighty chiefs, his captains, and expert guides"—but they had no advice to offer. "They were all silent at once in great dismay, and knew not how to answer him good or ill."⁶⁷ Then Apepi sent, it would seem, a third message, but of the purport of this nothing can be said; for the manuscript containing the narrative here most provokingly breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and we are left to conjecture the sequel.

The sequel seems to have been war. Ra-Sekenen was not prepared to submit to whatever demands might be made upon him, and when he proved intractable, compulsion was resorted to. The title of "Khen," which he assumed, signifies "victorious,"⁶⁸ and it is thought to indicate that he maintained the struggle which Apepi had forced upon him with tolerable success. The warlike energy which had characterized the invaders at the time when they made their original inroad, a century and a half or two centuries earlier, had declined. Egypt had proved their Capua; and, now that a serious conflict had arisen between them and their subjects, it was found that they were no longer the terrible foe that common fame had represented them. It must have been during the reigns of Ra-Sekenen III. and his successor, Kames, whose rule was exceedingly brief,⁶⁹ that the grasp of the Shepherds upon Egypt was shaken off, and they were forced to quit their hold and withdraw towards the east, concentrating themselves in that fortified camp on the borders of the Syrian desert, which the providence of their first king, Saïtes, had created for them. Driven out of Egypt Proper by a general uprising of the native inhabitants, at Avaris they turned to bay. They still numbered 240,000 men.⁷⁰ The Egyptians besieged them

in Avaris with an army twice as numerous as theirs ;⁷¹ and after a time their efforts were crowned with success. Avaris was assaulted both by land and water. Ships of war were launched upon the canals which conveyed the Nile water to its immediate neighborhood,⁷² and all its gates were blockaded and watched. After numerous assaults the place fell. The captain Aahmes, who was present at the capture, tells us the part that he took in the siege—how he “followed the king on foot when he (the king) went out on his chariot”—how, when siege was laid to the city, he “had to fight in the presence of his Majesty”—how at one time he “fought upon the canal of Patetku of Avaris, and carried off a hand;—*i. e.*, killed an enemy, and cut off his hand and carried it to camp as proof of his exploit—how a second time he did the same—how in a third engagement, he made a prisoner, and “brought him off through the water”—and how finally, at the actual taking of the town, he made prisoners of one man and three women, who were all given to him for slaves.⁷³ The narrator is so occupied with himself and his own adventures that he had no words to spare for any general account of the siege operations, or any connected narrative of the war. We gather incidentally from his autobiographical sketch that there was no capitulation, such as Manetho spoke of⁷⁴—no voluntary evacuation of the city by the Hyksos army—but that the place was taken by storm; and we can perceive that the beaten enemy drew off in the direction of Palestine, whither the Egyptians pursued them, and where after a time they captured a Hyksos city called Sharhana,⁷⁵ probably the Sharuhén of the Hebrews.⁷⁶ With this event the Hyksos war appears to have terminated, and Egypt, relieved for ever from this hated enemy, entered upon a career of progress, conquest, and glory.

It is stated by George the Syncellus, a writer whose extensive learning and entire honesty are unquestionable, that the synchronism of Joseph with Apepi, the last king of the only known Hyksos dynasty, was “acknowledged by all.”⁷⁷ The best modern authority accept this view, if not as clearly established, at any rate as in the highest degree probable,⁷⁸ and believe that it was Apepi who made the gifted Hebrew his prime minister, who invited his father and his brethren to settle in Egypt with their households, and assigned to them the land of Goshen for their residence. The elevation of a foreigner, and a Semite, to so exalted an office is thought to be far more likely under Hyksos than under native Egyptian rule, the marriage with the daughter of the high-priest of Heliopolis to be less surprising, and the Egyptian words and

names connected with the history to point to this period.⁷⁹ If the view be allowed, a great additional interest will attach to Apepi himself, and great additional light will be thrown on the ultimate character of the Hyksos rule, which has been shown already to have been much modified and softened by contact with the old civilization of the country.⁸⁰




For the Pharaoh of Joseph is no rude and savage nomad, but a mild, civilized, and somewhat luxurious king. He holds a grand court in a city not named, has a number of cup-bearers and confectioners,⁸¹ sits upon a throne⁸² or rides in a chariot,⁸³ wears a ring on his hand, has vestures of fine linen and collars of gold to bestow on those whom he favors,⁸⁴ uses the Egyptian language, and is in fact undistinguishable from a native Egyptian monarch. He does not oppress any of his subjects. On the contrary, he sustains them in a time of scarcity, when he becomes their landlord, takes a moderate rent,⁸⁵ is especially lenient to the priests,⁸⁶ and when he receives the Israelites, even concedes to his subjects' prejudice against "*shepherds.*"⁸⁷ If he is by birth and descent one of the Hyksos, he has adopted all the ordinary habits and mode of life of the Egyptians; he is even, it would seem, tolerant of their religion. This toleration may perhaps be only within certain limits; but it extends apparently to the entire priestly order.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW EMPIRE—EGYPT UNDER THE EIGHTEENTH
DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1600-1400).

Reign of Aahmes—his War with the Hyksos—his Expedition against the South—his Buildings—his Wife, Nefert-ari-Aahmes. Reign of Amen-hotep I. Reign of Thothmes I.—his Nubian Conquests—his Syrian and Mesopotamian War—his Monuments. Short Reign of Thothmes II. Accession of Hatasa—her Buildings and other Monuments—her Fleet sails to Punt—her Association of Thothmes III., and Death. Glorious Reign of Thothmes III. His Invasion of Asia. Enemies with whom he came into contact—the Kharu, the Zahi, the Khita, the Ruten, the Nahiri. Reduction of Syria. Success in Mesopotamia—Elephant Hunts. Booty carried off. Inscriptions set up by Thothmes III. His Buildings, Statues, and Obelisks. His Employment of forced Labor. Condition of the Israelites under him. His Southern Wars. His supposed Maritime Empire. Summary of his Character. Reign of Amen-hotep II. His Wars and Buildings. Reign of Thothmes IV. His Temple to the Sphinx. His Wars. His Lion Hunts. Reign of Amen-hotep III. His Wife Taia. Commencement of the Disk Worship. His Wars. His Buildings and Statues. His Love of Field Sports—Personal Appearance and Character. Reign of Amen-hotep IV., or Khuenaten. His strange Physiognomy. His Establishment of the Disk Worship. His new Capital. His Wars. Reigns of Sa'a-nekht, Ai, and Tutankh-amen. Restoration of the Old Religion. Reign of Hor-em-heb. Close of the Dynasty.

'Εκ σκότους τόδ' ἐς φάος.—ÆSCHYL. *Ætn.* Fr. 1.

THE native Egyptian monarch who drove out the Hyksos, and became the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, bore the name Aahmes, , which signifies "child of the moon."¹ He is thought to have been the son of Kames (Uot-khepr-ra) and of his wife Aah-hotep, , whose coffin and mummy are among the treasures of the museum of Boulaq.² Aahmes took the throne name of Neb-pehti-ra, , and reigned twenty-five years, more glorious than any Egyptian monarch since Usurtasen III. He probably inherited the great war, which he brought to a happy conclusion mainly by his own individual energy, but in part by the courage and conduct of his generals.³ It is especially to be noted of this war, that it was carried on as much by water as by land, the first step towards success being the creation of a flotilla upon the Nile, which held the command of the river, and was used in the rapid and safe transport of troops to any part of the Nile valley where they were needed.⁴ Aahmes, the king's namesake and favorite general, relates how he served on board one

of these Nile vessels, and, descending the stream from Thebes, carried his master's arms into the Eastern Delta, and in a short time won back to his authority the entire region. As the vessels descended the river, the land force, now no more a mere infantry, but comprising certainly a body of trained chariots, and perhaps a certain amount of cavalry,⁵ occupied the river bank; and Aahmes from time to time had to quit his vessel and to march on foot beside the chariot of his sovereign. Memphis must have been captured⁶ before any attack could have been made upon the city of the Shepherds—the strong and vast fortress of Avaris, situated at the furthest point to which the Nile waters reached, well fortified both by walls and moats, and defended by a garrison of nearly a quarter of a million of men.⁷ A lake protected the city, on one side; canals from the Nile guarded it in other quarters; while a solid rampart of baked, or perhaps merely of sun-dried brick, surrounded the whole, and rendered the position one of first-rate strength and security. However, after a siege of some considerable length, in the course of which there were several engagements,⁸ the final assault appears to have been delivered with such success, that a panic seized the garrison, and they hastily fled from the place. The majority made their escape, and withdrew to Syria, but many were slain, and a considerable number taken prisoners. All captives appear to have been regarded as the property of the king; but it was a common practice to assign prisoners to those who captured them; and vast numbers of the “Shepherd” race became in this way permanently fixed in Egypt, where they intermixed with the native inhabitants and modified to some extent their physical type.⁹

The war of Aahmes with the Shepherds lasted five years.¹⁰ It was no sooner concluded than he hastened to lead an expedition against the south, where the negro races had taken the offensive during the struggle between the Egyptians and their foreign conquerors, and apparently had re-established the independence whereof they had been deprived by the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty.¹¹ At first the Egyptian king carried all before him, and, regarding the country as reconquered, returned down the Nile to his capital; but ere long the tide of victory turned. A Nubian chief, called Teta-an, collected the dusky hordes under his banner, and retook the whole region of the south, carrying devastation along the Nile banks, destroying the temples of the Egyptian garrisons, and annihilating the Egyptian power. Aahmes was forced to retrace his steps, and measure his strength against this new enemy.

He engaged Teta-an twice, the Nubian being apparently each time the assailant. On the first occasion neither antagonist could claim a decisive success; but, on the second, Aahmes was more fortunate. The negro army was defeated with great loss, Teta-an made prisoner, and Egyptian authority once more established over the tract between the First and the Second Cataract.¹²

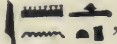

It would appear that the struggle with Teta-an must have occupied a considerable time. At any rate, it was not until his twenty-second year that the Egyptian monarch, victorious on every side, and no longer apprehensive of attack, was able to turn his attention to domestic affairs, and commence the restoration of those public edifices which had suffered either from natural decay or from hostile attack during the last two or three centuries. Rock-tablets in the quarries of Toora and Maasara of that year¹³ record the fact that Aahmes at this time "opened anew the rock chambers," and employed men to "cut out the best white stone of the hill country" for the repairs of the "temple of millions of years,"—the ancient edifice dedicated to the god Phthah at Memphis,—for that of Ammon at Thebes, and for other sacred buildings. Phœnicians are thought to have been employed upon the great works thus initiated,¹⁴ as they were some centuries later on the construction of the Temple of Solomon.¹⁵


Aahmes is said to have reigned altogether twenty-five years,¹⁶ or, as Josephus expresses it more exactly, twenty-five years and four months.¹⁷ He married a princess,¹⁸ who took


the name of Nefert-ari-Aahmes, , or "the beautiful

companion of Aahmes,"¹⁹ and who is represented on the monuments with pleasing features, but a complexion of ebon blackness.²⁰ It is certainly wrong to call her a "negress;" she was an Ethiopian of the best physical type; and her marriage with Aahmes may have been based upon a political motive.²¹ The Egyptian Pharaohs from time to time allied themselves with the monarchs of the south, partly to obtain the aid of Ethiopian troops in their wars, partly with a view of claiming, in right of their wives, dominion over the Upper Nile region. Aahmes (Fig. 35) may have been the first to do this; or he may simply have "followed the example of his predecessors, who, forced by the Hyksos to the south, had contracted marriages with the families of Ethiopian rulers."²² His queen was certainly regarded as a personage of importance. She was called "the wife of the god Ammon,"²³ and

enjoyed some high post connected with the worship of that god at Thebes; Aahmes commemorated her upon his monuments;²⁶ during her son's reign she held, for a time at any rate, the reigns of power; while in after ages she was venerated as "ancestress and founder of the eighteenth dynasty."²⁵

The successor of Aahmes was his son by this Ethiopian princess; he bore the name of Amen-hotep, , which which is the Amenôphthis of Manetho.²⁶ On his accession he took the throne name of Tser-ka-ra; but he is more commonly known as Amen-hotep the First. Either he was of immature age at the death of his father, and therefore placed at first under the guardianship of his mother,²⁷ or else his attachment to her was such that he voluntarily associated her with himself in the government. Her figure appears on his monuments, drawn with the utmost care and elaboration;²⁸ she is joined with him in the worship of the gods;²⁹ she is "the lady of the two lands," as he is the "lord" of them. Little is known of the reign of Amenôphis beyond the fact that, like his father, he led expeditions to the south, and warred both with the Cushites and the negroes, seeking still further to extend the frontier of Egypt in a southern direction.³⁰ It does not appear, however, that much success attended his efforts beyond the capture of some prisoners and some cattle. Amen-hotep was served by two officers, Aahmes, son of Abana, and another Aahmes named Pennishem, whose tombs have been found at Thebes.³¹ He took to wife an Egyptian lady, named Aah-hotep, , and had a son by

her whom he called Thothmes, , the first prince of that celebrated name.³² According to Manetho,³³ Amenôphis I. reigned no more than thirteen years.

The reign of Thothmes I., who succeeded Amenôphis, and took the further appellation of Aa-khepr-ka-ra, , derives its chief distinction from the fact that, at this period of their history, the Egyptians for the first time carried their arms deep into Asia, overrunning Syria, and even invading Mesopotamia, or the tract between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Hitherto the furthest point reached in this direction had been Sharuhén in Southern Palestine, a city assigned to

the tribe of Simeon by Joshua. Invaders from the lower Mesopotamian region³⁴ had from time to time made their appearance in the broad Syrian valleys and plains, had drunk the waters of the Orontes and the Jordan, ravaged the open country, and even perhaps destroyed the towns. But Syria was hitherto almost an undiscovered region to the powerful people which, nurturing its strength in the Nile valley, had remained content with its own natural limits and scarcely grasped at any conquests. A time was now come when this comparative quietude and absence of ambition were about to cease. Provoked by the attack made upon her from the side of Asia, and smarting from the wounds inflicted upon her pride and her prosperity by the Hyksos during the period of their rule, Egypt now set herself to retaliate, and for three centuries continued at intervals to pour her armies into the Eastern continent, and to carry fire and sword over the extensive and populous regions which lay between the Mediterranean and the Zagros mountain range. There is some uncertainty as to the extent of her conquests; but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that for a space of three hundred years Egypt was the most powerful and the most aggressive state that the world contained, and held a dominion that has as much right to be called an "Empire" as the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Persian. While Babylonia, ruled by Arab conquerors,³⁵ declined in strength, and Assyria proper was merely struggling into independence, Egypt put forth her arms, and grasped the fairest regions of the earth's surface. Thus commenced that struggle for predominance between northeastern Africa and southwestern Asia, which lasted for above a thousand years, and was scarcely terminated until Rome appeared upon the scene, and reduced both the rivals under her world-wide sway.

(The period of aggression upon Asia commenced with Thothmes I. (Fig. 20); but his Asiatic expedition was not his first enterprise. He began his military career by an invasion of the countries upon the Upper Nile,³⁶ and contended in this region with the Ethiopians and Nubians, ascending the course of the river with a flotilla of ships, while his troops also, it is probable, marched along the banks, and not only directing the movements of his forces, but taking a personal part in the encounters. On one occasion we are told, "his majesty became more furious than a panther,"³⁷ and placing an arrow on the string directed it against the Nubian chief with so sure an aim, that it struck him and remained fixed in his knee, whereupon the chief "fell fainting down before the

royal diadem." " He was at once seized and made a prisoner; his followers were dispersed; and he himself was carried off on board the royal ship to the Egyptian capital. This victory was the precursor of others: everywhere "the An of Nubia were hewed in pieces, and scattered all over their lands" till "their stench filled the valleys." " At last a general submission was made, and a large tract of territory was ceded. The Egyptian frontier was pushed on from Semneh (lat. 21° 50') to Tombos (lat. 19°); and a memorial was set up at this latter place, "to mark the existing extent of the empire southward. A new officer was appointed to govern the newly annexed country, who was called "the ruler of Kush," and appears to have resided at Semneh."

→ The expedition against the South was followed, after no long interval, by an invasion of Asia. <To exact satisfaction★ from the races which had attacked Egypt, and for many years oppressed her, Thothmes marched an army through Palestine and Syria into Mesopotamia, engaged the natives of those regions in a long series of battles, and defeated them more than once with great slaughter.> A single captain boasts that in the course of the expedition he "took twenty-one hands," " or, in other words, killed twenty-one men, besides capturing a horse and a chariot. If one man could do so much, what must have been the amount of injury inflicted by the entire host! Egyptian armies, according to Manetho, "were counted by hundreds of thousands; and even if for "hundreds" we substitute "tens," the result must have been a carnage and a desolation sufficiently distressing. The use of the horse in war, which they had learned from their late conquerors, " added greatly to their military efficiency and to their power of making distant campaigns. Though unskilful riders and therefore averse to the employment of cavalry on any extensive scale, " they rapidly organized a strong force of chariots, which engaged with success the similar organizations of the Eastern nations, and manifested a decided superiority over them. We must suppose that the Egyptian mechanical skill carried to perfection in a short time the art of chariot-making, and that they combined lightness with strength in their vehicles to a remarkable degree. The climate of Egypt seems also to have suited the horse in these early days; and so judicious were the Egyptian breeders that the natives of Judæa and Syria,—nay, even the redoubted Hittites themselves,—imported their horses and chariots from the valley of the Nile, and paid a price for them which implies high excellence." It is creditable to the spirit and ad-


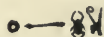
aptability of the Egyptian people, that they should so immediately have surpassed their teachers, and have been able *at once* to carry to perfection a mode of warfare which was wholly new to them, while it had long been familiar to their antagonists.

When the king returned triumphant from his Asiatic campaign,⁴⁷ with abundant booty and captives, he set up a tablet commemorative of his exploits,⁴⁸ and, to show his gratitude to the divine power which had protected him and given him the victory, proceeded further to enlarge and embellish the temple of Ammon at Thebes, commenced by Amen-em-hat I., and advanced by his son, Usurtasen. The temple at this time consisted merely of the central cell, and a certain number of chambers, built at the sides, for the priests' use. Aahmes constructed the cloistered court in front of the central cell,⁴⁹ a building 240 feet long by sixty-two broad, surrounding it by a colonnade, of which the supports were Osirid pillars, or square piers with a colossal figure of Osiris in front. At either side of the grand portal, which gave entrance to this building, he reared a granite obelisk, seventy-five feet high, on which he commemorated his piety and his worship of the gods of heaven.⁵⁰

The reign of Thothmes I. appears to have been short,⁵¹ though Manetho assigned him a period of twenty-one years.⁵² He was married to a wife, Aahmes, who is thought to have been also his sister,⁵³ and had by her a daughter called

Hasheps⁵⁴ or Hatasu, , and two sons, both of


whom bore the same name as their father. At his death the elder of the two sons ascended the throne, and ruled as Thothmes-nefer-shau; taking also the additional epithet

of Aa-khepr-en-ra, , or . He is known to

moderns as Thothmes II. (Fig. 19), and had a reign which was brief and undistinguished. After one expedition against the Arabs of the more northern parts of the Sinaitic peninsula, undertaken for the purpose of striking terror into those incorrigible marauders,⁵⁵ he seems to have given himself up to a life of almost complete inactivity. His sister, Hatasu, appears to have acquired great influence over him, and to have been allowed to assume the royal title and take the leading part in the government. Conjointly, the brother and sister made various additions to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes, while at the same time they busied themselves

with several other buildings of importance.⁵⁸ The remarkable temple at Medinet-Abou, described in the first volume of the present work,⁵⁷ is attributed to this period, and was the result of their combined exertions. Both the brother and the sister were devotees of Ammon, whom they identified with Khem,⁵⁸ and worshipped as the source of life and lord of heaven. They also gave a prominent position to the lion-goddess, Pasht or Sekhet, whom they conjoined with Ammon and Khonsu.⁵⁹

Hatasu (Fig. 21) is suspected of having cherished an extreme lust of power, and of having sacrificed to it affection, and even decency. The early death of her brother is laid at her door;⁶⁰ and it is certain that after his decease she strove to obliterate his memory by erasing his name from the monuments, sometimes substituting her own name, or that of her father, in its place.⁶¹ She appears to have been a woman of great energy, and of a masculine mind, clever, enterprising, vindictive, and unscrupulous. On the death of the second Thothmes, she took entire possession of the throne, changed her name from Hatasu to Hatasu-Khnum-Ammon, took the

additional throne-name of Ra-ma-ka, , assumed

male apparel and the style and title of a king, occupied the royal throne, and allowed her young brother, whom she suffered to live, no better place than a seat upon her footstool.⁶² She is constantly represented upon the monuments in male attire, often crowned with the tall plumes of Ammon;⁶³ she calls herself "the *son* of the sun," "the good *god*," "the *lord* of the two lands," "beloved of Ammon-Ra, the god of *kings*." She is not, however, wholly consistent in this assumption of the masculine character. Sometimes her garb is that of a woman, her title "lady;" and her epithet, "beloved by Ammon," has the feminine suffix.⁶⁴ It may perhaps have been difficult for the sculptors always to bear in mind that the sex of the sovereign from whom they received their commission was to be concealed.

As sole monarch, Hatasu pushed forward her buildings with increased energy, and rapidly brought to completion various works of importance, which still excite the traveller's admiration. Her edifices are said to be among "the most tasteful, most complete and brilliant creations which ever left the hands of an Egyptian artist."⁶⁵ She built a temple, imposed on four steps, which is quite unique among Egyptian shrines, and is known now as that of Deir-el-Bahiri.⁶⁶ She

erected obelisks at Thebes in the great temple of Ammon, which equal, alike in size and in delicacy of workmanship, the constructions of any other monarch.⁶⁷ She connected her temple at once with the older erection of Usurtasen, and with the sacred stream of the Nile, by long avenues of criosphinxes in a posture of repose.⁶⁸ She set up statues of herself in various places,⁶⁹ and inscribed her name upon the rocks of Assouan.⁷⁰ Her favorite architect was an Egyptian named Semnut, the son of Kames and Ha-nefer, to whose memory she erected a monument which is now in the Berlin Museum.⁷¹


But the most extraordinary of all the achievements of Queen Hatasu, and the one of which she seems to have been most proud, was the establishment of a species of sovereignty over the distant land of Punt by means of a naval expedition⁷² on a scale of which we have no trace in the earlier monuments. Five ships⁷³ at least, manned by thirty rowers each, and having on board besides a crew of some ten or twelve, together with a detachment of Egyptian troops,⁷⁴ proceeded from some port on the western coast of the Red Sea to the southern extremity of the gulf, and landed on the shores of Punt,⁷⁵ the "Ta-neter" or "Holy Land"—the original seat of Athor and perhaps of Ammon—where a most friendly reception was accorded them. The expedition was not of a hostile, but of a purely pacific character.⁷⁶ A high official of the court accompanied the fleet as royal ambassador, and a profusion of presents for the chiefs of Punt were placed on board. The great object was to establish friendly relations, and secure both an immediate and also a continuous supply of the precious frankincense, which was consumed largely by the Egyptians in the worship of the gods, and was especially required at this time for the due honor of the great Ammon.⁷⁷ The inhabitants were quite willing to barter their highly valued product for the manufactures and for the corn of Egypt. They were simple folk, living on stages built upon piles (Fig. 17), in small cabins, which could be entered only by means of a ladder, generally built under the shadow of a grove of cocoanut palms, and in the immediate vicinity of the incense-trees.⁷⁸ It was among the objects of the expedition to procure not only incense, but a certain number of the incense-bearing trees, which the Egyptians hoped to naturalize in their own country. At their request the natives set to work and dug up as many as thirty-one of the trees, which they packed with earth about their roots in baskets, and, having slung them on poles, so conveyed them to the

ships, where they were placed upon the deck under an awning.⁴⁹ Large quantities of the incense itself were also collected, and packed in sacks tied at the mouth, which were piled on the decks in various places. At the same time other valuable products of the Holy Land were put on board, especially gold, silver, ivory, ebony, cassia, kohl or stibium, apes, baboons, dogs, slaves, and leopard-skins.⁵⁰ A single tamed leopard or tigress seems to have been also embarked. Homage was done to the Queen of Egypt by Parihu, the lord of the country, and his misshapen wife,⁵¹ who thus admitted the suzerainty of the Pharaohs; but at the same time it was distinctly stipulated that the peace and freedom of the land of Punt should be respected.⁵²

The return of the embassy with its wonderful and varied treasures was made a day of rejoicing at Thebes. Twelve Nile boats of the largest dimensions conveyed the wanderers in a grand procession to the capital.⁵³ The whole population came out to meet them. A parade was made of the troops which had accompanied the expedition; the incense-trees, the strange animals, the many products of the distant country, were exhibited; the tame leopard, with his negro keeper, followed the soldiers; natives of the remote region called Tamahu, who had voluntarily accompanied the expedition on its return, performed their war-dance.⁵⁴ A bull was sacrificed to Ammon, and a new feast instituted.⁵⁵ Finally, to perpetuate the great occasion, and prevent its fading away from human remembrance, the entire expedition was represented in an elaborate series of reliefs on the walls of Hatasu's new temple on the western side of Thebes, where they may still be seen, not very much injured by time, by the curious traveller at the present day.

After exercising the complete royal authority for the space of fifteen years, Hatasu found herself under the necessity of admitting her younger brother to a share in the kingdom, and allowed his name to appear on public monuments in a secondary and subordinate position.⁵⁶ He had now probably reached the age of eighteen or twenty years; and his further exclusion from the throne would have been contrary to Egyptian ideas. He was therefore accepted into partnership; but this tardy recognition of his rights appears not to have contented him, and his subsequent conduct shows that he bore a deep grudge against his too jealous guardian. Actuated by a strong and settled animosity, he erased her name from her monuments;⁵⁷ and it is simply from the circumstance of his agents not having cut deep enough that we are

enabled to trace his sister's career without much difficulty. Whether he proceeded to greater lengths, and directed against her person the vengeance which it is clear that he wreaked upon her inscriptions, is uncertain. The joint rule of the brother and the sister appears not to have continued for above seven years;⁸⁸ but "whether Thothmes, after reaching manhood, drove his sister by force from the throne, or whether she slept in Osiris" in the ordinary course of nature, "we cannot tell, because the monuments are silent."⁸⁹ She was probably not more than about forty years of age at her decease.

The new king, Thothmes III., crowned at length after so long a minority, took the additional title of Nefer-Khepru—"the best of beetles"⁹⁰—to distinguish him from his father and brother, while at the same time he gave himself the throne name of Men-khepr-ra, , as a further distinctive appellation. Thothmes has been called "the Alexander of Egyptian history;"⁹¹ and though the associations that this epithet awakens transcend the facts of the case, and make the expression, in the judgment of sober criticism, seem exaggerated, yet still it places a striking fact in a striking light—Thothmes III. was beyond a doubt the greatest of Egyptian conquerors. Devoid, so far as appears, of any talent for organization, as far as possible removed from the rank and position of an Alexander among persons gifted with rare administrative capacity, he had at any rate this in common with the great Macedonian, that he carried the arms of one continent into the very centre of another, overcame all hostile opposition, and brought one of the great kingdoms of Western Asia into at least a nominal submission. Considering the circumstances of the time, there is no doubt that his expeditions and the success which attended them, imply high military talent; and though the general historian must decline to rank him with the really great conquerors that the world has produced—the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Charlemagnes—yet it must be readily allowed, and asserted, that among Egyptian conquering kings he holds the first place. No later monarch ever exceeded his glories; Thothmes III. is the nearest historical approach to the ideal Sesostris,⁹² the only Pharaoh who really penetrated with a hostile force deep into the heart of Assyria,⁹³ and forced the great states of Western Asia to pay him tribute, if not even to acknowledge his suzerainty.

The independent public life of Thothmes (Men-khepr-ra)

appears to have commenced with the year which he reckoned as his twenty-second. Hitherto he had remained in a subordinate position, under the tutelage, or at any rate the influence, of his sister.⁹⁴ Now he was sole monarch, either by her decease or her deposition, and had the uncontrolled direction of his own actions. The natural bent of his disposition at once displayed itself: he engaged in an aggressive war with the Asiatic nations. Starting from an Egyptian post called Garu, or Zalu,⁹⁵ in the month named Pharmuthi, the eighth month of the Egyptian year, corresponding to our February, he invaded Palestine, with the object, as is distinctly stated, of "extending the frontiers of Egypt by his victories."⁹⁶ On the fourth day of the next month, Pashons (March 21), the anniversary of his coronation and the first day of his twenty-third year, he arrived at Gaza, which was a strong city even at this early time, and was regarded as the key of Syria. Here, however, he met with no resistance, the ruler being friendly to him; and having rested his troops for the night, he marched out on the fifth, and proceeded by the coast route to Jaham (Jamnia?) where he held a council of war to determine by what line the advance should continue. According to the intelligence brought in by his scouts, the enemy was collected in a position near the city of Megiddo, probably in the great plain of Esdraëlon, the ordinary battle-field of the Palestinian nations. They consisted of "all the people dwelling between the river of Egypt on the one hand and the land of Nabaraïn (Mesopotamia) on the other," the Kharu (Syrians) and the Katu being the principal.⁹⁷ At their head was the king of Kadesh, a great Hittite city on the Orontes.⁹⁸ The direct route to Megiddo, which passed by Aaluna and Taanach, was strongly guarded; but Thothmes insisted on proceeding by this route, instead of making a *détour* as wished by his captains. The event justified his audacity. Megiddo was reached within a week without loss or difficulty; and on the twenty-second of Pashons (April 7) the Egyptian king attacked and completely defeated his adversaries in a pitched battle, driving them in headlong flight from the position which they occupied, and forcing them to take refuge within the walls of the city. The Syrian camp was taken, together with vast treasures in silver and gold; and the son of the king of Kadesh fell into Thothmes' hands. Megiddo itself soon afterwards surrendered, as did the towns of Inunam, Anaugas, and Hurankal or Herinokol. As many as 924 chariots and above 5,900 prisoners were captured; and much booty in the precious metals, as well as in flocks and

herds, was carried off. Thothmes returned to Egypt in triumph, and held a prolonged festival to Ammon-Ra in Thebes, which he describes at great length in one of his inscriptions.⁹⁹

The success of Thothmes in this, his first, campaign whetted his appetite for fresh conquests. Between his twenty-third and his twenty-ninth years, for which his own annals are lacking, he must have been engaged in three distinct expeditions, since he styles the campaign of the twenty-ninth year his fifth.¹⁰⁰ It appears from the tomb-inscription of his captain, Amen-em-heb,¹⁰¹ that one of these was in Southern Judæa, or the Negeb, while in another Thothmes carried the Egyptian arms into Northern Syria, ravaged the country about Aleppo, threatened Carchemish, and even crossed the Euphrates into Upper Mesopotamia, whence he carried off a number of prisoners. It was probably at this time that he first came in contact with the Assyrians, who had recently made themselves independent of Babylon, and *claimed* at any rate the suzerainty over all Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates. No actual collision between the troops of Egypt and Assyria, either at this time or at any later period of his reign, is recorded; but his advance to Carchemish and pretensions to conquests beyond the Euphrates must have provoked the jealousy of the Assyrian monarchs and caused alarm to be felt at the Assyrian capital. This was not now—as sometimes supposed—Nineveh, but Asshur (Kileh-Sherghat). The Assyrian monarchs, till recently subject to Babylon, were not as yet very mighty princes; the great palaces of Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, which have attracted so much attention in these later times, were not built; Nineveh, if it existed, was a provincial town of small repute; the kings, engaged in constant wars with the great power of the South, found the maintenance of their independence a task which taxed their strength to the uttermost, and had effected as yet no very important conquests. The Egyptian monarch, in extending his attacks into the Mesopotamian region, encountered no very great danger, measured his strength against that of no very powerful kingdom. Still, in advancing beyond the Euphrates, he was carrying his arms into unknown regions, at the distance of six or seven hundred miles from his resources, and risking an encounter with the forces of an organized state such as did not exist in the long stretch of territory which lay between Egypt and the Great River.

It is advisable, before proceeding further with the warlike expeditions of Thothmes III., to glance briefly at the general

condition of the countries lying intermediate between Egypt and the great Asiatic powers of the time, Assyria and Babylonia.

The strip of territory intervening between Egypt and Mounts Taurus and Amanus, bounded by the Mediterranean on the one hand, and the Euphrates and the Syro-Arabian desert on the other, was in the time of Thothmes possessed by four principal nations.¹⁰² These were, in the south, the Khalu or Kharu, identified by Dr. Brugsch with the Phœnicians,¹⁰³ but more probably a Syrian people; in the central parts, the Ruten or Luten (Lydians?); above them, towards the west, the Tahai or Zahi; towards the Euphrates, the Khita, or Hittites. The country of the Kharu extended along the coast from the boundary of Egypt to a place called Aup or Aupa, which seems to have been in Northern Palestine,¹⁰⁴ but which cannot be identified with any known site. It included within its borders the cities of Gazatu nor Gaza, Ashkaluna or Ascalon, Aaluna (Ajalon?), Sharhana or Sharuhén, Maketa or Megiddo, Taanach, and Jaham (perhaps Jamnia). Its inhabitants were addicted to mercantile pursuits, and carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians in times of peace, being regarded by them as a respectable and civilized people. Their northern neighbors, the Ruten or Luten, held the valley of the Orontes and the coast tract as far as Aradus; among their towns were Kadesh, which seems to have been the capital, Aradus, Sinyra, Argatu (Acre?), Anaugas, Inunam, and Herinokol. They are represented as of a yellowish complexion, with Jewish features and black beards and hair. It does not appear that they were a very numerous people; but they possessed a civilization of a tolerably high type, fought in chariots that were either painted or covered with plates of gold, used iron armor, had furniture of cedar-wood inlaid with ivory, and manufactured gold and silver vessels of elegant forms and delicately chased.¹⁰⁶ The country of the Tahai, which reached from a little north of Aradus to the Taurus mountain-range, furnished corn and wine in vast abundance,¹⁰⁰ as well as incense, balsam, honey, iron, lead and various kinds of precious stones.¹⁰⁷ Compared with the Kharu, Ruten, and Khita, the people were unimportant. East of the Tahai and northeast of the Ruten, reaching from the Antilibanus to the Euphrates, was the great nation of the Hittites, with their capital at Karikaimasha, or Carchemish, on the right bank of the great river. Their country is called in the inscriptions "the great land of the Khita."¹⁰⁸ Its chief cities, besides Carchemish, were

Khiraabu (Aleppo), Taaranta, Pairika, Khisasap, and Sarapaina.¹⁰⁹ The inhabitants were fully as civilized as their neighbors, and at the same time more warlike. They had possessed from a remote antiquity a form of picture-writing, which is found not only in their own proper country, but in various parts of Western Asia,¹¹⁰ from Cappadocia to the shores of the Ægean. In war the arm whereto the Khita mainly trusted was the chariot-force. Their chariots carried three each—two warriors and the charioteer¹¹¹—whereas the Egyptian chariots carried two only; and they could bring into the field as many as 2,500.¹¹² Of all the Syrian nations, the Khita were the most powerful; and they maintained a separate national existence down to the time of the Sargonids.

Across the Euphrates, the rolling plain at the foot of the high mountains—the Padan Aram of Scripture—seems to have been known as Naharaïn, or “the land of the two rivers;” but the people appear to have been regarded by the Egyptians as Assyrians. There is no reason to believe that they were Assyrians in race; but it is not unlikely that, even at this early time, the Assyrian monarchs, who had thrown off the yoke of Babylon, claimed a suzerainty over the upper Mesopotamian tribes, as Babylon did over those of the lower region. In reality, the tribes were Scythic,¹¹³ and belonged chiefly to the two races of the Nahiri and Comukha; they possessed little internal organization, and were unable to offer any serious or prolonged resistance to the forces of either Egypt or Assyria. Fluctuating between the two great powers for centuries, they were at length swallowed up by the nearer and stronger of the two, the Assyrians, who absorbed and assimilated them towards the middle of the ninth century before our era.¹¹⁴

In his fifth campaign, which fell into his twenty-ninth year, Thothmes directed his attack against the cities of the Syrian coast, took and spoiled Tunep, ravaged the land of Zahi, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off the crops, and, having laden his fleet with a variety of precious objects, sailed back to Egypt.¹¹⁵ The next year he turned his arms against the more northern Ruten, took and plundered Kadesh, Simyra, and Aradus, emptied the magazines of their grain, and, to secure the permanent submission of the country, carried off as hostages a number of the young princes, whom he thenceforth retained in Egypt, requiring their relations to replace any who died by some other member of their family.¹¹⁶

A place called Hansatu on the shores of the lake Nesrana

was the chief object of attack in the ensuing year.¹¹⁷ It was captured without difficulty, and yielded a booty of 494 prisoners of war and thirteen chariots.¹¹⁸ It is remarkable that exploits of apparently such little importance should have been placed on record by the Egyptian monarchs with such particularity and exactness; but the fact seems to be that large populations did not exist in Syria at this period;¹¹⁹ a vast number of petty chiefs divided the land among them, each ruling in his own small town or village; if confederations existed, they were of the loosest character; and it was seldom that even a temporary league united the forces of any large number of cities. Thus the wars of the Egyptians in Syria were carried on, in the main, not by great victories over numerous bodies of troops, but by a multitude of small success and petty engagements, insignificant separately, but in the aggregate sufficing to produce the submission of the inhabitants.

Of all the campaigns of Thothmes, his eighth, that of his thirty-third year, was probably the most important. Starting from the country of the Ruten,¹²⁰ he in this expedition directed his attack upon the Mesopotamian region, which he ravaged far and wide, conquering the towns, and "reducing to a level plain the strong places of the miserable land of the Naharaïn,"¹²¹ capturing thirty kings or chiefs, and erecting two tablets in the region to indicate his conquests.¹²² It is possible that he even crossed the Tigris into the Zab region, since he relates that on his return he passed through the town of Ni, or Nini, which some of the best modern authorities¹²³ identify with Nineveh. Tribute was certainly brought him about this time from the "king of Asshur"¹²⁴ as well as from "the prince of Senkara," and the tribute included blue stone (lapis-lazuli) from Babylon, and bitumen from Is or Hit.¹²⁶ It is not to be supposed that either Assyria or Babylonia was conquered; but a raid was made into the heart of Western Asia which spread terror on every side. Assyria was actually deprived of a portion of her territory; some of her cities were temporarily, others perhaps permanently, occupied;¹²⁷ the king himself, in his fastness of Asshur, was smitten with fear, and bought off the hostility of the invader by gifts which were regarded as a "tribute," and which were repeated year after year. Even at the distant Senkara, south of Babylon, alarm was felt, and an embassy was sent to propitiate the conqueror by a present.

A curious episode of this expedition is related by the captain, Amenemheb, in the inscription upon his tomb.¹²⁸ It

appears that in the time of Thothmes III. the elephant haunted the woods and jungles of the Mesopotamian region, as he does now those of the peninsula of Hindustan. In the neighborhood of Ni or Nini, large herds of the uncouth animal were to be met with; and Thothmes found leisure, in the intervals of his military operations, to hunt and kill no fewer than 120 elephants, and obtained their tusks. On one occasion, however, he was exposed to great danger. The "rogue" or leading elephant of a herd made a rush upon the royal sportman, and would probably have killed him, had not Amenemheb drawn its rage upon himself by inflicting a wound upon its trunk, and so saved his master.

The Mesopotamian campaign of Thothmes' thirty-third year was followed by one or two more in the same country, which riveted the Egyptian yoke upon the more western portion of the district, but do not appear to have much affected the more eastern parts of the territory. Nothing further is heard of Ni or Nini; no more elephants are hunted; no more tribute arrives from Senkara; the Naharain, over which Thothmes permanently reigned, appears to have been limited to the tract between the Euphrates and the Khabour, east of which his remains cease to be found. It was not a part of his policy to measure his strength against that of either of the great Mesopotamian kingdoms, much less to attempt the conquest of the entire territory between the Mons Masius and the Persian Gulf. He was really content a little to outdo the warlike exploits of his father, Thothmes I., and aimed simply at making the Khabour, instead of the Euphrates, the eastern limit of the empire.

The later campaigns of the great Thothmes were almost entirely in regions which he had previously overrun, and were undertaken to subdue revolt, to compel the payment of tribute, or to chastise marauders. Expeditions of this kind occupied the monarch almost continuously until his fortieth year,¹²⁹ when he appears to have allowed himself a rest from his military labors, and to have turned his attention to inscriptions, obelisks, and buildings. With an elaboration worthy of all praise, though somewhat wearisome to the student of his times, he placed on record, at Karnak and elsewhere, all the details of his several campaigns, all the particulars of the booties which he bore away, and of the tributes which he exacted from the various nations under his rule.¹³⁰ It appears that, in the way of tribute or booty, he carried off from the subject countries above 11,000 captives, 1,670 chariots, 3,639 horses, 4,491 of the larger cattle, more than

35,000 goats, silver to the amount of 3,940 pounds, and gold to the amount of 9,054 pounds. He also brought into Egypt from the conquered lands, enormous quantities of corn and wine, together with license, balsam, honey, ivory, ebony, and other rare woods, lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones, furniture, statues, vases, dishes, basins, tent-poles, bows, habergeons, fruit-trees, live birds, and monkeys! With a curiosity that was insatiable he noted all that was strange or unusual in the lands which he visited, and sought to introduce each novelty into his own proper country. Two unknown kinds of birds, and a variety of the goose, which he found in Mesopotamia and transported thence to the valley of the Nile, are said to have been "dearer to the king than anything else."¹³¹ His artists had ordered to make careful studies of the various objects, and to represent them faithfully upon his monuments. We see on these "water-lilies as high as trees, plants of a growth like cactuses, all sorts of trees, and shrubs, leaves, flowers, and fruits, including melons and pomegranates; oxen and calves also figure, and among them a wonderful animal with three horns. There are likewise herons, sparrow-hawks, geese, and doves. All these objects appear gayly intermixed in the pictures, as suited the simple childlike conception of the "primitive artist."¹³² An inscription tells the intention of the monarch. "Here are all sorts of plants and all sorts of flowers of the Holy Land, which the king discovered when he went to the land of Ruten to conquer it. Thus says the king: 'I swear by the sun, and I call to witness my father Ammon, that all is plain truth; there is no trace of deception in that which I relate. What the splendid soil brings forth in the way of productions, I have had portrayed in these pictures, with the intention of offering them to my father Ammon, as a memorial for all times.'"

Among the numerous inscriptions of this great king, none is more remarkable than that which adorns one of the chambers added by him to the grand temple of Ammon at Thebes, whereby he set forth his supposed connection with those monarchs of the Old Empire whom he acknowledged as legitimate occupants of the Egyptian throne. To Thothmes III. belongs the credit of being the first, so far as we know, to attempt the task of arranging the old kings in something like chronological order. What materials he possessed for the work, what amount of labor he expended upon it, how far it was an historical, how far an arbitrary arrangement, are points upon which various opinions may be held; but it is

incontestable that out of the chaos of the past he educed a certain method and order, which in its main features came to be recognized by the Egyptians themselves as authentic and authoritative. Sixty kings, commencing with Seneferu, and comprising Assa, Pepi, several Antefs, Mentu-hoteps, and Usurtasens, were exhibited in a consecutive series as ancestors of the reigning Pharaoh, who represented himself as making offerings to them, and thus acknowledged at once their ancestral relation to himself and their divinity.¹³³ The "Great Tablet of Karnak," as it is called, must always remain among the most important of those documents upon which the arrangement of the early history of Egypt depends; and though by many its value is thought to be surpassed by later and fuller lists, there will always be some to whom, on account of its antiquity, it will approve itself as the most important and most trustworthy of all the early catalogues of kings.

Besides distinguishing himself as a warrior, as a record writer, as a natural historian, and as a genealogist, Thothmes III. was one of the greatest of Egyptian builders and patrons of art. The great temple of Ammon at Thebes was the special object of his fostering care; and he began his career of builder and restorer by repairing the damages which his sister, Hatasu, had inflicted on that glorious edifice to gratify her dislike of her brother, Thothmes II., and her father, Thothmes I. Statues of Thothmes I., and his father, Amenôphis, which Hatasu had thrown down, were re-erected by Thothmes III., before the southern propylæa of the temple in the first year of his independent reign.¹³⁴ The central sanctuary, which Usurtasen I. had built in common stone,¹³⁵ was next replaced by the present granite edifice under the directions of the young prince, who then proceeded to build in rear of the old temple, a magnificent hall or pillared chamber, of dimensions previously unknown in Egypt. This edifice was an oblong square, 143 feet long by fifty-five feet wide, or nearly half as large again as the nave of Canterbury Cathedral.¹³⁶ The whole of this apartment was roofed in with slabs of solid stone; two rows of circular pillars thirty feet in height supported the central part, dividing it into three avenues, while on each side of the pillars was a row of square piers, still further extending the width of the chamber, and breaking it up into five long vistas.¹³⁷ In connection with this noble hall, on three sides of it, north, east, and south, Thothmes erected further chambers and corridors, one of the former, situated towards the south, containing

that "Great Tablet of Karnak" which was described in the last paragraph.

Thothmes also added propylæa to the temple on the south,¹³⁸ and erected in front of it two, or perhaps four, immense obelisks. According to an inscription which is still extant, two of these monoliths reached the quite unparalleled and almost incredible height of 108 cubits, or 162 feet, and must have weighed 700 or 800 tons.¹³⁹ Two, of which one stands to this day before the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome, attained certainly the height of 105 feet, and weighed 450 tons.¹⁴⁰ These last were inscribed with hieroglyphics which declared: "The king has raised these immense obelisks to the god Ammon, in the forecourt of the house of the god, on the soil of Ape, as the first beginning of the erection of immense obelisks in Thebes."¹⁴¹ Finally, towards the close of his reign, he repaired and re-erected in front of the temple a second image of his father, which Hatasu had thrown down; and, either at this time or at some other, he also adorned the building with statues of himself, which are colossal and full of dignity.¹⁴²

Other erections of this distinguished monarch are the enclosure of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis,¹⁴³ and the obelisks belonging to the same building, which the irony of fate has now removed to Rome, England, and America;¹⁴⁴ the temple of Phthah at Thebes; the small temple at Medinet-Abou; a temple to Kneph, adorned with obelisks, at Elephantiné;¹⁴⁵ and a series of temples and monuments at Ombos, Esneh, Abydos, Coptos, Denderah, Eileithyia, Hermonthis, and Memphis in Egypt, and at Amada, Corte, Talmis, Pselcis, Semneh, and Koummeh in Nubia.¹⁴⁶ Large remains still exist in the Koummeh and Semneh temples,¹⁴⁷ where Thothmes worships Totm, the Nubian Kneph, in conjunction with Usurtasen III., his own ancestor. There are also extensive ruins of his great buildings at Denderah, Ombos, and Napata. Altogether, Thothmes III. is pronounced to have "left more monuments than any other Pharaoh, excepting Rameses II.," and, though occasionally showing himself as a builder, somewhat capricious and whimsical, yet still, on the whole, to have worked in "a pure style," and proved that he was "not deficient in good taste."¹⁴⁸

There is reason to believe that the great constructions of this mighty monarch were, in part at least, the product of forced labors. Doubtless his eleven thousand captives¹⁴⁹ were for the most part held in slavery, and compelled to employ their energies in helping toward the accomplishment of those grand works

which his active mind was continually engaged in devising. We find among the monuments of his time a representation¹⁵⁰ of the mode in which the services of these foreign bondsmen were made to subserve the glory of the Pharaoh who had carried them away captive. Some are seen kneading and cutting up the clay; others bear them water from a neighboring pool; others again, with the assistance of a wooden mould, shape the clay into bricks, which are then taken and placed in long rows to dry; finally, when the bricks are sufficiently hard, the highest class of laborers proceed to build them into walls. All the works performed under the eyes of taskmasters armed with sticks, who address the laborers with the words: "The stick is in my hand. Be not idle." Over the whole is an inscription which says: "Here are to be seen the prisoners, which have been carried away as living captives in very great numbers; they work at the building with active fingers; their overseers are in sight; they insist with vehemence (on the others laboring), obeying the orders of the great skilled lord (*i.e.*, the head-architect,) who prescribes to them the works, and gives directions to the masters; they are rewarded with wine and all kinds of good dishes; they perform their service with a mind full of love for the king; they build for Thothmes Ra-men-khepr a Holy of Holies for the gods. May it be rewarded to him through a range of many years!"¹⁵¹

The scene is so graphic—the words are so forcible and suitable—that many have recognized in this remarkable picture an actual representation of the oppressed Hebrews¹⁵² working under the tyrants who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick," beating them and ill-using them, so that "all the service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigor;"¹⁵³ but the best critics of the present day¹⁵⁴ are of opinion that, though the work is an excellent illustration of the sort of life led by the Israelites under the Pharaohs who oppressed them, yet, in point of fact, it depicts not their sufferings, but those of quite a different people. The laborers were persons whom Thothmes had carried off in his wars—the captives of his bow and of his spear—not members of a despised race, which he had inherited with his other subjects from his forefathers; their countenances have a Semitic cast, but are certainly not markedly Jewish; and the general character of their physiognomy is very different from that of the Jews. They have light hair, and in several instances blue eyes;¹⁵⁵ they are as slight in frame as the Egyptians themselves, and in few instances do they wear a beard. While, therefore, we must look with special interest on a

work which brings before us the sort of suffering that befell the Israelites in their hard bondage in Egypt, we are bound to regard it as bearing only indirectly on this subject, and as primarily illustrative only of the mode in which prisoners of war were treated by the Egyptians in the palmiest days of the Empire.

It may be asked, however, with some excuse for the question, what *was* the condition of the Israelites at this time? Were they still in Egypt, or had they already gone forth? Did or did not Thothmes III. stand in any peculiar relation to them? An undying interest attaches to the Hebrew race, and Egypt herself derives from her connection with the "peculiar people" more than half the attractiveness which she possesses for the general public. Without this, she might still, through her antiquity and her mysteriousness, draw to herself the regards of the recluse student, of the philologist, and the antiquarian; but to the masses she would be simply an empire dead and gone, a closed page of old-world history, the "shadow of a great name," and nothing more. It is because "Israel sojourned in Egypt,"¹⁵⁶ and the house of Jacob among "a people of strange language"¹⁵⁷—it is because the life and character of the Jewish race were indelibly impressed and colored by their long residence in that wonderful land, and their long contact with the wonderful Egyptian nation,—it is because for nearly eighteen centuries the histories of Egypt and Palestine were intermixed, and the Hebrew and Egyptian races acted and re-acted one upon the other, that the world at large does not regard Egyptology with indifference, or turn a deaf ear to those who seek to instruct it upon Egyptian matters. Naturally, it is at the points of contact between Egyptian and Hebrew history that the interest of the former culminates; and the historian of Egypt, when he reaches the probable period of the servitude and the Exodus, is bound to throw as much light as he possibly can on the time and circumstances of their occurrence.

We have expressed our opinion that Joseph was probably the minister of Apepi, the last Shepherd king, and that the sons of Jacob entered Egypt from Palestine under this monarch.¹⁵⁸ Hospitably received by a people of the same pastoral habits with themselves, the Israelites occupied the land of Goshen, a portion of the Tanitic nome,¹⁵⁹ lying between the Sebennyitic and Pelusiatic branches of the Nile, where they fed their own flocks, and at the same time superintended the herds belonging to the Egyptian king.¹⁶⁰ If

Joseph lived, as is commonly supposed, about seventy years after this event, he must have long outlived Apepi, whose entire reign is estimated at sixty-one years.¹⁶¹ Probably he died under Aahmes, about B.C. 1600, having of course lost his position of "lord over the whole land,"¹⁶² when the Shepherd dominion fell, but having left an undying name, which long protected his kinsmen. For many years they lived peaceably and undisturbed in the region assigned them, where they "were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty," until the land "was filled with them."¹⁶³ At length a "new king arose up over Egypt, which knew not Joseph."¹⁶⁴ The only question which can properly be raised at this period of the history is—Who was this? Was Thothmes III., or was any one of his predecessors of the eighteenth dynasty, the "new king," and had the oppression of the Israelites now begun, or were they still living in the quiet and retired position which they occupied from the first, "serving" the Egyptians,¹⁶⁵ but not ill-treated by them? Chronological considerations lead to the conclusion that the severe oppression had not yet begun. It was consequent on the very great multiplication of the Israelites, which rendered them formidable to Egypt; and this multiplication required time for its development, and cannot reasonably be thought to have attained such proportions as to call for severe measures of repression in the century, or century and a quarter, which had intervened between the reign of Apepi and that of Thothmes III.¹⁶⁶ The "new king" must be looked for at a date considerably later than that of this monarch, and we must regard Thothmes and all the earlier kings of this dynasty as Pharaohs under whose sway the nascent people remained quietly in Goshen, rapidly multiplying and increasing, but not to such an extent as to draw upon them, as yet, the jealous fear of their sovereign.

Among the inscriptions of Thothmes are some which seem to ascribe to him a series of victories over the nations of the south,¹⁶⁷ as well as over those of the north and the northeast; but his own annals are so nearly complete, and his own constant presence with the forces engaged in Syria and Mesopotamia is so distinctly marked, that it seems impossible to view these southern victories as gained by the monarch in person.¹⁶⁸ They were the fruit, it is probable, of campaigns carried on by his generals in the opposite quarter to that against which his own efforts were directed—campaigns which resulted in the capture of numerous prisoners and the carrying off

FIG. 32.—HEAD OF MENPHITAH.—See Page 181.

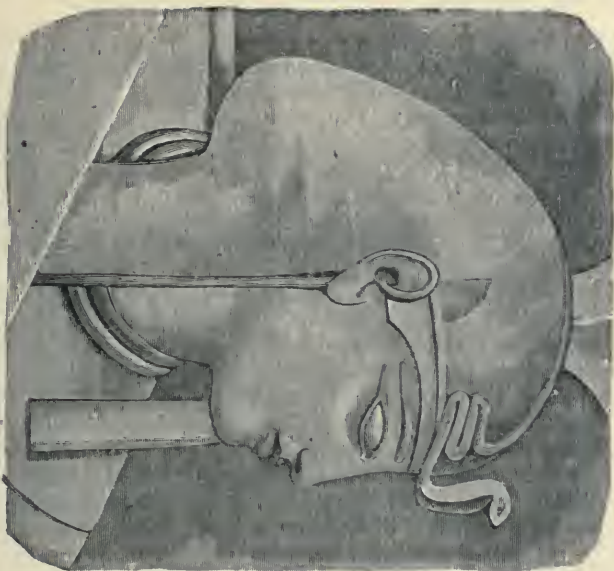
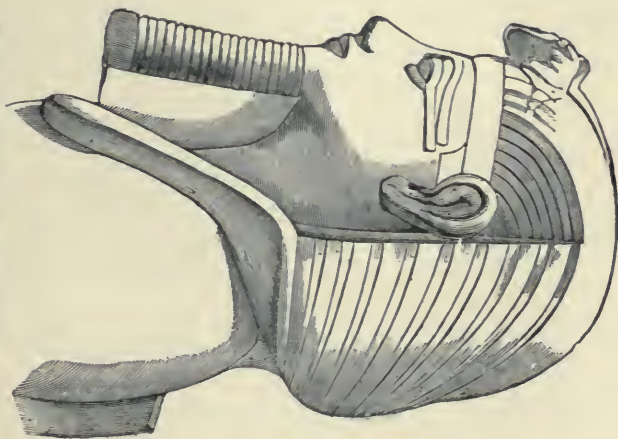


FIG. 33.—HEAD OF AMENOPHTIS III.—See Page 146.



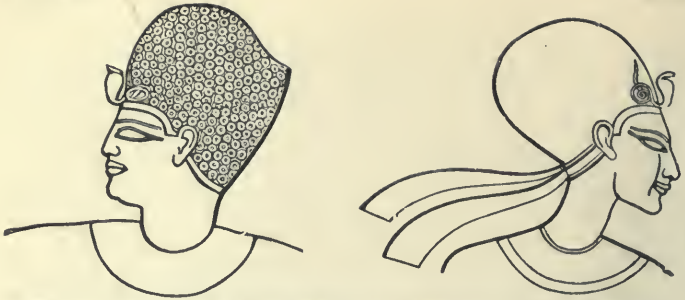


Fig. 34.—HEADRESSES OF THOTHMES III. AND AMENÔPHIS IV.—See Page 191.



Fig. 35.—HEAD OF NEFERTARI-AAHMES.—See Page 114.

of much booty, but which did not add any new province to the Empire.

According to one writer, the maritime successes of Thothmes were almost more remarkable than those which he gained by land. "One perceives," says M. Lenormant,¹⁶⁹ "by the inscription upon the stéle of Thebes that the fleets of the great Pharaoh, after having first conquered Cyprus and Crete, had further subjected to his sceptre the islands of the southern Archipelago, a considerable portion of the seaboard of Greece and of Asia, and even perhaps the lower extremity of Italy. It appears to me that one ought to conclude from the same monument that the war-vessels of Thothmes III. penetrated pretty frequently into the waters of the Black Sea, where Herodotus pretends that the Egyptians had before this founded a colony in Colchis for the working of the mines."¹⁷⁰ I am, in fact, disposed to recognize the ancestors of the Germanic Ases—the descendants of the Ashkenaz of Genesis x.—at this time dwellers on the Palus Mæotis—in one of the tribes enumerated among the northern peoples who paid tribute to the fleet of Thothmes. In another direction the same force had made the authority of Egypt to be acknowledged along the entire seaboard of Libya. Memorials of the reign of Thothmes III. have been found at Cherchell in Algeria; and it is not at all impossible that they really mark the limit whereto the power of this prince extended on the north coast of Africa."

Now, it is certain that Thothmes was accompanied and supported by a considerable fleet in several of his expeditions into Syria;¹⁷¹ and it is not at all improbable that he extended his dominion over the island of Cyprus, which at a much less flourishing period was conquered and held by Amasis.¹⁷² But the extended maritime dominion assigned to him in this passage scarcely rests on any secure or stable foundation. It is not accepted by the more sober of modern Egyptologists,¹⁷³ nor can it be said to have probability in its favor. The spirit of maritime enterprise which animated the Greeks, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, was at no time rife in Egypt; and Egyptian sailors would scarcely have confronted the perils of the inhospitable Euxine, or even of the open Mediterranean, without a much stronger inducement than any which the European coasts had at this time to offer them. It is said that they may have employed the services of Tyrian mariners;¹⁷⁴ but there is no evidence that Tyre was at this early date (circ. B.C. 1500) a great maritime state, or indeed that the Phœnicians proper had as yet passed from

the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.¹⁷⁶ The sole foundation on which M. Lenormant's theory rests is that of the ethnic names occurring in the hymn or song of victory inscribed by Thothmes on the wall of the temple of Ammon at Thebes; but these names are of exceedingly doubtful import, and, according to Dr. Brugsch, designate none but Asiatic or African nations. The passage on which M. Lenormant rests his theory is thus translated by his German fellow-labourer:¹⁷⁶—

(AMMON *loquitur.*)

I came, and thou smotest the princes of Zahi ;
I scattered them under thy feet all over their lands ;
I made them regard thy Holiness as the blazing sun ;
Thou shinest in sight of them in my form.

I came, and thou smotest those that dwell in Asia ;
Thou tookest captive the goat-herds of Rutcn ;
I made them behold thy Holiness in thy royal adornments,
As thou graspest thy weapons in the war chariot.

I came and thou smotest the land of the East ;
Thou marchedst against the dwellers in the Holy Land :
I made them to behold thy Holiness as the star Canopus,
Which sends forth its heat and disperses the dew.

I came, and thou smotest the land of the West ;
Kefa and Asebi (*i.e.* Phœnicia and Cyprus) held thee in fear .
I make them look upon thy Holiness as upon a young bull,
Courageous, with sharp horns, whom none can approach.

I came, and thou smotest the subjects of their lords ;
The land of Mathen trembled for fear of thee ;
I made them look upon thy Holiness as upon a crocodile,
Terrible in the waters, not to be encountered.

I came, and thou smotest them that dwelt in the Great Sea :
The inhabitants of the isles were afraid of thy war-cry :
I make them behold thy Holiness as the Avenger,
Who shows himself at the back of his victim.

I came, and thou smotest the land of the Tahennu ;
The people of Uten submitted themselves to thy power ;
I made them see thy Holiness as a lion, fierce of eye,
Who leaves his den and stalks through the valleys.

I came, and thou smotest the hinder (*i.e.*) northern lands .
The circuit of the Great Sea is bound in thy grasp ;
I made them behold thy Holiness as the hovering hawk,
Which seizes with his glance whatever pleases him.

I came, and thou smotest the lands in front ;
 Those that sat upon the sand thou carriest away captive,
 I made them behold thy Holiness like the jackal of the South,
 Which passes through the lands as a hidden wanderer.

I came, and thou smotest the nomad tribes of Nubia,
 Even to the land of Shat, which thou holdest in thy grasp ;
 I made them behold thy Holiness like thy pair of brothers,
 Whose hands I have united to bless thee.

If this be a correct version of the Egyptian original, it is clear that the maritime dominion claimed is of the vaguest kind. Some "dwellers in the Great Sea" are said to have been smitten, which would be sufficiently answered by the reduction of Cyprus, or even by that of the island Tyre and of Aradus; others have heard and feared the conqueror's war-cry; he has smitten certain "northern" nations, which may point merely to the Ruten and the Tahai or Zahi; and "the circuit of the Great Sea is bound in his grasp," which would be ordinary Oriental hyperbole for obtaining the mastery over the Eastern Mediterranean. On the whole, it would seem to be most probable that the fleets of Thothmes III. traversed only the extreme eastern portion of the Levant, and that his maritime dominion did not extend further than the coasts of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia,¹⁷⁷ and Cyprus.

Still, it is not without reason that the latest historian of Egypt has pronounced Thothmes III. to have been the greatest of Egyptian kings.¹⁷⁸ Ambitious, restless, brave even to rashness,¹⁷⁹ equally remarkable as a warrior and as a general, successful in his naval no less than in his military operations, he spread the name and fame of Egypt through distant lands, alarmed the great empires of Western Asia, conquered and held in subjection all Syria and Western Mesopotamia as far as the Khabour river, probably reduced Cyprus, chastised the Arabs, crushed rebellion in Nubia, and left to his successor a dominion extending above eleven hundred miles from north to south, and (in places) four hundred and fifty miles from west to east. At the same time he distinguished himself as a builder. Restorer or founder of a score of temples, designer of the great "Hall of Pillars" at Thebes, by far the largest apartment that the world had as yet seen, erector of numerous gigantic obelisks, constructor and adorer of vast propylæa, author or restorer of at least five huge colossi, he has left the impress of his presence in Egypt more widely than almost any other of her kings, while at the same time he has supplied to the great capitals of the modern

world their most striking Egyptian monuments. The memorial which he erected to commemorate his conquest of the land of Naharain looks down upon the place of the Atmeidan in the city of Constantine; one of his great Theban obelisks rears itself in the midst of the Piazza in front of the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome;¹⁸⁰ while the twin spires which he set up before the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, after long adorning Alexandria, have been conveyed respectively to London and to New York, where they may check the overweening arrogance of the two proudest nations of the modern world by showing them that the art and engineering skill of ancient Egypt were in some respects unapproachable. It may be further noted that the name of Thothmes III. is found, more frequently than any other, on scarabæi and small images,¹⁸¹ which were used as amulets; whence it would seem that he was regarded after his death as a sort of deity of good luck, "a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and sorcerers."¹⁸²

In person Thothmes III. does not appear to have been very remarkable. His countenance was thoroughly Egyptian, but not characterized by any strong individuality. The long, well-shaped, but somewhat delicate nose, almost in line with the forehead, gives a slightly feminine appearance to the face, which is generally represented as beardless and moderately plump. The eye, prominent, and larger than that of the ordinary Egyptian, has a pensive but resolute expression, and is suggestive of mental force. The mouth is somewhat too full for beauty, but is resolute, like the eye, and less sensual than that of most Egyptians. There is an appearance of weakness about the chin, which is short and retreats slightly, thus helping to give the entire countenance a womanish look. Altogether, the face has less of strength and determination than we should have expected, but is not wholly without indications of those qualities.

Thothmes III. died after a reign of fifty-four years,¹⁸³ according to his own reckoning,¹⁸⁴ probably at about the age of sixty,¹⁸⁵ since he seems to have been a mere infant at the death of his father, Thothmes I. He married a wife called Hatasu Merira,¹⁸⁶ by whom he had at least two children, a daughter,¹⁸⁷ Nefru-ra, and a son, Amen-hotep, who succeeded him.


Amen-hotep, the son of Thothmes III. (Fig. 27), took on his accession the throne-name of Ra-aa-khepru, and is known in history as Amenophis II.¹⁸⁸ He was not a king of any great force of character or ability. During his short reign of some


seven or eight years,¹⁹⁰ he achieved but little that is deserving of remembrance. As crown prince, it would seem that he had conducted a campaign against the Bedouins of the desert between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea, in which he had obtained certain successes.¹⁹⁰ As king, his efforts were directed solely to the maintenance of the Empire acquired by his father, and the chastisement of those who rebelled against his authority. Following the usual practice of Oriental subject nations at the death of their conqueror, the tribes of Western Asia no sooner heard of Thothmes' decease than they renounced their allegiance to Egypt, and reclaimed their independence. Amenôphis in his first or second year had to undertake an expedition against the rebels, and to re-establish the authority of Egypt over the entire region which had been conquered by his father. It appears that he was everywhere successful. He rapidly overran Syria and Mesopotamia, taking the chief cities after short sieges, and even pushed his arms as far as the town of Ni, the supposed great city of Nineveh.¹⁹¹ At Takhira in Northern Syria he slew, he tells us, seven kings with his own battle-club; after which he suspended their bodies from the prow of his own war-vessels, and in this way conveyed them to Egypt where he hung six out of the seven outside the walls of Thebes, and the remaining one on the wall of Napata, to serve as a warning to the negroes of the south.¹⁹² It is remarkable that Amenôphis II. is the first king who represents himself in the act of killing several captured monarchs at one and the same time with a club or mace;¹⁹³ and the account which he gives of his proceedings raises the suspicion that the cold-blooded murder was actually accomplished by his own hand. If so, we must regard him as at once cruel and barbarous—cruel, to condemn to death so large a number, when the execution of two or three would have been equally efficacious as a warning; barbarous, to take upon himself the odious office of executioner. Modern Egyptologists have for the most part glossed over or ignored the crimes and cruelties, the defilements and abominations, which deformed the civilization of Egypt. It is not the wish of the present writer to give them undue prominence; but the interests of historic truth require that, when the occasion offers, they should be noticed, lest a false estimate should be formed of the degree of refinement and of moral development to which the Egyptians of Pharaonic times attained.

The countries which Amenôphis II. claims to have chastised and reduced to obedience are eleven in number; but

some of them are very vaguely indicated. A recent writer thus enumerates them.¹⁹⁴ "The land of the south, the inhabitants of the Oases, and the land of the north, the Arabians or Shasu, the Marmaridæ (Tahennu), the Nubian nomad tribes, the Asiatic husbandmen, Naharain, Phœnicia, the Cilician coast, the upper Ruten country." If all these had rebelled, Amenôphis must certainly have had enough to occupy him during his short reign, and deserves some credit for having re-established the authority of Egypt on all sides, after it had been so seriously menaced.

As a builder, Amenôphis II. fell very far short, not only of his predecessor, but of most Egyptian kings of this period. The hall which he added to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes is on a mean scale, and poor in the character of its ornamentation;¹⁹⁵ his temple at Amada in Nubia has no particular merit; nor do the additions which he made to the temple of Totun at Koummeh¹⁹⁶ strike the traveller as having much to recommend them to his notice. The best monument of his reign is his tomb at Abd-el-Qurnah, where he is represented seated upon his throne, with a sceptre in his right hand, and wearing the peculiar headdress which characterizes the god Merula. Below him is a frieze containing the scutcheons of eleven captured kings, while in front of him are numerous relatives and attendants, bringing offerings of various kinds, stone sphinxes, colossal statues, furniture, arms, vases, mirrors, and the like.¹⁹⁷ His other sculptures are chiefly religious, and exhibit him as a worshipper of Harmachis, Ammon-Ra, Thoth, Kneph, Totun, and Usnrtasen III., the great Nubian conqueror. They are altogether of a commonplace character.

Amenôphis was the son of Hatasu-Merira, and in one place represents her as seated behind him on a throne like his own,¹⁹⁸ which would seem to imply that he had associated her with him in the government. He had a son, Shæmuas or Khamus, who bore the office of chief priest of Ammon, and a grandson, Amen-hotep, or Amenôphis, with the surname of Hapu.¹⁹⁹ The son, however, who succeeded him on the throne, bore his grandfather's name of Thothmes, to which he added those of Men-khepru-ra, , and Sha-shau,

, on his accession. It would seem that Thothmes was not the eldest son, or expectant heir of his predecessor, since he ascribes his accession to the special favor of Harmachis, and relates how that deity appeared to him as he

slept, and raised his thoughts to the hope of sovereignty.²⁰⁰ Naturally, when he became king, it was to the worship of Harmachis that he specially devoted himself; and identifying that god in some peculiar way with the Great Sphinx of the Pyramids,²⁰¹ he set himself to clear away the vast mass of loose sand which had accumulated round the monument, and to exhibit to his contemporaries the entire figure in all its marvellous grandeur and beauty. At the same time he set up between the fore paws of the Sphinx a massive memorial tablet, twelve feet high and nearly eight feet broad, on which he recorded the circumstances of his dream, his resolve to undertake the work of removing the immense accumulation of sand, and no doubt the happy accomplishment of his enterprise.²⁰² In front of his memorial tablet, and also within the paws of the monstrous animal, Thothmes constructed a small temple for the worship of the god with whom he identified it, which was recently uncovered by Dr. Lepsius, but is now again engulfed by the ever encroaching sands of the desert.²⁰³

As a warrior, Thothmes IV. (Fig. 30) achieved little that was remarkable. One expedition against the Hittites of Syria,²⁰⁴ and another against the Cushites or people of Ethiopia,²⁰⁵ are all that can be assigned to him. The former he commemorated in the great temple of Ammon at Thebes, the latter in the Nubian temple of Amada. The captain, Amen-hotep, seems to have accompanied him on both these occasions, and to have exaggerated his master's successes into a general subjection of both the South and the North.²⁰⁶ Thothmes, however, in a memorial tablet at Qurnah, represents himself as smiting two enemies only.²⁰⁷

In his youth, Thothmes was addicted to field sports and manly exercises. He hunted the lion in the desert region to the west of the pyramids of Ghizeh, and practised spear-throwing for his pleasure with bronze weapons, which he hurled at a target. So swift were the horses which he was accustomed to drive in his chariot, that, according to his own statement, they outstripped the wind, and when he overtook persons as he was driving, he passed them so rapidly that they could not recognize him.²⁰⁸

Like his father, Thothmes IV. died when he was still quite a young man, having reigned not more than about eight or nine years.²⁰⁹ He was succeeded by a son, Amen-hotep, or Amenôphis, who took the throne name of Ma-neb-ra,²¹⁰



, and is known as Amenôphis III. Born, as it

would seem, of an Ethiopian mother, Mut-em-ua²¹¹ (Fig. 22), Amenôphis had a somewhat foreign physiognomy; and it was probably owing to his foreign connection that he favored changes in the State religion which were looked upon as revolutionary. He married a wife named Tii (Fig. 25) or Taia,²¹² who was certainly a foreigner,²¹³ though of what nation is doubtful. Her father's name was Juaa, her mother's Tuaa, possibly Arabian, possibly Ethiopian appellatives. Tenderly attached to her and dominated by her influence, he leant towards that exclusive and peculiar Sun-worship which was established by his successor, and though not the direct introducer of the change, must be viewed as having paved the way to it by accustoming the Egyptians to the idea.²¹⁴ The religious history of the ancient Eastern world is a subject at once too wide and too obscure to be discussed in this place episodically; but it cannot be questioned that from a very ancient date there existed in Arabia and elsewhere a special devotion to the brilliant orb of day, which from time to time aspired to become a distinct and separate religion. In the nature worship of the Old Egyptian Empire the Sun had held no very important place. Phthah, Khem, and Kneph had been the principal deities, while Ra had occupied a quite subordinate position. With the rise of Thebes to power a change had occurred. Ammon, early identified with Ra, and known commonly as Ammon-Ra, had been recognized as the head of the Pantheon; Mentu, Shu, Tum, Harmachis, solar gods, had risen in rank and position: the solar element in the Egyptian religion had, as it were, asserted itself and come to the front. Now a further development became manifest. The theory was broached that the lord of light, the actual material sun, was the sole proper object of worship, and that the polytheism hitherto maintained as the State religion was false, wrongful, blasphemous. All adoration was claimed for one god alone out of the fifty or sixty who had hitherto divided among them the religious regards of the people. Under Amen-hotep III., indeed, the doctrine still remained veiled; but its leavening influence began to be felt from this time; and the reign of Amen-hotep III. is chiefly remarkable as conducing towards the religious revolution which so shortly followed.

But the reign is not remarkable for this only. From a military point of view, it is indeed uninteresting and of slight moment.²¹⁶ Amenôphis did not extend the power of Egypt either in the north or in the south. There are indications that he maintained in the north the dominion which had

descended to him from Thothmes III.,²¹⁶ and abundant proof that he engaged personally in military operations in the south;²¹⁷ but we cannot ascribe to him any extension of the Egyptian territory even in this quarter. He was content, as it would seem, to conduct razzias on a large scale against the unhappy negro tribes,²¹⁸ and to carry off into captivity some hundreds of their members, the great majority consisting of women and children.²¹⁹ He may possibly have obtained the submission of some tribes which were not previously subject, and it is not unlikely that he once or twice defeated the Ethiopians; but it is absurd to speak of him as a conquering monarch, or to put him "on a level with the great Thothmes," in respect of military matters.

As a builder, on the contrary, Amenôphis III. is entitled to very considerable credit, and may claim a place among the most distinguished of Egyptian monarchs.²²⁰ Tablets existing in the quarries of Toura near Memphis show that he began to excavate stone for the repairs of temples as early as his first and second year;²²¹ and the scale and number of his works are such as to indicate unremitting attention to sculpture and building during the whole term of his long reign of thirty-six years. Amenôphis erected the great temple of Ammon at Luxor, one of the most magnificent in all Egypt,²²² embellished that of Karnak with a new propylon, built two new temples on the same site to Ammon and Maut, and "united the whole quarter of the temples at Karnak with the new temple of Ammon at Luxor by an avenue of crio-sphinxes with the sun's disk on their heads."²²³ He also built two temples to Kneph or Khum at Elephantiné, one to contain his own image at Soleb in Nu'ia, a shrine with a propylon and ram-sphinxes before it at Gebel Berkal or Napata,²²⁴ and another shrine at Sedinga.²²⁵ Inscribed tablets dated in his reign are found at Semneh, in the island of Konosso, on the rocks between Philæ and Assouan, at El-Kaab, at Silsilis and at Sarabit-el-Khadim in the Sinaitic peninsula.²²⁶ Of all his edifices, that which approved itself the most highly in his own eyes was the temple, or rather perhaps the temple-palace, of Luxor. "I built on the rocky soil," he says, "a court of alabaster, of rose granite, and of black stone. Also a double tower-gateway did I execute, because I had undertaken to dedicate the most beautiful thing possible to my divine father (*i. e.* Ammon). Statues of the gods are to be seen in it everywhere. They are carved in all their parts. A great statue was made of gold and all kinds of beautiful precious

stones. I gave directions to execute, O Ammon, what pleased thee well, to unite thee with thy beautiful dwelling."²²⁷

It was in connection with another of his temples, one built upon the opposite bank of the Nile, that Amenôphis caused to be constructed the most remarkable of all his works—the two gigantic statues which are still to be seen before the ruins of his temple, on the *dromos*, or paved way, by which it was approached.²²⁸ These sitting figures which represent the king himself, were carved, each of them, out of a single block of solid reddish sandstone.²²⁹ Their present height above the pavement on which they stand is nearly sixty-one feet;²³⁰ and the original height, including the tall crown worn by Egyptian kings, is supposed to have been nearly seventy feet.²³¹ No other Egyptian colossi are known to have much exceeded fifty feet. A peculiar fame has attached to one of these statues, owing to the accident that during the space of about 220 years it emitted a musical sound soon after daybreak, and thus attracted to itself an inordinate share of the attention of travellers. A magical power was thought to be inherent in the "vocal Memnon"—as the statue was called—and for above two centuries travellers flocked to it, inscribed their names upon it, and added sensible or silly remarks.²³² Eminent writers also took notice of the phenomenon and spoke of it as one of the prodigies which made Egypt a land of wonders.²³³ Moderns believe the sound to have been the result of the sun's rays, either upon the stone itself, or upon the air contained in its crevices.²³⁴ Musical sounds produced by change of temperature are frequently given forth both by natural rocks and by quarried masses of certain kinds of stone; and their occurrence has been placed on record by eminently scientific persons.²³⁵ There is no sufficient reason to doubt that the tone, "like the breaking of a harp-string,"²³⁶ discharged by the colossus of Amenôphis (Fig. 29) was a casual instance of this natural phenomenon, neither contrived nor even understood by the Egyptian priests. It is thought to have been first given forth after the shattering of the statue by an earthquake (B.C. 27), and to have ceased upon the repair of the image by Septimius Severus, circ. A.D. 196.

The impressive appearance of the twin colossi has been frequently noticed by travellers. "There they sat," says Miss Martineau, "together, yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can never believe that anything else so majestic as this pair has been conceived

of by the imagination of Art. Nothing, certainly, even in Nature, ever affected me so unspeakably; no thunder-storm in my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the Great Lakes of America, or the Alps, or the Desert, in my later years." And again: "The pair sitting alone amid the expanse of verdure, with islands of ruin behind them, grow more striking to us every day. To-day, for the first time, we looked up to them from their base. The impression of sublime tranquillity which they convey, when seen from distant points, is confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit keeping watch—hands on knees, gazing straight forward; seeming, though so much of the faces is gone, to be looking over to the monumental piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous temples after these throne-seats were placed here—the most immovable thrones that have ever been established on this earth!"²³⁷

The sculptor of these wonderful colossi bore the same name as his royal master, and prided himself on their execution, conveyance, and safe emplacement as the greatest achievements of his genius. "I immortalized the name of the king," he says, "and no one has done the like of me in my works. I executed two portrait-statues of the king, astonishing for their breadth and height—their completed form dwarfed the temple-tower—forty cubits was their measure—they were cut in the splendid sandstone mountain, on either side, the eastern and the western. I caused to be built eight ships, whereon the statues were carried up the river; they were emplaced in their sublime building; they will last as long as heaven. A joyful event was it when they were landed at Thebes and raised up in their place."²³⁸

In brief, the works of Amen-hotep III., architectural and sculptured, are among the most striking left by any of the kings, being equally remarkable for their number, for their vast size, and for the delicacy and finish of their execution.²³⁹ A liberal patron of all kinds of ability, he evoked the genius which he required, and covered Egypt and Nubia with masterpieces of art, in the grand and solid style for which the land of Mizraim is celebrated.

Amen-hotep was also distinguished as a lover of field sports. During the first ten years of his reign such was his ardor in the pursuit of the noblest kind of game, that he is able to boast of having slain with his own hand either 110 or, according to another authority, 210 fierce lions.²⁴⁰ Later on, he presented to the priests who had the charge of the great temple at Karnak a number of live lions,²⁴¹ which he had proba-

bly caught in traps. These ferocious beasts seem occasionally to have been tamed by the Egyptians; and it is possible that they were employed to add grandeur and dignity to some of the religious processions. The lion was an emblem both of Horus and of Tum; ²⁴² his fitness to symbolize royalty caused the employment of his image to ornament the most elaborate of the Egyptian thrones; ²⁴³ and, if we may trust the sculptures, a tame lion sometimes accompanied the king to the battle-field. ²⁴⁴ Africa has always been a special nursery of lions; ²⁴⁵ and Amen-hotep, like his father Thothmes IV., ²⁴⁶ may have indulged his passion for chasing them without going beyond his own borders; or, like some of the great Assyrian kings, he may have made Mesopotamia his hunting ground, and have carried off his sporting honors in the field which at a later date supplied the noble game to Tiglath-pileser and Sardanapalus. ²⁴⁷

In personal character Amenôphis was remarkable for kindness, generosity, and submission to female influence. In the early part of his reign he was governed by his mother, Mutemua; in his middle and later life he deferred greatly to his wife Tii or Taia. The honors assigned to Tii in his sculptures ²⁴⁸ are unusual, and imply something like divided sovereignty. Amen-hotep, son of Hapu, ²⁴⁹ and other functionaries, as especially the vizer Khumhat, ²⁵⁰ were treated with much kindness and consideration by their generous sovereign, and received rewards at his hand for which they were duly thankful. Rewards were also lavishly showered on the priests and other subordinate functionaries, who do not appear to have in any way exceeded their ordinary routine of duty. The mere payment of taxes was accepted as a token of loyalty and good-will, and earned the honorable decoration of a collar or a necklace. ²⁵¹ At the same time justice was carefully administered; even petty thefts did not escape inquiry and detection; ²⁵² and conviction was followed by adequate punishment.

Amenôphis (Fig. 33) is represented with a face that is somewhat prognathous, ²⁵³ that is one which has the jaws advanced beyond the line of the forehead. He has a long nose, much rounded at the end, a short upper lip, and a projecting and somewhat pointed chin. The expression of his face is pensive but determined. He is sometimes beardless, but more often wears the usual long beard, not covering the chin but dependent from it, and descending to the middle of the bosom.

The reign of Amenôphis lasted at least thirty-six years. ²⁵⁴

He appears by the monuments to have had four sons, whom he represented as engaged in religious worship on more than one occasion.²⁵⁵ He had also at least three daughters, called respectively, Isis, Hout-mihib and Satamon.²⁵⁶ His wife, Ti, survived him,²⁵⁷ and he left the crown to his eldest son, Amen-hotep, or Amenôphis IV., under her direction and superintendence.

Amen-hotep IV. had a physiognomy entirely different from that of any other Egyptian monarch, and indeed one altogether abnormal and extraordinary. His general appearance is rather that of a woman than of a man;²⁵⁸ he has a slanting forehead, a long aquiline nose, a flexile projecting mouth, and a strongly developed chin. His neck, which is almost unusually long and thin, seems scarcely equal to the support of his head, and his spindle shanks appear ill adapted to sustain the weight of his over-corpulent body. He is supposed to have derived this strange physique from his maternal ancestors, who are thought to have been Abyssinians of the Galla family.²⁵⁹ The throne-names which he assumed upon his accession were Nefer-khepr-ra, and Ua-en-ra; but it was not long ere he discarded these appellations, which were of the usual Egyptian type, and substituted for them the strange and wholly unheard-of designation of Khu-en-aten (Fig. 31), "Light of the Solar Disk," which thenceforward he employed in his inscriptions almost exclusively. Among his favorite epithets were Mi-Aten and Mi-Harmakhu, "friend of the solar disk," and "friend of Hor or Harmachis," whom he identified with the solar deity. He was the first king to enclose epithets of this class within his cartouche,²⁶⁰ and in this way to elongate and amplify his royal title. He was also the first openly to bring forward the disk-worship as the sum and substance of the State religion, and not only to devote himself to it with all the enthusiasm of a thoroughly Oriental nature, but to press it upon his subjects, as the proper substitute of all their ancient worships. Considering the gross character of much of the Egyptian religion, we feel strongly inclined to the belief that Amen-hotep's change was one in the right direction; that it would at once have simplified and have purified the old nature-cult had it prevailed; would have swept away much superstition, many pollutions; and would have replaced them by a belief and worship, comparatively speaking, pure and spiritual.²⁶¹ It would have been something to have substituted a form of monotheism for the multitudinous polytheism of the old creed; it would have been more to get rid of the debas-

ing animal worship and the coarse Khem-worship so generally prevalent. If a people is too gross to rise to the spiritual conception of an immaterial deity, and *must* attach the idea of God to something of whose existence it has sensible evidence, there would seem to be in the sun an affinity and symbolic aptness which render it fitter to represent the Deity than aught else which is material.²⁶² In the Egyptian disk-worship, if we may judge by the small existing remains of it, there was a high tone of devotional feeling, and a conception of the Supreme Being not wholly unworthy of Him. "Beautiful is thy setting, O disk of life," says one votary;²⁶³ beautiful is thy setting, thou lord of lords and king of the worlds. When thou unitest thyself at thy setting with the heavenly sphere, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honor to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the glance of thy son, who loves thee, the king Khu-en-aten. The whole land of Egypt and all the nations repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising, in like manner as they magnify thy setting. Thou, O God, who in truth art the living one, standest before the two eyes. Thou art He who createst that which previously was not, who formest everything, who art in everything. We also have come into being through the word of thy mouth." "Thou disk of the sun, thou living god," say another,²⁶⁴ "there is none other beside thee! Thou givest health to the eye through thy beams, creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of the heaven, to dispense life to all which thou has created—man, four-footed beasts, birds, and creeping things of the earth—where they live. All these behold thee; and they go to sleep when thou settest."

The religious revolution on which Amenôphis was bent, aroused, as a matter of course, the strongest hostility on the part of the priests; and the priests had it in their power to excite feelings of disaffection on the part of the people. Dr. Brugseh is of opinion that when Amenôphis, not content with the introduction of the disk-worship and its establishment as the religion of the court, proceeded to conduct a crusade against the old religion, and, as a first step, gave command for the obliteration of the names of Ammon and his wife, Maut, from the monuments, "open rebellion broke out,"²⁶⁵ and the city of Ammon ceased to be a safe residence for the heretic monarch. Accordingly he deserted it, and proceeded to build for himself a new capital on a new site. Equally averse to both Thebes and Memphis, he fixed on a situation midway between the two; and in a broad plain on

the right bank of the Nile, at the site of the modern Tel-el-Amarna, he rapidly brought into existence a wholly new city, which he called Khu-aten, and adorned with numerous monuments of considerable architectural pretensions.²⁶⁶ The quarries of Syéné were laid under contribution, and large quantities of granite were cut in the "Red Mountain" of that neighborhood for the construction of the new metropolis.²⁶⁷ A stately temple was erected on an entirely new plan in the vicinity of the royal palace; several extensive courts were built, in which fire-altars were set up; a new style of ornamentation, free in a great measure from the old conventional restraints²⁶⁸ was introduced; and the city of Khu-aten rapidly attained to considerable size and beauty.

It would seem that the bold step taken by the innovating Pharaoh was thoroughly and completely successful. After his removal to Tel-el-Amarna he had no further difficulties with his subjects. He reigned for at least twelve years in unbroken peace and tranquillity, employed in beautifying the city whereof he was the founder, in setting up tablets to commemorate his own merits, together with those of his wife and daughters, and in bestowing honors and gifts on the frequenters of his court and the inhabitants of his capital.²⁶⁹ In his domestic life he was especially and exceptionally happy. Deeply devoted to his mother, Tii, he received her gladly into his new city, made her a permanent resident at his court, and treated her with marked respect and honor.²⁷⁰ To his wife, Queen Nefert-Tii, he was most tenderly attached, and for the numerous daughters whom she bore him his affection was almost as great. "Sweet love fills my heart," he says in one inscription,²⁷¹ "for the queen, and for her young children. Grant a long life of many years to the Queen, Nefert-Tii; may she keep the hand of Pharaoh! Grant a long life to the royal daughter, Meri-Aten, and to the royal daughter, Mak-Aten, and to their children! May they keep the hand of the queen, their mother, eternally and for ever! What I swear is a true avowal of what my heart says to me. Never is there falsehood in what I say." Altogether Nefert-Tii bore him seven children,²⁷² who were all daughters, and who bore a strong resemblance to their father.²⁷³ These young princesses accompanied him when he travelled, each riding in her own two-horsed chariot.²⁷⁴

A few military expeditions of no great importance belong to the reign of Amen-hotep Khuenaten; but they do not seem to have been conducted by the monarch in person.²⁷⁵ The Syrians of the North and the negro races of the South are

represented as led before him by the general, Hor-em-heb,²⁷⁵ who may perhaps be presumed to have gained the victories in which they were made prisoners. The triumph celebrated by Khuenaten on account of these successes is dated in his twelfth year.²⁷⁶ which is the latest known year of his reign.

Khuenaten's want of male offspring caused some difficulties in respect of the succession to arise at his decease. His daughters' husbands seem to have become rival candidates for the Egyptian throne, and to have reigned in rapid succession one after another. The order of the names is disputed;²⁷⁷ and it is perhaps enough to say that three monarchs, Sa'a-nekht, Ai, and Tutankh-amen, all of them more or less closely connected with Khuenaten,²⁷⁸ intervened between that king and Hor-em-heb, the last Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty. Ai and Tutankh-amen have each left memorials, by which it appears that the former held the throne for at least four years,²⁷⁹ and carried on successful wars with the Asiatics,²⁸⁰ while the latter received embassies both from Ethiopia and Syria with rich and costly presents, both in the shape of rare products and articles of an artistic character.²⁸¹ The Syrians brought gold, lapis lazuli, turquoises, and other precious stones, together with horses, chariots, and vases of silver, while from Ethiopia came gold chasings, golden vessels set with jewelry, chariots, ships, weapons, and oxen whose horns were tipped with ornamental carvings. Egypt, it would seem, maintained her foreign dominion unimpaired in the south, and in the north was still recognized as mistress of Syria. We may suspect, however, that she had been forced to relinquish her Mesopotamian possessions, since we have no evidence of tribute coming in from Naharaïn subsequently to the reign of Amenôphis III.,²⁸² and no trace of an Egyptian occupation of the tract east of the Euphrates at any later date.²⁸³

There is some difficulty in understanding the exact position which the three immediate successors of Khuenaten took up with respect to his religious reformation. On the one hand, it is clear that a full share of the odium which attached to the disk-worship was inherited by them, since the "avenging chisel" has mutilated their names and features almost as determinedly as those of Khuenaten himself;²⁸⁴ on the other, it appears that two at least out of the three monarchs departed from his religious principles, so far at any rate as to restore the Ammon worship, and to combine it with the cult which their own inclinations may be supposed to have favored. Tutankh-amen ever consented to parade his



Fig. 37.—EGYPTIAN TURNED-UP SANDAL.—
See Page 191.



Fig. 33.—HEAD OF MI-AMMON-NUT.—Page 244.



Fig. 36.—DRESS OF A NOBLE IN THE TIME OF
RAMESES III.—See Page 217.



Fig. 40.—CURIOUS HEADDRESS OF NEFERTARI-
AAHMES.—See Page 190.



Fig. 39.—CHARACTER OF WOMEN'S
DRESSES.—See Page 191.

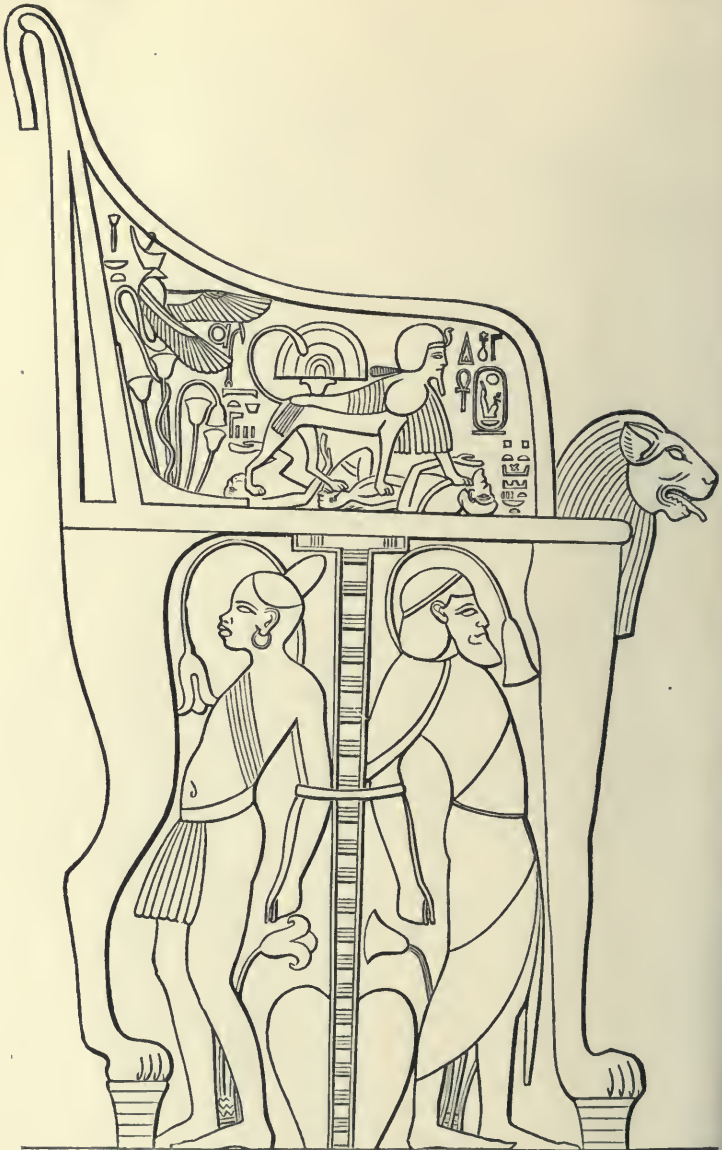


Fig. 41.—EGYPTIAN THRONE (time of the 18th Dynasty).—See Page 122,

reactionary leanings by exhibiting in his name an attachment to the Ammon worship; and Ai "sacrificed to Ammon and his associated gods according to the old traditional custom."²⁸⁵ Both of these kings, moreover, reigned at Thebes, which was restored to the honor of being the state-capital, the metropolitan city of Khuenaten falling back into obscurity. On the whole, there are perhaps grounds for supposing that the successors of Amenôphis IV., finding that his reforms were odious to the priests, if not even to the great mass of the Egyptians, made an attempt at conciliating their opponents by a species of compromise. They tolerated—nay, to a certain extent patronized—the old system, but their sympathies were with the new; outwardly they returned to the ancient paths, but in their hearts they preferred the "way" introduced by Khuenaten. As commonly happens when persons "halt between two opinions," they failed to please either side; and Egypt, after a brief period of religious hesitancy, shook off their influence and returned with unabated zeal to its previous form of nature-worship.

The eighteenth dynasty terminated with Hor-em-heb-

Merienammon, , who is identified with

the Horus of Manetho,²⁸⁶ and appears to have been a prince of vigor and ability. Though married to a sister-in-law of the heretic monarch,²⁸⁷ Khuenaten or Amenôphis IV., he proved himself a staunch adherent of the ancient religion. No sooner had he mounted the throne than he set to work with a strong determination to complete the religious restoration begun under his immediate predecessors: he destroyed the edifices of such of them as he deemed tainted with heresy, obliterated in numerous cases the image of Khuenaten, recut the name of Ammon on the monuments from which it had been erased and built, of materials obtained by his demolitions a new gateway to the temple of Ammon at Karnak, to manifest his deep devotion to the great Theban deity.²⁸⁸ At the same time he gave their due honors to the other gods. He represents himself as worshipping Horus, Troth, Khem, Set, Khonsu, and as specially cherished by Athor and Anuka.²⁹⁰ According to an inscription which he set up at Thebes,²⁹¹ he "renewed the dwellings of the gods, from the shallows of the marsh land of Athu,²⁹² to the confines of Nubia. He had all their images sculptured as they had been before. He set them up, each in his temple, and had a hundred images made—all of like form—for each of them, out of

all manner of costly stones. He visited the cities of the gods, which lay as heaps of rubbish in the land, and had them restored just as they had stood from the beginning of all things." He re-established for each a "daily festival of sacrifice," provided the temples with a due supply of "silver and golden vessels," of "holy persons and singers," presented to them "arable land and cattle," and gave them day by day a sufficiency of "all kinds of provisions." Gods and men were equally delighted with the new *régime*. "The heaven was in festive disposition; the land was filled with ecstasy; and, as for the divinities of Egypt, their souls were full of pleasant feelings. Then the inhabitants of the land, in high delight, raised toward heaven the song of praise; great and small lifted up their voices; and the whole land was moved with joy!"²⁰³

Besides accomplishing this great religious restoration, which included the rebuilding or repair of almost all the temples throughout Egypt and Nubia, Horemheb (Fig. 26) engaged in at least one important war with his neighbors upon the South. In this quarter, Ethiopia, though often defeated, and sometimes despoiled of territory, as by Usurtasen III.,²⁰⁴ was still unsubdued; and, to prevent or punish predatory attacks, expeditions were from time to time necessary, which abated the pride of the "miserable Kashi," and secured Egypt a period of repose. Horemheb conducted one of these expeditions, invaded the land of Kush, bore down all opposition, and came back from his successful campaign laden with booty and accompanied by numerous prisoners. In the rock temple of Silsilis he represented himself as he was borne in triumph by his attendants on his return.²⁰⁵ Seated in a palanquin, ornamented on its side by the figure of a lion, and upheld by twelve bearers, he presented himself to his admiring subjects, amid the loud cries of those who shouted: "Behold the lion who has fallen upon the land of Kush! See the divine benefactor returns home after subduing the princes of all countries. His bow is in his hand as though he were Mentu, the lord of Thebes. The powerful and glorious king leads captive the princes of the miserable land of Kush. He returns thence with the booty which he has taken by force, as his father Ammon ordered him."²⁰⁶ Cawasses with sticks cleared the road by which the procession was to pass; behind the king went his chosen warriors, leading with them the captured generals as prisoners; then followed the rest of the army, marshalled in various corps, and marching in time to the sound of the trumpet's blare. A numerous company of

Egyptian officers, priests, and other officials came out to receive their monarch, and did homage to him. To complete his triumph, the unhappy prisoners were made to chant the glories of their conqueror. "Incline thy face, O king of Egypt," they said; "incline thy face, O sun of the barbarians! Thy name is great in the land of Kush, where thy war-cry resounded through the dwellings of men. Great is thy power, thou beneficent ruler—it puts to shame the peoples. The Pharaoh—life, salvation, health to him!—is truly a shining sun."²⁹⁷

It is gathered, somewhat doubtfully, from one inscription, that the reign of Horemheb lasted at least twenty-one years.²⁹⁸ Manetho assigned him a still longer space, if we may believe the epitomists, who, however, vary in their accounts between twenty-eight years and thirty-seven.²⁹⁹ His wife, Notemnut or Mut-notem,³⁰⁰ seems to have borne him no children;³⁰¹ and thus he was unable to leave his throne to any issue of his loins. It is suspected that he reigned in right of his wife rather than by any royal rank of his own, and that she still retained the sovereignty for a while after his decease;³⁰² but the monuments are obscure upon the point, and the circumstances under which the glorious eighteenth dynasty came to an end, and the nineteenth succeeded it, are unknown to us.³⁰³

As the art and civilization of these two dynasties are similar and indeed almost identical, it is proposed to defer the consideration of these subjects to the close of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1400-1280).

Accession of Rameses I. His Syrian War. Accession of Seti I. His Wars with the Shasu, Karu, and Khita. Peace made with the Khita. Timber cut in Lebanon. Recovery of Mesopotamia. Wars with the Libyans and Ethiopians. Seti's great Works. His Table of Kings. His Personal Appearance. His Association of his Son, Rameses. Reign of Rameses Meriamon. Over-estimate formed of him. His Wars—with the Negroes and Ethiopians—with the Hittites—with Naharaïn. His Treaty of Peace with the Hittites—Importance of it. He marries a Hittite Princess. His later African Wars. Large number of his Captives—Plans pursued in locating them—their Employment. Great Works of Rameses—useful and ornamental. His Personal Appearance, Domestic Relations, and Character.—Accession of his Son, Menepthah—His troubled Reign. Insignificance of his Monuments. Pacific Character of his Foreign Policy. Sudden Invasion of Egypt by the Libyans and their Allies. Proposed Identification of these Allies with European Nations. Repulse of the Libyan Attack. Relations of Menepthah with the Israelites under Moses. Troubles of his later years. Struggle between his Son, Seti II., and Amon-mes, or Amon-meses. Brief Reigns of these Monarchs.—Reign of Siphthah. Period of Anarchy. Civilization of Egypt under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties—Architecture and its Kindred Arts—Religion—Manners and Customs—Literature. Drawbacks on the general Prosperity.

We now approach the grandest period of Egyptian history, the rule of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the reign of the great Rameses.—P. SMITH'S *Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 119.

THE founder of the nineteenth dynasty was a certain Ramses,



or Ramessu,



the first prince of that cele-

brated name—a name which afterwards became so glorious as to eclipse almost every other Egyptian royal title. His birth and parentage are in the highest degree uncertain; and the conjectures of the latest historians of Egypt upon the subject are so various and conflicting¹ as to increase, rather than diminish, the obscurity which hangs about his origin. The newness of his name,² the strangeness of his throne-name,³ the peculiarity of the appellation which he bestowed on his son,⁴ and the fact that he was the recognized head of a new dynasty, combine to establish it as almost certain that he was a *novus homo*, unconnected by blood with the monarchs of the preceding line, the Thothmeses and Amen-hoteps, one who raised himself to power at a time of political trouble and disturbance by his own talents and energy. Manetho, according to Josephus,⁵ gave him a reign of only a year and four months, and we may thus regard him as prevented by an untimely end from attaining any great distinction. The circumstances

Semitic with Turanian races, which boded ill for the tranquillity of his kingdom. The redoubted Hittites, who, a century earlier, had bowed their pride before the might of Thothmes III.,¹⁶ having recovered themselves in the hour of Egypt's weakness, were now at the zenith of their greatness, held all Syria firmly in their grasp, and are even believed by some to have extended their dominion into Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Whatever may be thought of the fact of this enlarged dominion, or of its definite assignment to this particular period, the Hittite power *in Syria* at this time is beyond all question; and Seti's attention was, by the necessity of the case, first turned in this direction, where he felt that the state of affairs called for a great and sustained effort. The nearest danger was from the Shasu, who "had pressed forward westward quite into the proper Egyptian territory,"¹⁸ and made themselves masters of a considerable portion of the Tanitic canton. Seti, in the first year of his reign,¹⁹ proceeded against these aggressors. Starting from the fortress of Khetam—the Etham of Scripture²⁰—mounted himself in his war-chariot, and accompanied by a large chariot force, he marched along the coast road as far as the "land of Zahi," or the Philistine country, when he turned inland, overran the tract known in later times as Idumæa, took various fortresses, and ruthlessly slaughtered their garrisons, raging, as he himself tells us, "like a fierce lion,"²¹ and wading through a sea of carnage. "The Shasu were turned into a heap of corpses in their hill country—they lay there in their blood."²² The entire region between Egypt Proper and Canaan was subjected, the names of the strongholds were changed,²³ and Egyptian troops were placed in them.

A campaign followed against the Kharu (Syrians), who had lent some assistance to the Shasu in the recent struggle.²⁴ A battle was fought with this enemy at Jaham (Jamnia), in which both sides brought a large force of chariots into the field. The Kharu were defeated in the engagement;—and Seti boasts that he "annihilated the kings of the land of the Syrians."²⁵

The defeat of the Kharu laid Northern Syria open to invasion; and Seti was able now to march against his principal enemy, Maut-enar, king of the Hittites, who held in subjection all the tribes from Central Palestine to the Euphrates. He proceeded first against the Ruten,²⁶ overcame them in several pitched battles, and, assisted by a son who fought constantly by his side,²⁷ slaughtered them almost to extermination.

His victorious progress brought him, after a time, to the vicinity of Kadesh—the important city on the Orontes which, a century earlier, had been besieged and taken by the great Thothmes.²⁸ Kadesh seems now to have belonged to the nation of the Amorites, which occupied at different time various parts of Syria and Palestine.²⁹ This nation was at present included among the subjects of the Hittites, and held Kadesh as their dependent allies. It would seem from one of Seti's bas-reliefs, that he had the skill, or the good fortune, to surprise this stronghold, and to become master of it by a *coup de main*. The arrival of the Egyptian army is represented as unexpected; the herdsmen are pasturing their cattle under the trees which surround the city, when the Egyptian monarch appears in his war-chariot. At once every one seeks to save himself; the herds fly with their keepers; there is a general panic and confusion. But the defenders of the town are no cowards; they sally forth from the gates, and engage the army of the invader, but are defeated with great slaughter by the warlike Pharaoh, who pierces scores of them with his arrows.³⁰ An attack is then made upon the fortress, which is but weakly defended, and city and people fall into the hands of Seti.

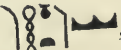
The proper territory of the Khita was now reached and invaded; and although “the well-ordered hosts of the beardless light-red Khita, on foot, on horse-back, and in chariots,”³¹ gave battle to the invaders in the open field, and offered a gallant and stout resistance to the host of the Egyptians, yet here once more Seti was successful, and defeated the enemy with great slaughter, driving their squadrons before him in headlong flight, and killing a vast number of the leaders. A sculpture shows us “the miserable inhabitants of the land of the Khita” receiving from Seti this “great overthrow.”³² A song of praise was composed for the occasion, which is appended to the sculpture, and runs as follows:³³ —“Pharaoh is a jackal which rushes leaping through the Hittite land; he is a grim lion which frequents the most hidden paths of all regions; he is a powerful bull with a pair of sharpened horns. He has struck down the Asiatics; he has thrown to the ground the Khita; he has slain their princes.”

The victory thus gained was followed by a treaty of peace. Seti and his great adversary, Maut-enar, entered into a solemn agreement, by which “enmity was turned to friendship,”³⁴ perpetual amity and good brotherhood being proclaimed between the two nations.³⁵ Seti then set out upon his return

to Egypt. Carrying with him some seores of eaptured chiefs,³⁶ and with the heads of three leading rebels attached to the hinder portion of his ehariot,³⁷ he proceeded in all the pomp of a triumph, through Syria and Palestine, everywhere receiving the submission and homage of the inhabitants. On his way down the broad Cœle-Syrian valley, seeing the forests of Lebanon on his right hand, and notieing the vast size and especially the great height of the eedars, he ordered a halt, and called upon the headmen of the hill tribes to set to work and fell the straightest and tallest of the trees, that he might take them with him to Egypt.³⁸ Assyrian monarehs at a later date acted similarly.³⁹ The Lebanon timber was especially suited for the fabrication of those lofty masts which were commonly plaed in front of the propylæa of temples; and the delicately-seented eedar wood was thought peculiarly fitted for the material of the "Saered Boat of Ammon," which played an important part in the Theban religious proecessions.⁴⁰ Seti having seen his order exeecuted,⁴¹ in a short time resumed his mareh, and, passing through the desert, returned, by way of Maktal (Migdol or Magdolon), Taa-pa-mau (Leontopolis), and Garu (Heroöpolis?) to his own country.⁴²

The defeat of the Hittites appears to have involved the recovery of Mesopotamia, or, at any rate, of some portion of it. Seti, in giving an aecount of his expedition, declares that he "had smitten the Ann and struck to the ground the Mentu, and had plaed his boundaries at the extremity of the world, and at the utmost borders of the river-land of Naharaïn."⁴³ In his list of the conquered countries, Naharaïn occupies a prominent plaee; and one of its chiefs is represented among the prisoners whom he presents to Ammon, Maut, and Khonsu, on the auspicious oecasion of his return.⁴⁵ As, however, no Egyptian remains of his date have been as yet discovered in Mesopotamia, it would seem to be doubtful whether he really occupied it, or did more than obtain from some of the chiefs a nominal submission.

Besides his great wars on the eontinent of Asia, Seti eonducted important military operations both in the West and in the South. On the western borders of Egypt, in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, the blue-eyed, fair-skinned

nation of the Tahenu,⁴⁶ , had from time to time given trouble to the Egyptians by their raids into the Delta, and expeditions had been eonducted against them by several of the more warlike kings.⁴⁷ They were a wild and uncivilized

people, dwelling in caves, and having no other arms than bows and arrows. "For dress they wore a long cloak or tunic open in front;"⁴⁸ and they are distinguished on the Egyptian monuments by having all their hair shaved excepting one large lock, which is plaited and depends from the right side of the head.⁴⁹ Each warrior wore also two ostrich feathers, sloping at opposite angles, and fastened on his head at the top of the crown. Seti, accompanied by his more famous son, Rameses,⁵⁰ invaded the country of this people with an infantry and chariot force, utterly routed them in a pitched battle, and drove them to seek shelter in their caves, where they "remained hidden through fear of the king."⁵¹ It has been supposed that these caves must have been "in the Atlas range;"⁵² but there were Troglodytes in many parts of Africa much nearer to Egypt,⁵³ and the country about Cyrene would afford every facility for such underground abodes as are here indicated.

War was also waged under the auspices of Seti against the Cushites of the South, who had once more shown themselves troublesome; and memorials of victory were set up at Doshé and Sesebi. At the latter place Seti is made to boast that his dominion reached southward "to the arms of the Winds," as if it extended as far as Africa was inhabited. The wars in this quarter were probably not conducted by the king in person, but by the high officials who bore the title of "Royal sons of Cush," of whom two are mentioned at this period, named respectively Ani and Amen-em-apat.⁵⁵

But the military triumphs of Seti were outdone and eclipsed by his great works. The grand "Hall of Columns" in the temple of Karnak—the chief glory of that magnificent edifice—which is supported by a hundred and sixty-four massive stone pillars, and covers a larger area than the Cathedral of Cologne,⁵⁶ was designed in its entirety, and for the most part constructed by him; and, if it had stood alone, would have sufficed to place him in the first rank of builders. It is a masterpiece of the highest class, so vast as to overwhelm the mind of the spectator, so lavishly ornamented as to excite his astonishment and admiration, so beautifully proportioned as to satisfy the requirements of the most refined taste, so entirely in harmony with its surroundings as to please even the most ignorant. Egyptian architectural power culminated in this wonderful edifice—its supreme effort—its crown and pride—its greatest and grandest achievement; and it only remained for later ages to reproduce feeble copies of the marvellous work of Seti, or to escape comparison by accomplishing works of an

entirely different description. The "Hall of Columns" at Karnak is not only the most sublime and beautiful of all the edifices there grouped together in such sort as to form one vast unrivalled temple, but it is the highest effort of Egyptian architectural genius, and is among the eight or ten most splendid of all known architectural constructions.

One might have expected that so great a work would entirely occupy the mind, and monopolize the resources, of its erector, so as to leave him neither thought nor means for other constructive efforts. But it was not so with Seti. Besides his Karnak building, he designed and commenced the striking Temple of the Rameseum⁶⁷ at Old Qurnah, opposite Thebes, in honor of his father, Rameses I.; he built a magnificent fane, in honor of Osiris, near Abydos;⁶⁸ he "erected a special temple to the goddess of the South, the heavenly Nukheb, at El-Kaab," and another similar one, in the form of a rock grotto, at the place called by the Greeks "the Cave of Artemis,"⁶⁹ near Beni-el-Hassan, to Sekhet; he built also a temple at Redesieh;⁷⁰ made additions to the ancient shrines of Phthah and Tum at Memphis and Heliopolis;⁷¹ erected at the last-named place the (so-called) Flaminian obelisk, which now adorns the Piazza del Popolo at Rome;⁷² set up stelæ at Silsilis and Assouan⁷³ (Syêné); and left inscriptions upon tablets at Doshé, Sesebi, and elsewhere.⁷⁴ Above all, he constructed for himself a most magnificent and elaborate tomb. This excavation in the solid rock, known as "Belzoni's tomb," from the name of its discoverer, still "forms the chief attraction to all who visit the Valley of the Tomb of the Kings at Thebes,"⁷⁵ and is one of the most magnificent of Egyptian sepulchres. The lavish profusion of the painted sculptures, and the exquisite care with which everything, down to the minutest hieroglyph, is finished,⁷⁶ excite the admiration of the beholders; while the mystic character of the scenes represented,⁷⁷ and the astronomical problem involved in the roof-pictures of the "Golden Chamber,"⁷⁸ add an element of deeper interest than any comprised within the range of mere art. The tomb possesses also a mythological inscription which is exceedingly curious.⁷⁹ In the eyes of its constructor the tomb was not wholly finished, the intention of prolonging it by digging still further into the rock being apparent;⁸⁰ but still it contained, when first discovered, the alabaster sarcophagus which the king had prepared for the reception of his mortal remains, a remarkable relic of antiquity now deposited in the Sloane Museum of London.⁸¹ Altogether, Seti's tomb, if not the most extensive, is far the most interesting and most

beautiful of all those wonderful rock-sepulchres which form so important a portion of the extant Egyptian monuments.


Other important works were undertaken by this great monarch, with utility, rather than ostentation, for their object. In connection with the working of the gold mines in the desert between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, he employed engineers to discover a water-source which should furnish a constant and copious supply to the miners and those employed in the carriage of the ores.⁷² It has been maintained that the scientific men entrusted with the task accomplished it by boring a veritable "artesian well;"⁷³ but there seems to be no better foundation for this theory than the use of certain rhetorical expressions by the historiographer who placed the facts on record. "Seti," he observed, "had but to say the word, and lo! the water leaped forth from the living rock—the stream flowed out in abundance." Clearly, this result, or at any rate a result capable of being thus described by a lively writer, might follow on the discovery of an ample spring by means of ordinary digging, without recourse being had to the scientific and comparatively modern operation of boring. We are certainly not justified in concluding from the expressions used that "artesian wells" were familiar to the engineering science of Seti's day, or that he did more than "happen upon" a copious source at a certain depth below the surface, in a district where there was no surface water in the shape of streams or springs.

Seti also, it is thought,⁷⁴ commenced that far more important work, afterwards accomplished by his still greater son, the formation of a canal between the most eastern branch of the Nile and the Red Sea. This canal left the Nile a little above the town of Bubastis, and ran east, or a little south of east, as far as the Bitter Lakes, when it changed its direction and was carried nearly due south into the Gulf of Suez. The length of the canal, not counting the passage of the Bitter Lakes, was about seventy miles. Its course may still be traced by a series of depressions along the line of the Wady Toumitat.⁷⁵

The inscriptions of Seti are chiefly accounts of his campaigns and of the offerings which he made out of the spoils of the conquered nations to Ammon and the other national gods. But they comprise one document of more than ordinary historical interest. This is the "Great Table of Abydos," containing the names of seventy-five of his predecessors⁷⁷ upon the throne of Egypt, arranged in (supposed) chronological order, which he set up in the temple that he

dedicated, in the desert near that city, to Osiris, the god of the dead. The list commences with Menes (Mena), the mythic founder of the empire, and is carried on through the monarchs mentioned in the text of the present work⁷⁸ to Neferarkara, the last known king of the sixth dynasty, after which it enumerates eighteen unknown monarchs,⁷⁹ who are supposed to have belonged to the sixth and eleventh dynasties, returning with the fifty-seventh name to a well-known personage, Nebkherra or Mentu-hotep II.,⁸⁰ and then following with Sankhkara, the Amen-em-hats and Usurtasens of the twelfth dynasty, the nine kings of the eighteenth, and Rameses I., the founder of the nineteenth, Seti's father. The resemblances and the differences between this list and that of Thothmes III.⁸¹ deserve careful attention, indicating as they do, a certain settled basis of historic belief at the time, combined with a large fluctuating element of tradition or conjecture, and thereby teaching us the extreme uncertainty of the mere dynastic lists where they are not checked and confirmed by contemporary fuller documents.

In personal appearance Seti (Fig. 23) seems not to have been remarkable. He had a fairly good forehead, a rounded depressed nose, full projecting lips, and a heavy chin. The expression of his face was calm, open, and not displeasing. In character he resembled the other Egyptian conquering monarchs, being vigorous, bold, unsparing of himself, indefatigable, but ruthless and cruel. It is difficult to decide whether his religious ardor was a genuine feeling or affected in order to secure him the gratitude and support of the priestly class, a support always of great importance to the early princes of a dynasty not yet fully recognized as in rightful possession of the throne. Certainly no Pharaoh ever showed himself more anxious to uphold the entire Egyptian religion, or more bent on paying honor to all the chief personages of the Pantheon. His material favors were freely granted to all the main national shrines, and in his bas-reliefs he exhibited himself as the worshipper of almost every generally recognized deity. Nor does any divinity receive from Seti an undue share of attention. Ammon-Ra, Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Athor are, so to speak, his favorites; but Egypt at this time was tolerably unanimous in assigning to these gods a pre-eminence. After these five, he honors almost equally Set, Ra, Tum, Mentu, Shu, Seb, Netpe, Nephthys, Thoth, Sabak, Ma, Maut, Khonsu, Phthah, Khem, Kneph, Sati, and Anuka.⁸²

In his domestic relations he appears to have been fortunate. He married a wife, Tua or Tuaa, , who is thought to have been a grand-daughter of Khuenaten or Amenôphis IV.,⁶³ and to have thus brought a further strain of Semitic blood into the Egyptian royal house. Tua bore him at least three sons, of whom his successor, Rameses-Meriamon, was the eldest. This prince, like our own Henry VIII., united the claims and pretensions of two great rival houses—the Amen-hoteps and the Ramesides—and it was therefore of importance that he should be brought forward into political life at the earliest possible moment, since the general acceptance, of which he was assured, would add stability to the throne of his father. Accordingly, at the age of ten or twelve,⁶⁴ Seti had him crowned as king, and admitted him, at first to a nominal, and afterwards to a real, participation in the government.⁶⁵ The two appear to have borne each other a true affection; no jealousy clouded their relations; each speaks of the other with tenderness and real regard; and the son carries on with pious care all the great works left incomplete by his father.

The chronology of the two reigns has been confused and complicated by the fact of the association. It is uncertain in what year of his reign Seti made Rameses joint ruler,⁶⁶ and still more uncertain how long the joint reign continued. Seti's thirtieth and Rameses' sixty-seventh year are mentioned upon the monuments,⁶⁷ which also tell us that Rameses was ten years old when he was associated. These are all the trustworthy data;⁶⁸ and it results from them that the probable period occupied by the two reigns was about eighty years; Seti reigning twelve years alone, and an unknown number, not less than eighteen, in conjunction with Rameses, while the latter reigned as sole monarch for a long term of years after his father's death.

The full title under which the son and successor of Seti I. designated himself upon his monuments was Ra-user-

ma Sotep-en-ra Ramessu-Meriamen,



, thus elaborate and complicated

had by this time become the royal designation. Succeeding

to the throne, in a certain sense, at the age of ten, he became early accustomed to command, took part in the business of the state, had a body-guard under his orders, and directed the construction of important buildings.⁹⁰ As his father grew old and infirm, the conduct of affairs passed more and more into his hands, until at last—probably when he was about twenty-eight years old—he entered upon the full sovereignty.

The greater son of a great father, Rameses II. is of all the Egyptian kings the one whose fame has extended itself the most widely, and whose actions have received the largest amount of attention. This has arisen in part, from the enormous number and striking character of his monuments; in part, from the favor in which he was held by the Egyptian priests and the exaggerated representations which they gave of his warlike achievements.⁹¹ In reality, he does not appear to have shown any remarkable military genius, or to have effected any important conquests. One great war occupied him for many years; and, though in the course of it he no doubt performed several brilliant exploits, yet the final result was one of which Egypt had no cause to boast. The empire attacked stood firm, and the war was concluded by a treaty, of which the great principle is the exact equality and perfectly correspondent obligations of the two contracting powers.⁹² The other wars which occasionally occupied him were trivial, and there is no evidence that even they brought any accession of territory to Egypt. Indeed, it would almost seem that his object in making war was rather to obtain captives than to extend his dominions, his predominant desire being to distinguish himself as a builder, and the services of vast bodies of foreign laborers being necessary to carry out his numerous and gigantic projects.⁹³

The first campaigns of Rameses II. were directed against the negroes and Ethiopians.⁹⁴ One writer⁹⁵ tells us that he “pushed his arms much further into Upper Ethiopia and the Soudân than any of his predecessors;” but proof of this superior energy is scarcely forthcoming, and on the whole it would seem that the southern expeditions of the son of Seti were rather razzias, resulting in the capture of large numbers of the unfortunate blacks, than real military operations.⁹⁶ Besides slaves, tribute and plunder were no doubt obtained in large quantities; and Egypt was enriched by the spoils of Ethiopia, which included gold, ivory, ebony, fruits of various kinds, leopards’ skins, lions, panthers, gazelles and other antelopes, giraffes, and ostriches.⁹⁷

Soon afterwards occurred the first Syrian war of Rameses. The details of this campaign are wanting, but a rock-tablet at the Nahr-el-Kelb, set up in his second year,⁹⁸ indicates his personal presence on the occasion, and was erected as a token of victory. Three years later took place the second invasion. Khitasir, the son of Marasar, and grandson of Saplel, the adversary of Rameses I., was now probably at the head of the Hittites,⁹⁹ and had succeeded in effecting a league of the Western Asiatic nations against Egypt, which threatened serious consequences. Already had Seti, alarmed at the menacing combination, commenced a defensive work upon his eastern frontier,¹⁰⁰ probably not long before his decease. Rameses, with the ardor and audacity of youth, preferring attack to defence, in the fifth year of his sole reign¹⁰¹ collected a vast army, and quitting Egypt marched "by the path of the desert along the roads of the north."¹⁰² Khitasir, aware of his movements, summoned his allies to his aid—the peoples of Naharain, Khirabu, Carchemish, the Maasu, Airatu, Patasu, Kati, Leka (Lycians?), and others¹⁰³—and took up a position near Kadesh, his capital city, which was situated on an island in the Orontes.¹⁰⁴ The host was so numerous that it is said: "Their number was endless; nothing like it had ever been before; they covered the mountains and the valleys like grasshoppers for their number."¹⁰⁵ Khitasir, however, was unwilling to trust to mere numbers, and formed a scheme for deceiving Rameses as to the disposition of his troops, and so bringing him into difficulties. He sent out spies,¹⁰⁶ who pretended to be deserters from his army, and instructed them to say, if they were questioned, that he had broken up from Kadesh on hearing of the Egyptian advance, and had marched away to Khirabu (Aleppo), which lay far to the north. The spies fulfilled their mission, but on being examined by scourging they failed in fortitude, and confessed the truth—that Khitasir, instead of having withdrawn to Khirabu, was lying in wait to the northwest of Kadesh, hoping to fall unexpectedly on the flank of the Egyptians, if they believed the spies' tale and hurried forward on the line of his supposed retreat. Foiled in his crafty scheme, Khitasir could do nothing but quit his ambush and march openly against the Egyptians, with his troops marshalled in exact and orderly array, the Hittite chariots in front with their lines carefully dressed, and the auxiliaries and irregulars on the flanks and rear.¹⁰⁷ Rameses had divided his host into four portions.¹⁰⁸ He himself, with the brigade of Ammon, marched down the left bank of the river, while two brigades, those of Phthah and Ra, pro-

ceeded along the right bank, the division of Phthah in the centre, that of Ra some way to the eastward.¹⁰⁹ The position of the brigade of Set is not distinctly marked. It may have started for Khirabu before the falsity of the spies' tale was detected, or it may have acted as a rearguard to the whole army, and have been posted at some distance behind the other corps. At any rate, it took no part in the battle. Khitasir commenced the fight by a flank movement to the left, which enabled him to fall on the brigade of Ra as it was upon its march, alone and unsupported; his attack was unexpected and was irresistible; "foot and horse gave way before him;"¹¹⁰ the division was utterly routed, and either driven from the field or cut to pieces. Intelligence of the complete defeat of his right wing having been received by Rameses, who had now reached the position occupied at the beginning of the day by Khitasir, he set his brigade in motion, at right angles to their previous course, eastward; but before he could reach the Orontes, the enemy, who must have crossed the river, were upon him, and the two hosts charged each other at full speed with desperate courage. The chariot of Ramceses, skilfully guided by his squire, Menna, seems to have broken through the front line of the Hittite chariot force; but his brethren in arms were less fortunate; and Rameses found himself separated from his army, behind the front line and confronted by the second line of the hostile chariots, in a position of the possible danger.¹¹¹ Then began that Homeric combat, which the Egyptians were never tired of celebrating, between a single warrior on the one hand, and the host of the Hittites, reckoned at 2,500 chariots, on the other, in which Rameses, like Diomed or Achilles, carried death and destruction whithersoever he turned himself. "I became like the god Mentu," he is made to say; "I hurled the dart with my right hand; I fought with my left hand; I was like Baal in his time before their sight; I had come upon 2,500 pairs of horses; I was in the midst of them; but they were dashed to pieces before my steed. Not one of them raised his hand to fight; their courage was sunken in their breasts; their limbs gave way, they could not hurl the dart, nor had they strength to thrust with the spear. I made them fall into the water like crocodiles; they tumbled down on their faces one after another. I killed them at my pleasure, so that not one looked back behind him, nor did any turn round. Each fell, and none raised himself up again."¹¹²

The temporary isolation of Rameses, which is the gist of the heroic poem of Pentaour, and which the king himself

recorded over and over again upon the walls of his magnificent shrines,¹¹³ must no doubt be regarded as a fact; but it is not likely to have continued for more than a few minutes. When his companions found that he was lost to their sight, they would have made the most frantic efforts to recover him, dead or alive; and if his own prowess at all resembled the description given of it, the Hittites must have been speedily thrown into such confusion that it would have been easy for the Egyptians to come to his aid. Chariot, no doubt, quickly followed chariot through the front line of the Hittite force; the second line was engaged and defeated; soon the confusion became general. A headlong flight carried the entire host to the banks of the Orontes, into which some precipitated themselves, while others were forced into the water by their pursuers. The king of Khirabu was among the latter, and was with difficulty drawn out by his friends, exhausted and half dead, when he reached the eastern shore.¹¹⁴ But the great bulk of the Hittite army perished, either in the battle or in the river. Among the killed and wounded were Grabatusa, the charioteer of Khitasir, Tarakennas, the commander of the cavalry, Rabsuna, another general, Khirapusar, a royal secretary, and Maturama, a brother of the Hittite king.¹¹⁵

On the day which followed the battle Khitasir sent a humble embassy to the camp of his adversary to implore for peace.¹¹⁶ His messenger was received with favor. Though it does not appear that any formal treaty was made, or any definite engagements entered into by the Hittite leader, yet Rameses consented not to press upon the vanquished monarch, but to withdraw his army and return to Egypt. It is possible that his victory had cost him dear, and that, until he had levied a new force, he was in no condition to venture further from his resources or to confront new perils.

The Syrian expedition of Rameses II. did not terminate with the battle of Kadesh, or with his fifth year. On the contrary, they continued certainly till his eighth year,¹¹⁷ and possibly till his twenty-first, when a formal treaty of peace was concluded with the Hittites. It is difficult to determine how far during this period he carried his arms into Asia, or what extent of territory he traversed with his armies. We have no distinct evidence of any expeditions having penetrated further at this time than Northern Palestine,¹¹⁸ unless it be on one occasion, when "Tunep in the land of Naharain," was attacked and taken.¹¹⁹ But the reputation which Rameses left behind him of a warrior king,¹²⁰ the title of Ankhtu or "Conqueror" which he bore,¹²¹ and the general

claims to victory and the success contained in his inscriptions, are thought to imply that the limits of the Egyptian power established by Thothmes III. were still in a certain sense maintained and vindicated during his reign,¹²² Mesopotamia still paying tribute, and receiving Egyptian residents, if not even Egyptian garrisons, and the chiefs even of such a distant place as Singara being still content to be regarded as Egyptian subjects.¹²³ But, whatever vestiges remained of the old period of glory and dominion, it cannot be seriously doubted that the real power of Egypt had now considerably declined; ¹²⁴ "the bonds of subjection were much less strict than under Thothmes III.; prudential motives constrained the Egyptians to be content with very much less—with such acknowledgments as satisfied their vanity rather than with the exercise of a real power."¹²⁵

The treaty concluded with the Hittites is a strong indication of the changed circumstances of Egypt, and her inability to maintain the dominant position which she had reached under Thothmes. It was, as already observed,¹²⁶ based upon the principle of an exact equality between the two high contracting powers. *Khitasir* was termed "the great king of Khita, the powerful," *Rameses* "the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful." The genealogy of each was reckoned back to his grandfather. Both parties engaged reciprocally for their sons and their sons' sons. Friendship was pledged by the following formula: "He shall be my ally; he shall be my friend; I will be his ally; I will be his friend for ever." The stipulations of the alliance were throughout mutual. The king of the Khita engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of Egypt, and the king of Egypt engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of the Khita. Each bound himself, if the other were attacked, either to come in person, or to send his forces, to the other's assistance. Each pledged himself to the extradition both of criminals fleeing from justice, and of any other subjects wishing to transfer their allegiance. Each at the same time stipulated for an amnesty of offences in case of all persons thus surrendered. The treaty was placed under the protection of the gods of the two countries, who were invoked respectively to protect observers and punish infringers of it.¹²⁷

It is evident that the acknowledgment of the Hittite power and the engagements to respect its territorial limits and defend it against foreign attack constituted an effectual bar to the extension of Egyptian influence in Asia, and very nearly cut Egypt off from her possessions on and beyond the Euphrates.

Little more than a nominal subjection of dependencies so remote could remain, when almost the whole of the intermediate country ¹²⁸ was relinquished to a rival power. The Hittite empire must at this time have presented itself to the Mesopotamian and Syrian nations as that which was in the ascendant, and which policy required them to court. Egypt's day must have appeared to be past, and the smaller states of Western Asia must have begun to gravitate to the new centre.

A conspicuous evidence of the altered condition of things, strongly indicative of the great advance of the Hittite power, was the marriage of Rameses, in the thirty-fourth year of his sole reign, to the daughter of Khitasir, and her proclamation as queen consort by the name, which she must have newly taken, of Ur-maa-nefru-ra. "The prince of Khita, clad in the dress of his country, himself conducted the bride to the palace of his son-in-law," ¹²⁹ and, after receiving hospitable entertainment, returned to his own land. It would seem that the princess had captivated the heart of the susceptible monarch by her remarkable beauty on an occasion when she had come forward in her own country to plead the cause of some captives whom he was inclined to treat harshly. "She stood forward at their head, to soften the heart of King Rameses,—a great inconceivable wonder,—not knowing the impression which her beauty made upon him." ¹³⁰ The fascination of unconscious loveliness is always great; and Rameses was apparently induced to seek the hand of the Hittite princess by the feelings which were called forth on this occasion.

Besides his great Asiatic war, to which the Hittite treaty put a happy termination, Rameses conducted a certain number of campaigns in the south and in the east. In the south he had for enemies the Cushites and the negroes, in the west the Tahennu and the Mashuash or Maxyes. ¹³¹ In both quarters he claims successes; but they do not appear to have been very decisive. In Northern Africa the power of the Maxyes was certainly not broken, for we shall find them in the ensuing reign taking the offensive and invading Egypt in force; ¹³² and on the Upper Nile only small and significant tribes—the Auntom, the Hebuu, the Tenfu, the Temuu, and the Hetau ¹³³—were subjugated. The boundaries of Egypt received no important enlargement in either quarter, nor were her Asiatic losses compensated for by African gains.

One, and perhaps the main, result of all the military operations in which Rameses II. employed himself for so many years, was the acquisition of many thousands of captives, some Asiatic, some African,—swart negroes from the Soudan, Ethi-

opians of equal blackness but of a higher type, blue-eyed, fair-haired Marmaridæ, light-red beardless Khita, lithe Arabs, heavily-framed Ruten with black beards and features of a Jewish cast,¹³⁴ Kharu, Leka, Nahiri, Maxyes,—carried off from their homes by the grasping conqueror, whose wars were undertaken as much with the object of making prisoners as from any higher consideration. During his early years Asia furnished the bulk of these unfortunates. Later, when his Asiatic wars were terminated,—if we may trust M. Lenormant,—“man hunts were organized upon a monstrous scale throughout the whole country of the Soudan, a scale quite unknown at any former period. The aim was no longer, as under the Thothmeses and the Amen-hoteps, to extend on this side the frontiers of the Egyptian empire, so as to absorb the countries which furnished ivory and gold dust. The principal or (so to speak) sole object was to obtain slaves. Nearly every year there were great razzias, which started from Ethiopia, and returned dragging after them thousands of captive blaeks of all ages and both sexes, laden with chains. And the principal episodes of these negro-hunts were sculptured upon the walls of temples as glorious exploits!”¹³⁵

In connection with this constant introduction of large bodies of foreigners into Egypt, Rameses devised or adopted the plan,¹³⁶ so familiar to Asiatic conquerors in later times, of transporting his prisoners enormous distances, and settling them in those portions of his empire which were most remote from their original abodes. Whole tribes of negroes were removed from the Soudan into Asia; Libyans and Asiatics were planted upon the Upper Nile.¹³⁷ Flight and escape became in this way impossible, and even the yearning after a lost home tended, in course of time, to die away through the well-known inclination of the human mind to accept the inevitable.

It was, of course, in connection with his passion for “great works” that Rameses desired and obtained this vast addition to the store of “naked human strength,”¹³⁸ which on his accession he inherited from his progenitors. In the earlier times the kings had employed the great mass of their subjects in those vast constructions by which they had striven to immortalize their names.¹³⁹ But with the growth of civilization new ideas had sprung up. Some regard had come to be had for the feelings and the wishes of the lower orders;¹⁴⁰ and if the inebus of forced labor still legally lay upon them,¹⁴¹ practically it was now well-nigh a thing of the past, and no longer an actual grievance. Slaves, captives, and subject races, not of Egyptian blood, were, at this period, the mate-

rial to which kings bent upon raising great works looked for the execution of their grand projects. Of subject races there seem to have been several in Egypt under Rameses, the principal being the Sharuten or Shardana, the Apuriu or Aperu, and the Hebrews. Of these, the Shardana were employed principally as auxiliary troops,¹⁴² while the other two—if they were really distinct¹⁴³—formed the main sources from which forced labor was drawn by the monarchs.¹⁴⁴ We know that the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus numbered 600,000 adult males;¹⁴⁵ the Apuriu, if a distinct race, may have been not much less numerous; and it is a not unreasonable conjecture,¹⁴⁶ that in the time of Rameses II. the subject races and newly-made captives together amounted to a full third of the population. Thus the Pharaoh had an abundant stock of raw material on which to draw, without putting any pressure on his native subjects, or even seriously affecting the general labor-market.

The great works of Rameses Meriamen may be divided under the two heads of works of utility and of ornament. To the former class belong his "Great Wall," his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and his numerous cities; to the latter, his temples, his colossal statues, his obelisks, and his tomb. The Great Wall, commenced by his father, Seti,¹⁴⁷ extended from Pelusium to Heliopolis,¹⁴⁸ a direct distance of ninety miles, and was strengthened at intervals by the establishment of fortresses upon its line, the "treasure cities," or "store cities," mentioned in the book of Exodus as built by the oppressed Israelites, being, as it generally thought,¹⁴⁹ among their number. The construction of this work is a strong indication of the decline in her military power on which Egypt was now entering,¹⁵⁰—a decline which, in spite of a few exceptionally brilliant periods, must be considered to have set in from this reign.

The "Great Canal"—perhaps, like the "Wall," commenced by Seti¹⁵¹—is proved by the ruins upon its banks to have been in the main the work of Rameses.¹⁵² It was, no doubt, provided with locks and sluices,¹⁵³ as was the canal which led the Nile water into the Fayoum; and in this way the difficulties connected with the tidal changes at Suez and the variations in the level of the Nile at Bubastis were met and overcome. Dredging perhaps kept the western end of the canal open, and prevented it from being silted up by the Nile mud; but when troubles came, this practice was neglected, and the channel soon became unnavigable. Communication with the Bitter Lakes had from time to time to be reopened, and

Neco, Darius Hystaspis,¹⁶⁴ Ptolemy I., Trajan, and the Caliph Omar¹⁶⁵ are especially mentioned as having applied themselves to the work of re-establishing the waterway. Various points of departure from the course of the Nile were taken at different period, the latest being at Belbays, which is about eleven miles south of Bubastis (now Tel-Basta).

Among the cities built by Rameses II., or so enlarged as to be considered his work, were Tanis—the great city of the Delta—which he made his capital;¹⁶⁶ Pa-Ramesu, which is probably the Raamses of Exodus; Pa-tum (Patumus or Pithom, identified by Dr. Birch with Heroöpolis); Pa-phthah, at Gerf-Hussein in Nubia; Pa-ammon at Sebuia, in the same country; and Pa-ra, near Der or Dirr, above Korosko.¹⁶⁷ The new Tanis was situated at some little distance from the old one, where the shepherd kings had resided, and was adorned with numerous temples and obelisks, fragments of which still strew the site. A contemporary of the son of Seti thus describes the place:¹⁶⁸ “So I arrived at the city of Ramesu-Meriamen, and found it admirable; for nothing on the Theban land and soil can compare with it. Here is the seat of the court. The place is pleasant to live in; its fields are full of good things; and life here passes in constant plenty and abundance. The canals are rich in fish; the lakes swarm with birds; the meadows are green with vegetables; there is no end of the lentils; melons with a taste like honey grow in the irrigated gardens. The barns are full of wheat and durra, and reach as high as heaven. Onions and grapes grow in the enclosures; and the apple-tree blooms among them. The vine, the almond-tree, and the fig-tree are found in the orchards. . . . The red-fish is common in the lotus-canal; the Bori-fish in the ponds; many varieties of the same, together with carp and pike (?), in the canal of Puharotha; fat fish and Khupti-pennu fish are to be found in the pools of the inundation, and the Hauaz-fish in the full mouth of the Nile, near the City of the Conqueror. The city canal Pshenhor produces salt, the lake region of Pahir natron. Sea-going ships enter the harbor; plenty and abundance are perpetual.”

The most remarkable of the temples erected by Rameses are the building at Thebes, once called the Memnonium, but now commonly known as the Rameseum (which has been already described in the first volume of this work),¹⁶⁹ and the extraordinary rock-temple of Ipsambul or Abu-Simbel, the most magnificent specimen of its class which the world contains. The façade is formed by four huge colossi, each

seventy feet in height, representing Rameses himself, seated on the throne, with the double crown of Egypt upon his head.¹⁶⁰ In the centre, flanked on either side by two of these gigantic figures, is a doorway of the usual Egyptian type, opening into a small vestibule, which communicates by a short passage with the main chamber. This is an oblong square, sixty feet long by forty-five, divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of square piers with Osirid statues thirty feet high in front, and ornamented with painted sculptures over its whole surface.¹⁶¹ The main chamber leads into an inner shrine, or adytum, supported by four piers without Osirid figures, but otherwise as richly adorned as the outer apartment. Behind the adytum are small rooms for the priests who served in the temple. It is the façade of the work which constitutes its main beauty. "What shall we say," observes a modern traveller,¹⁶² "of the rock-temple of Ipsambul, the wonderful façade of which surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work? How small, how insignificant, in comparison with it, the petty erections of our day! There, in Nubia, on a solitary wall of rock, far removed from the dwellings of men, in hoary antiquity a temple was hewn to the great gods of the land of Egypt . . . hewn as if by *enchantment*—for this is the proper word—so bold, so powerful, so exceeding all human measure, as if giants had turned the bare rock into a living work of art! Standing before this work, achieved by the hands of men, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all-powerful might. It was not clever calculation, not profit, nor utility, but the most elevated feeling of gratitude to God, that caused such a work to be executed; a work worthy of and fit for the immortal, inconceivable, almighty, Deity, to whom the ancients dedicated it in high veneration for the Everlasting and the Incomprehensible." After this, the judgment of the learned historian of architecture may perhaps seem tame; but its sobriety gives it a weight which is scarcely accorded to the best assorted collection of historical phrases by the modern reader. "The largest of the rock-temples at Ipsambul," says Mr. Fergusson,¹⁶³ "is the finest of its class known to exist anywhere." Externally, the façade is about a hundred feet in height, and adorned by four of the most magnificent colossi in Egypt, each seventy feet in height, and representing the king, Rameses II., who caused the excavation to be made. It may be because they are more perfect than any other now found in that country, but certainly nothing can exceed

their calm majesty and beauty, or be more entirely free from the vulgarity and exaggeration which is generally a characteristic of colossal works of this sort."

Among the other great works of this great king were the completion of the "Hall of Columns" at Karnak,¹⁶⁴ of the temple begun by Seti at Abydos,¹⁶⁵ and of that founded but left very imperfect by Amenôphis III. at Luxor;¹⁶⁶ the addition of pylons and colossi to the great temple of Phthah at Memphis,¹⁶⁷ and the entire construction of new temples at Memphis, Heliopolis, Tanis, Biet-el-Walli, Der, Gerf-Hussein, and elsewhere.¹⁶⁸ At Kalabshe there is also "a small but beautiful example, belonging to the age of Rameses II., and remarkable for the beauty of its sculptured bas-reliefs, as well as for the bold Proto-Doric columns which adorn its vestibule."¹⁶⁹ In Nubia, Rameses introduced the practice of excavating the cells of the temples in the rock, and adding in front of the cells structural buildings consisting of courts and propylons—a combination which is extremely effective, since thus "the sanctuary has all the imperishability and mystery of a cave," while the remainder of the temple has at the same time the ample space, free play of light, and architectural effect of a building standing in the open air.¹⁷⁰

In the ornamentation of his buildings Rameses especially affected the employment of obelisks and colossi. Obelisks, which have ceased to exist, adorned his Sun-temple at Heliopolis;¹⁷¹ and two magnificent ones were added under his auspices to the Luxor edifice,¹⁷² one of which has long attracted the admiration of all beholders in the commanding position which it now occupies on the Place de la Concorde at Paris. This monument, as measured by the French engineers,¹⁷³ had an elevation of eighty-two feet, and is exquisitely carved and proportioned. It is of a beautiful pink Syenite granite, and is covered with inscriptions, which have been recently translated by M. Chabas.¹⁷⁴

The most imposing of all the colossi of Ramesis, and indeed of all existing colossi, are those four giant forms already described¹⁷⁵ which guard the portal of the great rock-temple of Ipsambul. These, however, are not, strictly speaking, statues, but figures carved in the rock. Of actual statues the largest which can be definitely ascribed to Rameses II. (Fig. 59) is that whercof the torso remains in the ruins of the Rameseum, an "image of his majesty," which was originally fifty-four feet high, and weighed nearly nine hundred tons!¹⁷⁶ Dr. Brugsch believes it to have been one of a pair, carved to adorn the entrance court of that magnificent edifice.¹⁷⁷ An-

other colossus of large dimensions was erected by Rameses in the temple of Phthah at Memphis, and is now lying, prostrate and mutilated, amid the ruins of that structure, near the modern Arab village of Mitrahenny.¹⁷⁸ This also represented the king himself. Colossi of Seti, his father, were erected by him at Abydos, Memphis, and Thebes;¹⁷⁹ and smaller ones of his favorite wife and some of his daughters have been found at Mitrahenny, a little below the surface of the soil.¹⁸⁰ Colossal images of gods cut in the native rock, elaborately painted, ornament the interior of the greater Ipsambul temple,¹⁸¹ while the façade of the smaller one exhibits six rock-cut figures of great size, four representing Rameses himself, and two his queen, Nefer-tari-Mitenmut.¹⁸²

The Semitic blood which flowed in the veins of Rameses¹⁸³ showed itself alike in his physiognomy and in his actions. He seems to have been the handsomest of all the Egyptian kings. A good forehead, a large, well-formed, slightly aquiline nose, a well-shaped mouth with lips not too full, and a thoughtful pensive eye, constitute an *ensemble* which, if not faultless, is at any rate vastly superior to the ordinary royal type in Egypt, and would attract attention among any series of kings.¹⁸⁴ Much physical vigor accompanied this beauty of face. Rameses was the father of fifty-nine sons and sixty daughters,¹⁸⁵ many of whom he outlived, his great natural strength enabling him, despite the strain which he put upon it by his active life and general habits, to attain almost to the full term of life assigned to man by the Psalmist.¹⁸⁶ He began to reign, as we have seen,¹⁸⁷ at the age of ten or twelve, and continued on the throne, according to the express evidence of the monuments,¹⁸⁸ sixty-seven years. He thus died at the age of seventy-seven or seventy-nine—a length of time which is rarely reached by Orientals.


The large number of his children makes it clear that Rameses was a polygamist. He appears to have had two principal wives, Isi-nefert and Nefertari-mitenmut.¹⁸⁹ one of whom he may have espoused after the death of the other. He also married, in what we must suppose legitimate nuptials, Neferura-Urmaa, the daughter of the king of the Khita. Three wives, however, cannot have borne him 119 children between them; and it is thus clear that, besides his wives, he must have maintained a seraglio of concubines, whose number is not likely to have fallen short of twenty.¹⁹⁰ Such an institution was Semitic, and well-known in Asia; but hitherto it had not prevailed in Egypt, where monogamy, always




compulsory on private persons,¹⁹¹ had up to this time been practised also by the monarchs.

Of all his sons the one most dear to him was Shaemuas, or Khamus¹⁹²—the child of his favorite queen, Isi-ncfert—who was “a learned and pious prince, devoted especially to the religious service of Phthah,” living mainly in the temple of that god at Memphis, and keeping himself aloof from state affairs “more than was quite pleasing to his father.”¹⁹³ This prince was designated as his successor, and in the meantime held the office of high-priest of Phthah in Memphis, in which capacity he exerted himself to restore the worship of the holy Apis-bulls—incarnations, as it was believed, of Phthah¹⁹⁴—which had fallen into desuetude. The necropolis of the bulls, the so-called Serapeuni,¹⁹⁵ was beautified and enlarged by Shaemuas, whose buildings are celebrated in various inscriptions as “splendid works” deserving of the highest commendation. Unfortunately he died in his father’s lifetime, and was thus unable to show what architectural successes he might have achieved if he had had at his disposal the revenues of a kingdom instead of the allowance of an heir apparent.

His affection for this son, and for his two principal wives, shows that the disposition of Rameses II. was in some respects amiable, although upon the whole his character is one which scarcely commends itself to our approval. Professing in his early years extreme devotion to the memory of his father,¹⁹⁶ he lived to show himself his father’s worst enemy, and to aim at obliterating his memory by erasing his name from the monuments on which it occurred, and in many cases substituting his own.¹⁹⁷ Amid a great show of regard for the deities of his country and for the ordinances of the established worship, he contrived that the chief result of all that he did for religion should be the glorification of himself.¹⁹⁸ Other kings had arrogated to themselves a certain qualified divinity, and after their deaths had sometimes been placed by some of their successors on a par with the real national gods;¹⁹⁹ but it remained for Rameses to associate himself during his lifetime with such leading deities as Phthah, Ammon, and Horus, and to claim equally with them the religious regards of his subjects.²⁰⁰ He was also, as already observed, the first to introduce into Egypt the degrading custom of polygamy and the corrupting influence of a harem. Even his bravery, which cannot be denied, loses half its merit by being made the constant subject of boasting; and his magnificence ceases to appear admirable when we think at

what a cost it displayed itself.²⁰¹ If, with most recent writers upon Egyptian history,²⁰² we identify him with the "king who knew not Joseph," the builder of Pithom and Raamses, the first oppressor of the Israelites, we must add some darker shades to the picture, and look upon him as a cruel and ruthless despot who did not shrink from inflicting on innocent persons the severest pain and suffering.

Rameses II. was succeeded by his fourteenth²⁰³ and eldest surviving son, Menephtah, , the Ammen-ephthes of Manetho.²⁰⁴ On the death of his brother Shaemuas, he had been appointed governor of Memphis²⁰⁵ and had been admitted to a share in the administration of affairs, if not actually associated,²⁰⁶ by his father. On his accession he took

the throne-name of Hotep-hi-ma,  "he who trusts in truth," together with the epithets Bai-en-ra,²⁰⁷ , and Meri-amon, . Inheriting from

his father an empire which was everywhere at peace with its neighbors, he might have been expected to have had a tranquil and prosperous reign, and to have carried on the burst of architectural energy which had manifested itself under his father and his grandfather. The power, however, which directs human affairs, wholly disappointed these expectations. The unclouded prospect of his early years gave place, after a brief interval, to storm, and tempest of the most fearful kind; a terrible invasion carried fire and sword into the heart of his dominions; and he had scarcely escaped this danger when internal troubles broke out—a subject race, highly valued for the services which it was forced to render, insisted on quitting the land; a great loss was incurred in an attempt to compel it to remain; rebellion broke out in the south; and the reign, which had commenced under such fair auspices, terminated in calamity and confusion. Menephtah was quite incompetent to deal with the difficult circumstances in which he found himself placed—he hesitated, temporized, made concessions, retracted them—and finally conducted Egypt to a catastrophe from which she did not recover for a generation.

During his early years Menephtah seems to have remained in peace and quietness, untroubled by discontent at home, unmolested by foreign enemies. At this time he employed

himself in further enlarging the cities of New Tanis and Pa-Ramessu,²⁰⁸ which had been built by his father, and in setting up rock-tablets at Silsilis and elsewhere.²⁰⁹ He also carried on certain minor works in connection with the great temple of Phthah at Memphis, where he set up a statue of himself in black basalt, which is now in the Museum of Boulaq.²¹⁰ He nowhere, however, attempted the erection of any great edifices; and it is certainly true to say that he "does not rank with those Pharaohs who have transmitted their remembrance to posterity by grand buildings and the construction of new temples, or by the enlargement of such as already existed."²¹² His monuments are indeed completely insignificant, and though widely spread and tolerably numerous, have a "mean character"²¹² about them, which is especially surprising when we compare with them the noble examples accomplished by his father and his grandfather. Menepthah evidently did not inherit their ambition. He was not, however, of so elevated a temper as to be free from the blemish of personal vanity; and this defect in his character led him to be guilty of the meanness of appropriating to himself the works of former kings by the erasure of their names and the substitution of his own²¹³—a practice wholly unjustifiable. Such erasures had previously been sometimes made out of hatred and as a punishment; Menepthah made them for the mere purpose of self-glorification, and was indifferent whether he wronged a friend or an enemy.

The foreign relations of Menepthah were during this period satisfactory. He maintained the alliance with the Khita which his father had concluded after the close of his great Asiatic war, and strengthened the bonds of amity by allowing corn to be exported from Egypt for the sustentation of the Hittite people,²¹⁴ when their crops failed them. He received into Egypt as new settlers several tribes of Bedouins,²¹⁵ who were desirous of exchanging their nomadic habits for a more settled life, and established them in the rich lands about the city of Pithom. He retained the foreign conquests of his predecessors in Lower Syria, Philistia, and Canaan, carefully supervising their administration by means of continual dispatches and messengers.²¹⁶ At the same time he guarded with tolerable efficiency his northwestern frontier, prevented any serious irruption of the Libyan tribes, and up to his fifth year, succeeded in maintaining general tranquillity and prosperity.

But suddenly, in his fifth year²¹⁷ he had to meet an important attack. An African chief, Marmain, son of Deid,²¹⁸

collected a numerous army in the tract adjacent to Egypt upon the northwest, composed in part of native Africans, in part of auxiliaries, and, crossing the Egyptian frontier, carried fire and sword over the western and southwestern Delta, even threatening the great cities of Heliopolis and Memphis. The auxiliaries consisted of five principal nations, whose names, carefully transliterated from the Hieroglyphics, would seem to have been the Aka-usha, the Tursha, the Luku, the Shartana, and the Skeklusha. It has been proposed to regard these tribes as Caucasian races, who at this time had migrated into Libya, having perhaps been previously prisoners of war, whom Rameses II. had brought from Asia to Egypt in his military expeditions;²¹⁹ but the supposed migration has no historical basis. The expeditions of Rameses II. never approached the Caucasus, and the names are only with great violence brought into accord with those of Caucasian peoples.²²⁰ A more plausible theory identifies the races with various tribes of Europeans occupying the northern Mediterranean and supposes the auxiliaries of Marmaiu to have come by sea to his aid, and to have designed a permanent settlement in Africa. The names certainly appear at first sight to lend themselves to this view, the resemblance being considerable between Akausha and Achaioi, Tursha and Tyrseni or Tusci, Shartana or Shardana and Sardonii, Sheklusha and Sikeloi or Siceli; while Luku is not far from Ligyes or Ligures, a people of the western Mediterranean. The first appearance of European races upon the stage of history must have the greatest interest for the modern world, in which Europe plays the first part; and if the identifications of M. de Rougé²²¹ are allowed, it must be granted that here Europe first steps upon the scene, exhibiting herself as a great aggressive power in the fourteenth century before our era, a hundred years anterior to the earliest traditional date for the Trojan war,²²² and in the actual lifetime of Moses. So extraordinary a revelation has naturally great attractions for many minds in an age when novelty is more esteemed than sobriety of judgment, if not even than historic truth; and thus M. de Rougé's view has found many advocates among Egyptologists,²²³ and has approved itself to some general scholars of distinguished reputation.²²⁴ But the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are great; and perhaps it is as probable that the races in question were native African tribes otherwise unknown to us as that they really consisted of the Achæans, Etruscans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Ligians of Europe.



We have no estimate left us of the number of the invaders; but it certainly exceeded 20,000, and probably did not fall much short of 40,000 men.²²⁶ The Libyans, the Maxyes, and the Kahaka, who were Marmaiu's subjects, formed the main bulk of the force, contingents of no great size being furnished by the Akausha, Tursha, Luku, Shartana, and Sheklusha, who were not his subjects, but "foreign mercenaries."²²⁶ The attack seems to have been made towards the apex of the Delta, and was at first completely successful. The frontier towns were taken by assault and "turned into heaps of rubbish;"²²⁷ the Delta was entered upon, and a position taken up in the nome of Prosôpis,²²⁸ from which both Memphis and Heliopolis were menaced. Menephtah hastily fortified these cities,²²⁹ or rather (we must suppose) strengthened their existing defences, and, making Memphis his own headquarters, proceeded to collect an army, partly of Egyptians, partly of mercenaries, wherewith to oppose the enemy. He did not, however, venture to take the command in person; but pretending an express command of Phthah, whom he had seen in vision, forbidding him to quit Memphis,²³⁰ he sent his troops under generals to encounter the enemy. A great battle was fought in the nome of Prosôpis on the third of Epiphi (May 18), in which, after the struggle had lasted six hours,²³¹ the Libyans and their allies were completely defeated and forced to fly. Marmaiu himself was among the first to quit the field; and he did so with such haste as to leave behind him not only his camp-equipage, but his bow, his quiver, and his sandals.²³² His wife and children, who had accompanied him to the fight, seem also to have escaped, together with some considerable number of his soldiers.²³³ But above eight thousand²³⁴ were slain in the battle and the pursuit, and above nine thousand were made prisoners.²³⁵ The defeat was total and irremediable. Marmaiu's power was shattered, and he is heard of no more. The mercenaries, of whatever race they were, learned by experience the wisdom of leaving the Libyans to fight their own battles, and of not again themselves crossing swords with the Egyptians. When the next occasion came for a Libyan invasion of Egypt, no mercenaries accompanied them; and though the Sheklusha and Tursha are still occasionally found among the enemies of Egypt, the majority of the allies of Marmaiu abstained from further hostile movement. The Shartana even entered the Egyptian service, and came to hold a place among the most trusted of the Egyptian troops.²³⁶

It was probably not many years²³⁷ after this great victory

over the Libyans and their allies had raised Menephtah to a high pitch of glory, both in his own eyes and in those of his subjects, that a demand was made upon him by the chief of a subject race, long domiciled in Egypt, which must have seemed to him wholly preposterous. Moses, a Hebrew brought up in the court of his predecessor, but for many years self-exiled from Egypt, appeared before him and requested permission to conduct his people out into the desert, which bounded Egypt on the east, the distance of three days' journey, in order that they might hold a feast and offer sacrifice to their god, Jehovah.¹³⁸ Menephtah, not unnaturally, refused, fearing to lose the services of more than half a million of bondsmen, who, if they once quitted the country and found themselves free, would not be likely to return. At the same time, to punish the nation for its temerity, and to keep down its aspirations, he increased the burden of its task-work, and exacted an amount which it was impossible for them to perform.²³⁹ Moses, however, still persisting in his demand, and alarming the king and his court by a series of "plagues," continually increasing in severity, and culminating in the "destruction of the first-born," the required permission was at length obtained; and on a certain day the nation, carefully organized by its leaders, quitted Egypt and entered the desert.²⁴⁰ But Menephtah (Fig. 32) had scarcely yielded when he repented of his weakness. Gathering together all the force that he could hastily muster, horse and foot and chariots—of these last more than six hundred—he followed after the Hebrews and overtook them "encamping by the sea, at Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-Zephon."²⁴¹ It is scarcely the business of the general historian of ancient Egypt to enter into the difficult question of what sea is intended, and what route the Hebrews pursued upon quitting Egypt. The traditional belief of both the Egyptians and the Israelites that the sea was the Red Sea²⁴² is a fact of such vast weight that, against it, geographical speculations and ingenious explanations of names²⁴³ sink into insignificance, and are, to say the least, quite insufficient to establish a theory which runs counter to the belief of, at any rate, three millennia. But, leaving this question on one side, we may be content to state in general terms the issue. Favored by a "strong east wind,"²⁴⁴ the Hebrews made their way upon dry ground across the arm of the sea that had seemed to hem them in. On attempting to follow them along the same route, the Egyptians were overwhelmed by the returning waters; the chariot-wheels were entangled in the soft ooze; the horses

and their riders perished; the chosen captains were drowned —“the depths covered them; they sank to the bottom as a stone.”²⁴⁶ All the troops that had entered on the dangerous path were destroyed; a great slaughter was accomplished, and a blow received which was felt throughout the empire as a terrible calamity.

But the Pharaoh himself escaped.²⁴⁶ Menephtah, with the remnant of his host, returned to Egypt and resumed the peaceful occupations which first the invasion of Marnaiu, and then the Hebrew troubles, had interrupted. But now revolt seems to have shown itself in the south.²⁴⁷ A pre-

tender, named Amon-mes or Amon-meses,  or , belonging to a city called Hakheb or Kheb,²⁴⁸

which was situated near the modern Beni-souef, on the Nile opposite the Fayoum, came forward, and was perhaps accepted as monarch by the Thebans. Menephtah died, leaving

his crown to his son, Seti-Menephtah , or

Seti II.; but this monarch was not generally acknowledged,²⁴⁹ and a time of confusion and disorder set in, which is characterized by Rameses III. as a period of complete anarchy, when Egypt was without a master, and the various pretenders to power strove with and massacred one the other.²⁵⁰ Amon-mes (the Ammen-e-mes of Manetho²⁵¹) reigned for a time—perhaps five years²⁵²—at Thebes, and took the title of *hak Uas*, “King of Thebes,” which he attached to his name within his escutcheon.²⁵³ He designed and finished his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, an excavation of moderate pretensions.²⁵⁴ Upon his death, Seti-Menephtah appears to have been recognized as monarch by the Egyptians generally,²⁵⁵ and to have transferred his abode to Thebes, where he built a small temple,²⁵⁶ and erected a statue of himself, which is now in the British Museum.²⁵⁷ He also carried on a war in the southern part of his dominions, and set up a tablet as a conqueror on the rocks near Abu-Simbel.²⁵⁸

In countenance Seti II. (Fig. 54) was remarkably handsome. He had a long well-formed nose, nearly in line with his forehead, arched eyebrows, a good eye with full eyelid, a short upper lip, a cleanly cut mouth, and a delicate rounded chin. He seems, however, to have been wanting in energy and decision. Before he had been long seated upon



Fig. 42.—ORNAMENTAL CARVING (Ethiopic).—See Page 192.



Fig. 43. HEAD OF SET-NEKHT.—See Page 196



Fig. 44.—HEAD OF RAMESES IV.—See Page 209.

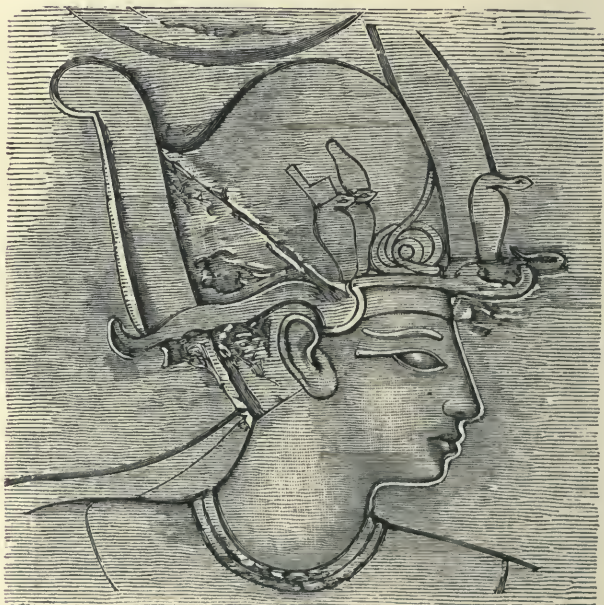

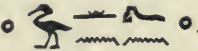


Fig. 45.—HEAD OF RAMESES III.—See Page 209

the throne, a high official named Baï brought forward, as a rival claimant of the kingly power, a certain Siphthah,²⁶⁵ who is thought to have been a son of Amon-mes,²⁶⁶ and who was certainly a native of the same city,²⁶¹ Seti seems to have made but little resistance to this antagonist. According to one authority,²⁶² he accepted from him the title of "Prince of Cush," and consented to act as his viceroy in the southern provinces: but it is perhaps more probable that he was either killed in battle, or dethroned and murdered by his successful rival.

Siphthah, , who now became king, took the epithet of Meri-en-phthah, "beloved of Phthah," and the throne name of Ra-khu-en-sotep-en-ra,²⁶³ . It

would seem that, to strengthen himself in his usurped position, he married a princess of the Rameside family, who may have been, but is certainly not proved to have been,²⁶⁴ a daughter of Menephthah and a sister of Seti II. Her name appears on the monuments as Ta-user or Ta-usert,²⁶⁵ which Manetho changed into Thuôris.²⁶⁶ She seems to have shared the royal authority with her husband, and perhaps enjoyed it during the term of seven years, as Manetho (who, however, mistook her sex) recorded.²⁶⁷ But the joint reign was troubled and inglorious. Siphthah did not engage in any wars; and the only important work that he completed was his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, which was an excavation of some pretensions.²⁶⁸

A period of anarchy followed the death of Siphthah, and separated the nineteenth dynasty from the twentieth. "For many years," we are told, "the country was without a master; the chief authority belonged to the governors of cities, who massacred one the other. After a time a certain Arsu, a Syrian, became chief among them, the whole country offering him homage; but his companions plundered all who possessed any wealth. Moreover, the gods were treated like the men; and no one any more made offerings to the temples."²⁶⁹ Once more, a dynasty of the highest distinction, one which had ruled Egypt gloriously for above a century,²⁷⁰ and covered the country with magnificent works, expired amid clouds and gloom. Internal rebellion and external attack combined to produce a general state of confusion and anarchy, which threatened the complete dissolution of the whole fabric of Egyptian society. For several years this state of things continued, and the sufferings of the people

must have been great. Had the nation not possessed extraordinary vitality, recovery from so extreme a state of depression and exhaustion would have been impossible; but there was *that* in the Egyptian character which almost defied adverse circumstances, and enabled the monarchy to rise again and again, like the fabled giant, after being stricken to the earth, and to vindicate to itself again and again a foremost place among the leading kingdoms of the world. We shall find Egypt under the twentieth dynasty occupying almost as commanding a position as that which we have shown her to have held under the eighteenth and the nineteenth.

The civilization of Egypt under these two most important dynasties has now, according to the general plan pursued in the present work, to be considered, and will be divided under our three customary heads—Art, Religion, and Manners.

Whatever may be thought with respect to other departments of art, it cannot be questioned that Egyptian architecture reached its highest perfection under these two dynasties. The Rameseum, the temples of Medinet-Abou and Ipsambul, the palace-temples or temple-palaces of Karnak and Luxor, and the rock-cut tombs of the Biban-el-Moluk, belong alike to the period, and give it an architectural pre-eminence over every other period in Egyptian history, which only profound ignorance can doubt or extreme captiousness dispute. The latest historian of architecture has given us his verdict, that the hypostylé hall of Seti I. at Karnak is “the greatest of man’s architectural works,”²⁷¹ and the entire building, of which it is a part, “the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man.”²⁷² The same writer has declared, though familiar with the grand examples at Ellora and Elephanta, that the rock-cut temple of Ipsambul is “the finest of its class known to exist anywhere.”²⁷³ Intelligent travellers are struck by the Theban edifices—the work almost exclusively of these dynasties—far more than by all the other constructions of the Pharaohs.²⁷⁴ Most of them are disappointed by the Pyramids; there is scarcely one whose heart is not stirred by a thrill of admiration as he contemplates Karnak or Luxor.

If we inquire what exactly constituted the pre-eminence of these Pharaonic works over the remainder, the readiest answer would seem to be that they exhibited more strikingly than any others the combination of enormous mass and size with a profusion of the most elaborate ornamentation. The Pyramids are grander structures, far more massive, and—at any rate in two instances²⁷⁵—covering a larger area, but they

are at present, and probably always were,²⁷⁶ entirely devoid of ornament, perfectly plain constructions, intended to produce their whole effect upon the spectator by mere hugeness and solid massiveness. The Theban palace-temples have this quality in a less degree than the Pyramids, but still they have it largely. They cover nearly as much ground as the greatest of the Pyramids; they contain blocks of stone as enormous; and even their material bulk, though very inferior, impresses the mind almost as much, being more manifest and appreciable. With this quality of vast size they united a wealth of varied ornamentation to which a parallel scarcely exists anywhere else. The buildings presented a long vista of gateways, and courts, and colonnades, and pillared halls, led up to by avenues of sphinxes or of colossi, and themselves adorned with colossi or with tall tapering obelisks, which shot up above the general horizontal line of the courts and halls, as the pinnacles and towers and spires of the modern cathedral raise themselves above the line of the nave and choir. Within and without, on the massive gate-towers, on the walls of chambers and of courts, on the ceilings, on the very pillars themselves, everywhere, on every side, whithersoever the eye could turn itself, elaborate sculptures representing gods and kings, and battle-scenes, and graceful forms of vegetable life, were to be seen, all glowing with warm tints, and enchanting the eye with a blaze of gorgeous yet well-assorted hues. Form, color, vastness, multiplicity, elaboration, mystery, combined to impress, astonish, and delight the spectator who saw on every side of him stately gateways, huge colonnaded courts, long vistas of pillars, calm, silent, solemn colossi, slim obelisks—all bathed to some extent in the warm light of an Egyptian sky, and, even where the shade was deepest, resplendent with the hues of art.²⁷⁷

The combination of mass, however, with rich ornamentation is not the sole merit of the works which we are considering. There is a harmony in the forms and in the tints, a solemnity and majesty in the grand figures introduced, a skill in the employment of painting and sculpture as subsidiary to architecture, which have scarcely been surpassed as yet, and which are above all praise.²⁷⁸ Moreover, the style is eminently suited to the country itself, to its climate, atmosphere, and general physical features; transport it elsewhere, and it would lose half its charm; but in Egypt, in the flat green valley of the Nile with its low wall of rock on either side, with its pellucid air, bright sun, and clear blue sky, it is as near perfection as anything human, or at least as any-

thing within the circle of the arts. Whatever eulogy is justly bestowed on Egyptian architecture generally belongs especially to the great works of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which brought the style introduced by the monarchs of the twelfth to a pitch of excellence never exceeded, and rarely equalled, by the later Pharaohs.

In glyptic art the great glory of the period consisted in its colossi. The rock-cut images of Rameses II. at Ipsambul, the sitting figures of Amenôphis III. near Luxor, remnants (as is thought²⁷⁷) of an avenue of eighteen, and the enormous granite statue of Rameses—the pride of his Rameseum—at Karnak, are far more gigantic than any other human forms at present existing upon the earth, and impress the beholder with a feeling of combined awe and admiration, which with difficulty finds vent in expression. “Nothing which now exists in the world,” says Dean Stanley, of the last-named of these colossi, “can give any notion of what the effect must have been when the figure was erect. Nero towering above the Colosseum may have been something like it; but he was of bronze and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object; Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world.”²⁸⁰ Miss Martineau’s impression of the colossi of Amenôphis has been already noticed.²⁸¹ The Dean says of them:²⁸² “The Sun was setting; the African range glowed red behind them; the green plain was dyed with a deeper green beneath them; and the shades of evening veiled the vast rents and fissures in their aged frames. They too sit, hands on knees, and they too are sixty feet high. As I looked back on them in the sunset, and they rose up in front of the background of the mountain, they seemed indeed as if they were part of it—as if they belonged to some natural creation rather than to any work of art.” The Ipsambul figures are almost equally impressive. “Nothing can exceed,” we are told, “their calm majesty and beauty.”²⁸³ “The wonderful façade surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work.”²⁸⁴ “Standing before them, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all-powerful might.”²⁸⁵

It is the ordinary fault of colossi to be coarse and vulgar. Giants are displeasing in actual life, and magnified representations of our fellow-men leave for the most part an unsatisfactory impression. The great colossi of the best Egyptian times are redeemed from vulgarity by their majestic pose, the stiff rigidity of their forms, and the stamp which they bear

upon them of eternal changeless tranquillity. Profound repose, with something of a look of scorn, is their characteristic expression—they resemble beings above all human weaknesses, all human passions—Epicurean deities, unconcerned spectators of the lapse of ages and the follies and woes of man.

The bas-reliefs of the period have two special features—first, they are on a far larger scale than any previous ones; and secondly, they are more vigorous and animated.—While domestic scenes continue to be represented in the tombs,²⁶⁶ and religious ones both in the tombs and in the temples, the grand subject of war is for the first time introduced²⁶⁷—all its phases receive careful treatment, the march, the encampment, the conflict, the siege, the pursuit; vast surfaces are covered with enormous pictures, into which hundreds of figures are introduced²⁶⁸—life, action, rapid movement, energy are portrayed, infinitely varied attitudes occur; the artists seem to have emancipated themselves from all the old conventional trammels, and represent the various circumstances of battle with equal truthfulness and spirit. Especially do they succeed in the delineation of the newly-imported horses, now standing still, now trotting, now galloping at full speed; anon wounded, swerving, falling prone on the ground; or again prancing, rearing, turning round, feeding, about to lie down, extended at its ease; in every position equally well drawn and clearly studied from the life. Warfare is exhibited with all its multiform incidents. Foreign races have their various costumes, physiognomies, armature, modes of fighting, war-animals, style of chariot. Even the confusion and turmoil of a sea-fight was regarded as within the range of the artists' powers; and adverse galleys engaged in actual combat exhibit to us the facts of naval warfare about the time of Moses.²⁶⁹

It is thought that the sculptures of the period which we are considering, whether in relief or “in the round,” while they comprise the highest perfection to which Egyptian art ever attained, contain also distinct traces of the commencement of a decline.²⁷⁰ The change occurred in the latter part of the reign of Rameses II. It consisted in a want of care and finish, an undue elongation of the figure,²⁷¹ and an occasional rudeness and coarseness which are pronounced “barbaric.”²⁷² To the unprofessional eye, however, the difference is not very striking, and even the sculptures of Rameses II., the second king of the succeeding dynasty, seem to fall but little short of the great masterpieces of Seti I. and Rameses II.

In the matter of religion, the most noticeable changes which occurred are connected with the disk-worship, and with the alternate elevation and depression of the god Set. The cult of the disk, favored by Amenôphis III.,²⁹³ and fully established by his son, Amenôphis IV., or Khuenaten, is chiefly remarkable on account of its exclusive character, the disk-worshippers opposing and disallowing all other cults and religious usages. Had Khuenaten been able to effect the religious revolution at which he aimed, the old Egyptian religion would have been destroyed, and its place would have been taken by a species of monotheism, in which the material Sun would have been recognized as the One and only Lord, and Ruler of the Universe. Ammon, Khem, Kneph, Phthah, Maut, Khonsu, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Thoth, would have disappeared, and sun-worship, pure and simple, would have replaced the old complicated polytheism. But Egypt was not prepared for this change. The heretic interest, naturally enlisted against it was strong: the popular sentiment was opposed to change, and especially to innovations which could be traced to the influence of foreigners; disk-worship never obtained any firm hold on the Egyptian people; it was a court religion, introduced and sustained by kings, for which the bulk of their subjects had neither regard nor reverence.

It was otherwise with the Set movement, which strove to elevate that god to the highest place in the Pantheon. There had been in Egypt from a remote antiquity a struggle between the devotees of Set and those of Osiris,²⁹⁴ the esoteric meaning of which it is difficult to penetrate, for we can scarcely suppose that the followers of Set were actual devil-worshippers. If the myth of Osiris was originally solar, and Set was merely night, which engulfs and destroys the sun, we can understand that there would be, in such a country as Egypt, persons to whom night might seem more admirable, more divine than day; who would therefore take the part of Set, and think that he had done well to slay his brother. And the division into the two camps, once begun, would continue long after its meaning had become lost to view. The Osiris worshippers were always saying hard things of Set and seeking to depress him below the point at which he stood in the original Pantheon. The Set worshippers resisted them. During the early monarchy, Set, on the whole, maintained a fairly high place.²⁹⁵ With the success of the Shepherds (Hyksôs), however, he entered on a new position. Set was the patron deity of the first Hyksôs king of Egypt, who actually bore his name; and Set-worship thus received a new im-

pulse and a new life under the Shepherds rule, until at last it was, in Lower Egypt at any rate, established as exclusively the state religion. When the Hyksôs were expelled, Set fell with them, not merely losing the position to which he had attained, but sinking to a comparatively subordinate place among the Egyptian deities. In this position he remained throughout the whole period of the eighteenth dynasty.²⁹⁶ but with the accession of the nineteenth he once more came to the front. Rameses I. named his eldest son Seti—a name commonly written with the figure of the god,²⁹⁷ and implying a dedication of his first-born to that divinity. Seti, when he became king, naturally brought Set forward, not only worshipping him together with the other Osirid gods,²⁹⁸ but representing himself as receiving life at his hands.²⁹⁹ Various princes of the Rameside house received a similar dedication with that of Seti I.,³⁰⁰ and Set's high rank among the gods was maintained beyond the period of the nineteenth dynasty into that of the twentieth.

With regard to the entire period of which we are treating, nothing is more remarkable than the absence of any strong favoritism, and the equitable division of religious regard among a large number of deities. On the whole, Ammon, now almost always viewed as Ammon-Ra, maintains his pre-eminence; but great attention is paid also to Horus, Kneph, Athor, Ra, Thoth, Phthah, Osiris, Isis, Mentu, Maut, Tum, Khonsu, and Netpé. Sati also, Shu, Anuka, Seb, Tafné, and Sabak are frequently worshipped; and occasional honor is paid to Khem, Sefkh, Anubis, Nephthys, Ma, Sekhet, Neith, Taourt, Hapi, the Nile-God, Heka, Seneb, and Bes. Altogether, about forty deities appear in the bas-reliefs as objects of religious adoration during the period, which is one at which the Pantheon obtains almost its full development. To give life seems to be the prerogative of (comparatively speaking) but few deities—as Ammon, Horus, Set, Kneph, Thoth, Mentu, Athor and Netpé.³⁰¹ It belongs to Set to teach the monarch to shoot.³⁰² Ammon-Ra, Thoth, and Sefkh confer immortality by writing the monarch's name on the leaves of the tree of life.³⁰³ In battle, the king is compared commonly with Mentu, Set, or (Baal),³⁰⁴ and is regarded as under the special protection of Ammon-Ra.³⁰⁵ Living, he is commonly entitled "the Horus," or "the living Horus;" dead, "the Osiris."

A further development of the doctrine, that the kings were actual gods,³⁰⁶ also characterizes the period under consideration. Hitherto the King-worship had been one of lan-

guage and sentiment;³⁰⁷ now it took a material shape. Thothmes III., at Semneh and Koummeh, associated his ancestor, Usurtasen III., with Kneph and Totun on terms of complete equality,³⁰⁸ figuring him on the same scale, offering to him sacrificial feasts, and representing himself as receiving "life" at his hands.³⁰⁹ Amen-hotep II., his son, followed his example.³¹⁰ Other kings exalted Nefertari-Aahmes to the rank of a goddess.³¹¹ But it remained for Rameses II. not only to represent himself as worshipped,³¹² but actually to set up his own image for worship in a temple together with, and on a par with, images of three of the greatest gods,—namely, Ammon, Phthah, and Horus.³¹³ The deification of the reigning monarch became thus complete. It is scarcely possible that any other religious sentiment can have maintained much influence over men, when the doctrine was accepted, that in their actual monarch they had present with them a deity as great as any in earth or heaven.³¹⁴

The arts of life made a rapid advance under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and progressed steadily, though more slowly, until about the middle of the nineteenth. The costumes of kings and queens became suddenly most elaborate. King Amen-hotep I. is represented³¹⁵ with three garments over his linen tunic, which itself has a complicated and brilliant ornament in front, consisting of a broad stripe in four colors, blue, red, yellow, and green, with three pendent ends of ribbon on either side of it. He has also a broad belt, similarly variegated. His upper garments, which seem to be all made of a white, striped, very transparent muslin, are, first, a short petticoat beginning at the waist and descending to the calf of the leg; secondly, a long robe reaching from the shoulders to the ankles; and thirdly; a flowing cape. He wears further armllets and bracelets of gold, seemingly enamelled, a broad collar of many hues, white sandals, a close-fitting blue cap with a *uraeus* ornament in front, an artificial black beard, two ribbons down his back, and the "tail" peculiar to kings and gods. His mother Nefertari-Aahmes (Fig. 40), who is represented with him, wears the complicated vulture-headaddress which has been given above,³¹⁶ a blue wig, a long robe of white striped muslin, indecently transparent, and an elaborate flowing cape of the same. She has armllets and bracelets set with jewels, white sandals, a broad collar like her son's, and earrings. A broad sash, blue, red, and yellow, depends from her waist to the bottom of her robe. In another representation she has a wig with long pendants of a peculiar character.³¹⁷

It is not often that the dresses represented are so elaborate as these; but there is, speaking generally, a marked advance in the number, complication, and variety of the garments, both of men and women. Thothmes III. introduces the tall cap, round in front and pointed at the back, which thenceforth becomes the favorite headdress of the kings, being occasionally covered with spots, which may represent pearls. Kings sometimes wear a spencer similarly spotted,³¹⁸ which covers the shoulders and reaches to the waist. One king, Amenôphis IV. (Fig. 34), wears at the base of his cap a ribbon, or diadem, terminating in two flowing ends.³¹⁹ He has also a long flowing robe, which falls behind him, and separates into two flaps, which are rounded off into points.³²⁰ Women, no less than men, wear sandals; and both women and men wear occasionally anklets, besides armlets and bracelets.³²¹ The royal attendants have commonly two tunics instead of one, the inner of linen, the outer of muslin and transparent. In a few cases they wear also a muslin cape.³²² Sandals (Fig. 37) are still somewhat rare; even princes and kings are sometimes represented without them; and they are but seldom worn by persons of lower rank. The practice begins of wearing them with the toes violently turned up;³²³ but this usage does not become general until the time of the twentieth dynasty. Some of the varieties in female apparel (Fig. 39) will be better understood by representation than description.³²⁴

The houses of the great, no doubt, became more luxurious as time went on, and one king shows us the arrangement of a royal palace, or villa,³²⁵ from which we may obtain a tolerable notion of the general character of rich men's residences. A large square or parallelogram was enclosed within high walls, with pylonic entrances on two or more of the sides, like those of temples in miniature. The grounds were divided out into formal courts and valleys, planted with trees in rows, the trees being of various kinds, inclusive of palms and vines. Ponds or reservoirs, rectangular in shape, were frequent, and gave the charm of freshness in a climate where without constant irrigation vegetation languishes. The house itself consisted of numerous courts, surrounded with colonnaded cloisters, and entered through pylons, with here and there a group of apartments, into which light was but scantily admitted by small windows placed high up in the walls. Much taste was shown in the designs of pillars, and especially of their capitals, which combined animal and vegetable forms, after a manner that was at once curious and pleasing.³²⁶ The number of apartments was

not great, life being chiefly passed in the colonnaded courts, and in the grounds, where a sufficiency of immediate shade could be combined with the charm of remoter light and with the free play of the atmosphere. Furniture, though not very abundant according to modern notions,³²⁷ was convenient and in good taste. Animal forms were followed in the feet of chairs, fauteuils, and ottomans,³²⁸ and sometimes in other portions of the carved woodwork,³²⁹ while delicate stuffs covered the cushioned portions, adding the beauty of color to that of form.³³⁰ The elaboration of furniture culminated in the thrones (Fig. 41) constructed for the kings,³³¹ and the footstools sometimes attached to them,³³² which were carved in the richest and quaintest fashion, either with figures of captured monarchs, or with animal or vegetable forms, or with the two combined, and must have been most curious and extraordinary works of art.

Ornamental carvings or castings of an artistic character, realistic in style, were also received as tribute from some of the subject states, and served to adorn the palaces of the Pharaohs with strange and outlandish figures (Fig. 28). One such offering, brought to Tutankh-amen by the Ethiopians,³³³ is peculiarly graceful and pleasing. It represents the giraffe or camelopard amid the palm-groves of Mid Africa (Fig. 42), and expresses with much truthfulness and spirit the form of that remarkable animal.

Graceful ornamentation also characterizes the arms and chariot of the monarch, which frequently exhibit the head, or even the full form, of the lion.³³⁴ Vases are of elegant shapes, and their covers are occasionally in the forms of animals' heads.³³⁵ Figures of animals adorn the prows of vessels; and sometimes their oars terminate in representations of the heads of men.³³⁶

In social life, the introduction of the horse from Asia made a considerable change. The chariot superseded the palanquin as the ordinary mode of conveyance; and much attention was bestowed upon the equipage and the stud. Horses were great favorites, and received special names, as Ken-Amen, "strength of Ammon," Anta-hruta, "Anaitis pleased," and the like.³³⁷ The young dandy prided himself on the strength and lightness of his vehicle, the perfect shape and condition of his carriage-horses, the beauty of their trappings, and his own skill in driving them.³³⁸ Kings generally employed a charioteer, but even they did not disdain to take the reins occasionally into their own hands and conduct their own vehicles.³³⁹ Horses bore tall plumes of ostrich feathers on

their heads, had many tassels or streamers appended to them, and sometimes wore elegant housings.³⁴⁰ Field-sports continued to occupy the leisure hours of most well-to-do Egyptians; and the monarchs, at any rate, added to their former pleasures of this kind the chase of the lion and the elephant.³⁴¹

A burst of literary vigor distinguishes the period. Literature had always been held in esteem in Egypt, and had furnished a fairly satisfactory career to a considerable number of persons.³⁴² Men of high rank, like Ptah-hotep and Saneha, had occasionally occupied themselves with it, and even one monarch had left "Instructions" for his successor, which he had cast into a highly artificial and *quasi-poetic* form.³⁴³ But it is not till the reign of Rameses II. and his son, Menepthah, that literary activity reaches its acme, and Egypt is able to boast of a whole "galaxy" of writers.³⁴⁴ The high honor done to the "epic poet" Pentaour, whose lay of "Rameses victorious" was inscribed on the walls of half a dozen temples,³⁴⁵ may have acted as a stimulus to authorship, and have given to the pursuit of knowledge and of the art of composition an attraction which it had not possessed previously. But, whatever was the cause, at least the effect is certain. Under Rameses II. and Menepthah literature flourished in all its branches—history, divinity, practical philosophy, poetry, epistolary correspondence, novels or tales, occupied the attention of numerous writers, and works in these various subjects rapidly accumulated. A public library was established at Thebes, under a director—a high official—named Amen-em-an.³⁴⁶ The roll of writers included the names of Pentaour, Amen-em-api, Pan-bas, Kakabu, Hor, Anna, Meriemap, Bek-en-ptah, Hora, Amen-masu, Suanro, Serptah. Nor was original composition the sole occupation of these learned persons. The modern world is indebted to them for the careful copies which they made of earlier manuscripts, and owes to their indefatigable industry such works as "The Instructions of Amen-em-hat," "The Tale of the Two Brothers," "The Praise of Learning," and even the greater part of "The Book of the Dead."³⁴⁷ Like the monks of the Middle Ages, the Egyptian hierogrammateis regarded it as a sacred duty to hand on to later ages the learning of the past, and, when the fragile papyrus of the early times was falling into decay, transcribed the perishing work upon fresh material.

Thus, in almost all respects, in arts, in arms, in literature, in the comforts and elegancies of private life, the Egypt of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before our era had made

advances beyond the simplicity of primitive times, and attained a point which well deserves attention and even admiration. But it must not be denied or concealed that there were darker hues in the picture. The glorious achievements of the greatest of the Pharaohs in architecture and colossal statuary were not produced without much suffering among a large servile class, whose forced toil was excessive and unceasing³⁴⁸—nay, sometimes intentionally aggravated for the purpose of breaking their strength.³⁴⁹ Taxation was heavy upon the lower orders of the native Egyptians, and collectors with no pity in their hearts exacted the last penny from the wretched *fellahin* by the free use of the rod.³⁵⁰ Both men and women were stripped naked and subjected to the pain and indignity of the bastinado.³⁵⁰ In war many cruel and barbarous customs prevailed. Captives were either reduced to slavery or put to death. The slain were systematically mutilated in order to obtain sure evidence of their numbers;³⁵² and conquering monarchs were not ashamed to return home from battle with the gory heads of their adversaries attached to the hinder part of their chariots.³⁵³ Whether kings generally slew their more distinguished prisoners with their own hand is perhaps doubtful;³⁵⁴ but there is distinct evidence that such an act was considered not unbecoming, and that a king could not only commit it, but boast of it.³⁵⁵ The relations between the sexes did not improve as time went on. Polygamy on a vast scale was introduced into the royal household; indecency in apparel was common; and the profligacy of the women was such as to become a commonplace of Egyptian novels.³⁵⁶ Altogether, it would seem that the acme of perfection in art was coincident with a decline in morals—a decline which combined increased savagery with advancing sensualism.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY ABOUT B. C. 1280-1100.

Accession of Setnekht—his Birth and Parentage doubtful. His brief reign. His Tomb. Setnekht associates his Son, Rameses. Reign of Rameses III. His Appellations. His new arrangement of the Official Classes. His Wars—with the Shasu—with the Libyans—with the great Confederacy of the Tanauna, Shartana, Sheklusha, Tulsha, Uashesh, Purusata, and Tekaru—with the Mashausha—with the Negroes and Ethiopians—with the Nations of Syria. His great Works. His planting of Trees. His Encouragement of Mining and Trade. The Conspiracy against him. His Domestic History. His Personal Appearance and Character. His Tomb. Rapid Decline of Egypt after his Death—its Causes. Reigns of Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI. and Meri-Tum. Rameses VII. and VIII. Reign of Rameses IX. and Commencement of Priestly Encroachment. Reigns of Rameses X. and XI. Rameses XII. and the Princess of Bakhtan. Reign of Rameses XIII. General View of Period. Decline of Architecture, Art, and Literature—Deterioration of Morals—Slight Changes in Civilization and Habits of Life.

“Un prince glorieux est jeter un dernier éclat sur les armes de l'Égypte à la veille de leur entière décadence.”—LENORMANT,—*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 436.

THE anarchy which supervened upon the death of Siphthah¹ can scarcely have lasted very long. Egypt was not yet reduced to such a state of exhaustion as to tolerate for many years the complete eclipse of authority and suspension of settled government. The royal race which had reigned with so much glory from the date of the expulsion of the Shepherds to the time of Seti II., was by no means extinct, nor had it even as yet shown any signs of a serious loss of vigor and governmental ability. To find a new monarch of the old blood could not have been difficult, when a recent Pharaoh² had been the parent of fifty-nine sons and sixty daughters. Probably, the anarchy was caused rather by a superfluity than a lack of candidates for the royal power,³ since the “great men” (*ueru*) who ruled in the various towns⁴ were most likely of royal descent, at any rate for the most part. It may have been difficult to decide upon the claims of the various candidates; and we can even conceive the possibility of the priests and nobles being in no hurry to make a choice, since, while the royal authority was in abeyance, their own power and dignity would be augmented. Had Egypt had no warlike neighbors, they would perhaps have temporized longer; but when a Syrian took advantage of the state of things to establish himself as prince in Egypt, and his com-

panions robbed and plundered at their pleasure, and the Egyptian gods were treated with as little respect as the Egyptian men, and the temples were denuded of their accustomed offerings,⁵ it was felt that the time had arrived for a great effort—"the gods," we are told,⁶ "restored the land to its even balance, as its condition properly required. They established their son, Set-nekht, as king over the whole land." It is probable that we have here a covert indication that the prime instigators of the movement which placed Set-nekht upon the throne were the priests, who, as interpreters of the will of the gods, brought him forward, and succeeded in establishing him as king of all Egypt.

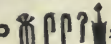
The birth and parentage of Set-nekht, are in reality unknown.⁷ It has been stated as an ascertained fact,⁸ that he was the son of Seti II.; but the sole foundation for this is the exhibition by Rameses III. of the effigy of Seti II. among the kings whom he honors and acknowledges, in the place immediately before Set-nekht.⁹ This foundation is manifestly insufficient. It gives a ground for presuming that Set-nekht was of the family of Seti II.—a presumption supported by the similarity of their throne-names¹⁰ but none for laying down any particular relationship. Had he been actual son, it is scarcely likely that his sonship would not have been mentioned, either by himself, or by Rameses III., who gives us an account of his accession in the "Great Harris Papyrus."

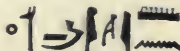
Accepted as king by the priests, Set-nekht had nevertheless to establish his authority by prompt and vigorous measures. His son compares his activity with that of the god, Khepra-Sutech,¹¹ when he is roused to fury. "He put in order," says Rameses, "the whole land which was revolted; he executed the abominables who were in Ta-Mera (*i. e.* Egypt): he purified the great throne of Egypt: he was king of both the lands at the seat of Tum (Heliopolis?): he made the faces upright which were perverted. . . . He set up the temples, (and re-established) the divine offerings for the service of the gods, as their statutes prescribe."¹²

There is reason to believe that Set-nekht (Fig. 43) was advanced in years at his accession, and that he reigned but a short time. Ordinarily, the first task set himself by an Egyptian king was the construction of his tomb; and a shrewd guess may be given at the length of a reign by noting the extent and elaboration of the royal sepulchre. Set-nekht seems to have felt that he had not sufficient time before him to give him reasonable hope of constructing for himself a

final resting-place of proper dignity, and accordingly appropriated to himself the rock-tomb of Siphthah and Taouris, merely chiselling out the names of the original owners, and replacing them by his own.¹³ He thus obtained, with slight trouble, a sufficiently dignified sepulchre—one “really princelike and magnificent”¹⁴—while at the same time he subjected to indignity a predecessor whom he did not acknowledge to be legitimate.

It may have been also in the prospect of an early decease that Set nekht, almost as soon as he was settled upon the throne, associated with himself as king¹⁵ his son Rameses, the third prince of the name, a youth of much promise, of whom he seems to have felt no jealousy. The two are exhibited on the rocks behind Medinet-Abou,¹⁶ in a fashion which seems to place them on an exact equality, bearing the same royal titles and ensigus, having forms of the same size, and mentioned in the accompanying inscription exactly the same number of times. Except inscriptions of his name on the works of others, this is the sole monument which we possess of Set-nekht,¹⁷ who had evidently not inherited the tastes of Rameses II. and Seti I.

Rameses III., known to the Egyptians as Rameses hak On, , or “Rameses, lord of Heliopolis,” took the

throne name of Ra-user-ma-meri-amon, 

or “Sun, lord of Truth, beloved by Ammon.” It is conjectured¹⁸ that among the people he bore the appellation of Rameses pa-nuter, or “Rameses the god;” and that the Greeks made out of this name the Rhampsinitus of their Egyptian histories. Rhampsinitus was celebrated for his riches,¹⁹ and Rameses III. was certainly among the wealthiest of Egyptian kings; so that the identification may be allowed, though it is not one of much value. His earliest occupation after his accession seems to have been “the restoration and demarcation of the several castes,”²⁰ or rather classes, into which the part of the population directly connected with the court was divided.²¹ During the troublous period that preceded Set-nekht some confusion of the different orders had taken place, which Set-nekht had not had the time or the inclination to remedy. Rameses at once addressed himself to the task, and arranged the officials in five great ranks or classes, viz. 1. The *abu-en-perao*, or “councillors of the Royal House,” persons who enjoyed the same dignity which was given to Joseph.²² 2. The *ueru*, or “great

princes," who are thought to have been "the governors and representatives of the king in the several nomes."²³ 3. The native soldiery, foot and horse, the latter either identical with, or at any rate including, the chariot force. 4. The foreign mercenaries, chiefly either *Shartana* or *Kahaka*; and 5. The subordinate officers and servants. The native troops are said to have amounted to some hundreds of thousands; but this is probably an exaggeration.

Having completed these arrangements in the manner which he thought most satisfactory, Rameses turned his attention to external affairs, and set himself the task of re-establishing, so far as might be possible, the authority of Egypt over those countries and districts which had passed under the dominion of foreigners during the period of revolution. It is difficult to arrange his wars in their proper chronological order, since Rameses clearly does not follow that order in his own annals,²⁴ but places the most important wars first. The best modern authorities are at variance upon the subject; and the order here followed, which is that of Dr. Birch, must be regarded as to some extent uncertain.

A war with the Shasu, or Bedouins of Southwestern Arabia, who had again become dominant in the region between Egypt and Palestine, is thought to have had priority over the others.²⁵ Rameses invaded their country, destroyed the huts or cabins (*mahar*) in which they lived, killed no doubt large numbers, and carried back into Egypt a vast booty, together with numerous prisoners, whom he made over to the priestly establishments at various temples to be employed as slaves.²⁶ The particular tribe of Shasu attacked in this campaign is called the "Saaru" a name in which Dr. Brugsch recognizes the inhabitants of Mount Seir,²⁷ or the tract south and south-east of the Dead Sea, once the special country of the Edomites, or descendants of Esau.²⁸

Thus successful upon the northeast Rameses was emboldened to make a similiar expedition toward the northwest. Here, on the side of Libya, a serious encroachment had taken place upon Egyptian territory during the time of trouble. The Libyans, Maxyans, Asbystæ,²⁹ Auseis,³⁰ and other kindred tribes, had been so daring as to overstep the boundaries of Egypt proper, and to establish themselves along the whole of the left bank of the Nile, from Memphis to the shores of the Mediterranean. They had held possession of this tract for a number of years;³¹ and had formed permanent settlements, where they lived with their wives and children, while their herds grazed the rich strip of territory overflowed annu-



Fig. 46. —HEAD OF RAMESES IX.—See Page 212.



Fig. 48.—HEAD OF HER-HOR.—See Page 220.



Fig. 47.—HEAD OF PSAMMETICHUS I.—See Page 246.

ally, and fertilized, by the inundation. Rameses fell upon them suddenly with a powerful force, and completely defeated them in a single great battle,³² after which he drove the remnant beyond his borders, making, as he advanced, numerous prisoners, and even capturing the Libyan chief. Of the prisoners taken, some were confined in fortresses; others, after being branded with a red-hot iron,³³ were pressed into the naval service and forced to act as mariners on board the Egyptian fleet. Slavery was the portion of the women and children; the cattle, which were too numerous to count, increased the wealth of the priest-college attached to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes.

The first war with the African nations is fixed by an inscription to the fifth year of Rameses.³⁴ He would, apparently, have been content with the laurels gained in these two minor campaigns, and would have tempted fortune no further, had he not been forced in self-defence to meet two terrible attacks, which, in his eighth and again in his eleventh year, threatened Egypt with destruction. Few things in history are more extraordinary than the aggressive movements, which suddenly, in the eighth year of Rameses III., spread the flames of war over all the East from the skirts of Taurus to the mouths of the Nile. There is great difficulty in identifying the particular nations which took part in the expedition;³⁵ but it can scarcely be doubted that a league was formed between a number of widely separated peoples, partly dwellers in Asia Minor, partly inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Europe, and a combined attack organized, at once by land and by sea, having Syria for its immediate and Egypt for its ultimate object. The isles and shores of the Mediterranean gave forth their piratical hordes—the sea was covered with their light galleys, and swept by their strong oars—Tánauna, Sharuten, Sheklusha, Tulsha, Uashesh, combined their squadrons into a fleet, while Purusata and Tekaru advanced in countless numbers along the land. “No people stood before their arms.”³⁶ Bursting forth from the passes of Taurus, the hordes spread themselves over Northern Syria, wasted and plundered the entire country of the Khita, proceeding eastward as far as Carchemish; descended upon Palestine, and were about to press on into Egypt, when they were confronted by Rameses at the head of the Egyptian army. Calling in the aid of stratagem, the Pharaoh, who was probably out-numbered, succeeded by means of an ambush in defeating his assailants, threw their host into confusion, and after an immense slaughter drove the remnant of

the broken army from the field. But the struggle was even yet not over. Though the attack by land had failed, the allied fleet gallantly persevered. Quitting their defeated friends, the Tânanua, with their confederates, made sail for the nearest mouth of the Nile, hoping to find it unguarded, and intending in that ease to ascend the stream to Memphis, or to ravage far and wide the fertile region of the Delta. But Rameses had made preparations against this peril. He had established a "defence on the water, like a strong wall, of ships of war, of merchantmen, of boats and skiffs;"³⁷ in other words, he had left a fleet to guard the Pelusiatic mouth of the great river, and prevent the Tânauna from entering it. He also hurried in person to the probable scene of action, and arrived in time to take part in the great battle which frustrated the last hopes of the invaders, and placed Egypt once more in safety. While his naval force contended with the enemy in the shallow waters of the Pelusiatic lagoon, he himself with four of his sons and his best warriors lent their aid to complete the discomfiture of the assailants by shooting them down with arrows from the shore.³⁸ If we rightly read the king's meaning in the vainglorious inscription which he set up to celebrate his victory, the Tânauna were so far successful as to break through the opposing vessels of the Egyptians, and to force their way to the shore. But here their progress was arrested. "A wall of iron shut them in upon the lake." The best troops of Egypt lined the shores of the lagoon; and wherever the invaders attempted to land, they were foiled. Repulsed, dashed to the ground, hewn down at the edge of the water, they were slain "by hundreds of heaps of corpses." After a while resistance ceased, and large numbers were made prisoners. The empty ships, stuck fast in the Nile mud, or floating at random upon the still water, became the prize of the victors, and were found to contain a rich booty. Thus ended this remarkable struggle, in which nations widely severed and of various bloods—scarcely, as one would have thought, known to each other, and separated by a diversity of interests—united in an attack upon the foremost power of the whole world, traversed several hundred miles of land or sea successfully, neither quarrelling among themselves nor meeting with disaster from without, reached the country which they had hoped to conquer, but were then completely defeated and repulsed in two great engagements—one by land, the other partly by land and partly by sea—so that "their spirit was annihilated, their soul was taken from them."³⁹ Henceforth no one of the nations which took part

in the combined attack is found in arms against the power that had read them so severe a lesson.

It might have been hoped that Egypt, raised in repute by her double victory, would now have been left in peace, and have entered on a prolonged period of repose. But no—this was not to be—her trials were not yet over. Within little more than two years of the events just narrated, another furious attack was made upon her territory by a powerful enemy, seeking, like the Tekaru and Purusata, to effect a permanent lodgment within her borders, and therefore accompanied by their wives and families, their boys, their girls, their slaves, and even their cattle.⁴⁰ This time the invaders were the Mashauasha, or Maxyes, who appear to have inhabited the region called Marmarica, or “the Cyrenaica,” the only fertile tract interposed between Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis. Already, in the reign of Menephtah, they had made one great attack upon the more western portion of the Delta, and had been defeated with fearful slaughter by that monarch.⁴¹ Subsequently they had adopted a system of gradual encroachment upon Egyptian territory, and had found that system tolerably successful until, in the earlier part of his reign, Rameses III. drove them out. Now, in his eleventh year, probably under pressure from the west, they resolved upon a new invasion, perhaps hoping to find Egypt weakened by the recent contest. Their leaders were Kapur, and his son Mashashal, brave men who imperilled their lives in a well-nigh desperate undertaking. Compared with the Tekaru and Tânauna they were an insignificant enemy; and Rameses easily defeated them in a great battle on the Canopic branch of the Nile, wherein they lost about 2,000 killed, and almost an equal number of prisoners. Kapur was captured in the course of the engagement, and after his capture put to death.⁴² Mashashla surrendered to Rameses, with such troops as had survived the fight, unconditionally. It is to be hoped that he received more merciful treatment than his father.

Of the remaining wars of Rameses III. we possess no details. From the representations upon his sculptures there is reason to believe that he conducted at least one campaign in the extreme south, and another in the remote northeast. and that in both his efforts were crowned with all the success that he anticipated. Beyond his southern frontier he attacked and defeated the Ethiopians, together with the negro tribes of the Taraura and the Amar.⁴³ In Western Asia he seems to have overrun the entire territory between Egypt and

the chain of Amanus, carrying off as prisoners thirty-eight chiefs, among whom were those of Carchemish and Aleppo,⁴⁴ and forcing the natives generally to resume that position of dependence upon Egypt which had been originally established by the great Thothmes. We are even told⁴⁵ that he claims in some of his sculptures supremacy over Naharaïn or Western Mesopotamia, as well as over Punt, Kush, and Cyprus; but it is—to say the least—doubtful whether his dominion really extended over any of these distant regions.

The reign of Rameses III. extended over the long period of thirty-one years,⁴⁶ and he had thus ample time, after his defensive wars were concluded, to direct his attention to those material works and interests on which the prosperity of a country, and the fame of its monarch, to a large extent depend. Of all his constructions the most magnificent was the “beautiful” temple of Ammon,⁴⁷ which he built at Medinet-Abou opposite Thebes, and which he adorned with painted sculptures commemorative of his great victories. Here are to be seen the series of drawings which represent the grand campaign of his eighth year,⁴⁸ exhibiting him as haranguing his troops before setting out, as accompanying them upon the march, as conquering at their head in the great land battle, as hunting the lion, by way of refreshment after his warlike toils, as taking part with his sons in the sea-fight, and as returning in triumph with his numerous captives to Thebes. Here also is the “Treasury,” celebrated by Herodotus, on the walls of which are depicted and recorded his riches.⁴⁹ Here, further, is the calendar of feasts for the first five months of the Egyptian year,⁵⁰ which shows that on the average more than one day in five was held to be sacred. Though less imposing than the vast structures at Luxor and Karnak, the temple of Rameses III. at Medinet-Abou has considerable architectural merit, while its sculptures are executed in “a lifelike and artistic style.”⁵¹ It is a work of which even a great monarch might be proud, and not unworthily closes the long list of magnificent temples with which the Rameside kings adorned the cities of Egypt.

Minor shrines were also erected by Rameses III. at Thebes itself to Khonsu, at This to Onuris or Hanher, at Abydos to Osiris, and at Raamses to Sutech.⁵² He likewise made an addition to the great temple of Ammon at Karnak; but this building is said to be a “very ordinary piece of architecture, almost worthless in an artistic point of view.”⁵³

More important than these minor shrines, and far more useful to those who dwelt in its vicinity, was the great reser-

voir which he constructed in the country of Aina,⁶⁴ by some supposed to have been at Beersheba,⁶⁵ by others near Suez,⁶⁶ which was sunk in the earth to a depth of fifty-two feet, the sides being lined with stone, and the whole basin edged with a quay, and walled in, so that only those who were admitted by the authorities could use the water.

Another work of utility in which this beneficent monarch engaged was the planting of trees. "Over the whole land of Egypt," according to his own account,⁶⁷ "he planted trees and shrubs, to give the inhabitants rest under their cool shade." In a climate like that of Egypt, and a country where indigenous trees are few, no labor could be more serviceable, or more grateful to the mass of his subjects, than that which is here indicated. Rarely do we find despotic monarchs so sympathetic with their people, so thoughtful on their behalf, so anxious to benefit them, as he would seem to have been. It was the crowning satisfaction of his life, that by his domestic administration and his military successes he had brought Egypt into such a condition, that "the weakest woman could travel unmolested whithersoever she wished; the mercenary soldiers might repose at ease in their cities; no enemy invaded the land; the people ate and drank in jubilee, their wives with them, and their children at their side; they did not look behind them (suspiciously); their hearts were content."⁶⁸

It was perhaps partly in his own interest, but it may have been also with a view to his subjects' advantage that he encouraged mining operations and trade. The turquoise mines of the Sarabit-el-Khadim were once more worked during his reign, and produced abundantly.⁶⁹ A commerce was established with a copper-producing country not previously heard of, called Ataka, and the ore was brought to Egypt in vast quantities, partly on shipboard, partly on the backs of asses.⁷⁰ A fleet was built near Suez and launched upon the Red Sea, which made voyages to the coast of Punt, and there exchanged the productions of "the land of Ham (Khemis)" for the gums and spices, more especially the frankincense, of that remote region.⁷¹ The caravan route from Coptos to Cosseir was reopened, and the riches of the East once more flowed freely into Egypt from the various regions that bordered the Indian Ocean. The general wealth of the country largely increased, and, the revenue rising with the advance in the national prosperity, Rameses was able to make those enormous offerings to the principal temples, which are recorded in the document known as "The Great Harris Papyrus."⁷²

It is with a pardonable pride that Rameses exclaims, toward the close of his long reign: "The land (of Egypt) was well satisfied under my rule—I did well to gods and men also."⁵⁵ Having repulsed two foreign invasions, having restored the land's ancient boundaries, having encouraged commerce, having stimulated production, having even provided for his people's comfort by giving them everywhere the pleasant shade of trees, he might well expect to be popular, and to terminate his time on earth, and "join the circle of the gods in heaven,"⁵⁶ "without suffering from that curse of despotism, conspiracy. But in a corrupt society the best have most to fear; and there is reason to believe that the Egyptian court, since the introduction of polygamy by Rameses II., had become a hotbed of intrigue and vicious sensualism. Eunuchs had in all probability been given the charge of the royal harem,⁵⁶ and had brought with them into the palace the trickery and shamelessness for which that unhappy class is noted. Moreover, a belief in magic prevailed; and as in the time of the early Roman Empire,⁵⁶ so now men really thought that they could compass the death of one who stood in their way, bewitch his mind, or paralyze his limbs, by the use of figures in wax, and of certain traditional *formulae*.⁵⁷ What the *exact* object of the conspirators was does not appear; but it is certain that the reign of Rameses III. was, ere it closed, disturbed by a conspiracy in which many of the highest court officials and a certain number of the royal concubines were mixed up,⁵⁸ and which can scarcely have aimed at anything less than the death or deposition of the monarch. The chief conspirator seems to have been a certain Bakakamen, house-steward, or major-domo of the palace. His position giving him access to all parts of the royal residence, he succeeded in drawing over to his interests a number of councillors, scribes, and commanders of the mercenary troops, as well as certain women of the harem, and among them a lady named Ti or Taia, whom Dr. Brugsch believes to have been a wife of the king.⁵⁹ Among the male conspirators was one who professed a knowledge of magical arts, and who not only furnished Bakakamen with *formulae* that were supposed to ward off ill-luck, but supplied him also with waxen images, some of men and some of gods, the proper use of which would, it was believed, induce paralysis.⁶⁰ Thus much we learn from our documents—the rest we can only conjecture. Taia had a son engaged in the conspiracy, named Pentaour. Was it the intention of the conspirators to paralyze and then kill the monarch—to proclaim Pentaour as his successor, and

make Taia queen-mother? Or did they merely wish to reduce the king to imbecility, and themselves exercise the royal authority in his name? It is remarkable that nothing is said of any intention to seek the king's life; but there is an Oriental reticence on the subject of death where kings are concerned, which may account for this omission.

After the conspiracy had reached a certain point, but before it had effected anything, by some means or other it was discovered. Too many persons had been taken into counsel for secrecy to be long maintainable; and if the conspirators really trusted to their silly enchantments, they may have delayed imprudently. Anyhow, the plot was found out. Some four-and-thirty persons were immediately arrested; and Rameses appointed a court of twelve high functionaries to try them. It is to his credit that in giving them their commission, he warned them against unfairness toward the accused. "Regarding the discourses which are held about these men," he said, "which are (to me) unknown, you shall *institute an inquiry* about them. They shall be brought to a trial, *to see if they deserve death*. . . . If that which has been done was actually done by them, then let their doings be upon their own heads. I am the guardian and protector forever, and bearer of the royal insignia of justice, in presence of the god-king, Ammon-Ra, and in presence of the Prince of Eternity, Osiris." "

We have no account of the proceedings at the trial. The report which the judges made on concluding their investigations is a formal and dry document, giving *seriatim* the names of the prisoners, the exact degree of their participation in the conspiracy, and the sentence which was passed upon them. It appears that thirteen persons, including Bakakamen and Pentaour, were adjudged to have been principals in the conspiracy, while twelve others were condemned as accessories, having been aware of what was going on and given no information to the authorities. No difference, however, was made in the punishment of the two classes. All equally suffered death, the sentence upon them being that they should kill themselves with their own hand. We learn by this that "the happy dispatch," which we have been accustomed to associate especially with one somewhat barbarous kingdom, was an institution of the Egyptians."

Lighter punishments were inflicted on the females who had compromised themselves, and on some of those who had turned king's evidence, but had failed to make satisfactory depositions. The latter underwent mutilation, having their

noses and their ears cut off.⁷³ The former seem to have been condemned to the penal servitude of keeping a beer-house,⁷⁴ which was thought sufficient punishment for ladies of delicacy and refinement.

Finally, it would seem that, while the inquiry was in progress, the complicity in the conspiracy of some of the very persons appointed to conduct the investigation was detected. A brief appendix⁷⁵ to the report of the judges states, that five persons, of whom three had been previously mentioned as members of the court, were also adjudged to have been accomplices in the crime, and were sentenced to expiate their guilt by death. With this strange transformation of the judges into the condemned the trial terminated; and Rameses, relieved from the fears and doubts that must have harassed him during its continuance, proceeded to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom in the event of his death by making arrangements for the succession.

The legitimate wife of Rameses III. was a certain Hesi, or Isis, who bore also the foreign name of Hemarozath, and was the daughter of a certain Hebuan-rosanath. It is suggested that she was a Hittite or an Assyrian princess;⁷⁶ but the latter supposition, at any rate, is improbable.⁷⁷ We are not accurately informed whether she was the mother of any of the king's numerous children; but it is tolerably certain that she was not the mother of all, since they consist of eighteen sons and fourteen daughters.⁷⁸ Rameses, it is clear, must have had many secondary wives, each of whom no doubt wished that one of her own children should succeed him. He appears, however to have been swayed by no partiality or favoritism, but to have simply admitted the claims of nature, and given the preference to his first-born. Prince Rameses-Meriammon, hitherto commander of the infantry, was selected by his father from among his numerous sons, and associated with himself upon the throne under the title of Rameses-hakma-meri-Ammon,⁷⁹ or "Rameses, Lord of Truth, beloved by Ammon." His other sons were given high military or priestly dignities; and, in course of time, as many as four of them attained to the throne.

In person Rameses III. (Fig. 45) appears to have been much favored by nature. His figure in the sculptures is noble and dignified;⁸⁰ his features pleasing, his expression amiable. Something of the feminine look which we observe in so many of the Egyptian monarchs,⁸¹ characterizes the countenance, which is more remarkable for sweetness than for any signs of strength or energy. In his actions, however,

the king showed a firmness and a daring which his features belie, and proved himself a worthy descendant of Rameses the second and Sethos the first, of the third Thothmes and the third Amenôphis. Less distinguished certainly than these greatest of Egyptian monarchs, he yet inherited something of their spirit, and in an age when degeneracy had set in, it was his lot to prolong the period of Egyptian greatness, and to revive the glories of a summer-time that was gone by an autumnal burst of brilliant, if short-lived sunshine. It is perhaps true,⁸² that, like many an Oriental monarch, he tarnished the glory of his military career, by sensual indulgence within the walls of the palace, and thus laid himself open to those attacks which we find to have been directed against him by the caricaturists of his day. But, if we remember how the great in all ages are pursued by the scurrilous abuse of the mean and the malignant, we shall hesitate to attach serious importance to the "album of caricatures" reflecting upon this monarch,⁸³ which, after all, may be only an accidental survivor of a class of works similiar to those which in modern Europe load with ridicule each sovereign, or each ministry, successively.

After a reign which exceeded thirty-one years, the third Rameses was gathered to his fathers. He had prepared for himself a tomb of no great pretensions in the rocky mountain opposite Thebes which was at this time the cemetery of the kings. It consisted of the usual long tunnel in the rock, divided into chambers, passages, and halls, and had no peculiar feature, unless it were that of "a range of side-chambers, in which, among other things, all the possessions of the king, such as weapons, household furniture, and the like, were represented in colored pictures, just as they were once actually deposited in the rooms apportioned for them" in the palace.⁸⁴ A granite sarcophagus, the lid of which is now to be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, was placed in the innermost chamber, and received the royal remains.

With Rameses III. terminated the palmy period of Egyptian greatness and glory, which, commencing with Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1600, continued for above three centuries, till the death of the son of Set-nekht, about B.C. 1280.⁸⁵ It is, of course, readily intelligible that a period of prosperity should be succeeded by one of decline, since the same law which governs individual life seems to have been appointed to rule also the destinies of nations; but it is difficult to understand, and account for, the suddenness and completeness of the collapse

in this particular case, where all the vital powers seem at once to have failed, though the failure was not total, and a long and lingering decay preceded the final dissolution. The lack of contemporary monuments, which is one out of many signs of the decline, adds to the difficulty of tracing out the causes which led to it, and must render any attempt at their analysis to a considerable extent speculative and conjectural.

The strength of Egypt had, from the first, consisted in its isolation and its unity. A single homogeneous people was spread along the valley of the Nile from the tower of Syéné to the shores of the Mediterranean. The people was almost without neighbors, since the Nile valley was shut in on either side by arid tracts very sparsely inhabited; the sea bounded it upon the north; the Nubian desert almost cut it off from the south. United by the ties of a common religion, a common language, common ideas and customs, the people was emphatically one, had a strong national sentiment, despised foreigners, and held itself infinitely superior to all the other nations of the earth. For centuries upon centuries the policy of isolation was maintained—the negroes were not allowed to descend the Nile “or the Greeks to ascend it”—the Soudan and the Sinaitic peninsula were the limit of the Egyptian arms—Europe and Asia were unknown regions to the sons of Ham—foreign manners, foreign ideas, foreign gods were either unheard of or studiously ignored. But with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty all this was changed. The Thothmeses and Amenôphises carried their arms deep into Asia—Hatasu encouraged commerce with Punt—Set and Rameses II. filled Egypt with foreign captives—later monarchs established large corps of foreign mercenaries—the “gilded youth” of the upper circles took to indulging in foreign travel “—and, as a natural result, foreign manners crept in—the language was corrupted by a large admixture of Semitic words—the Pantheon was invaded by a host of Semitic or Scythic deities; and the old national exclusive spirit, sapped and weakened by these various influences, decayed and died away.

A second cause of the decline would seem to have been the fact that the Rameside race was exhausted, and that, the longer it continued, the weaker were the princes born of the Rameside stock and so entitled by hereditary descent to rule over Egypt. It is the fatal drawback on the many advantages of “legitimate” monarchy, that a time must arrive when the original vigor of the ruling race, whatever it was, must fail, its powers decline, and its fitness for its position come to an

end. "There is a run in families," says Aristotle very acutely; "after a few generations, transcendent genius develops into madness, while solid parts become stupidity." The Rameside *physique* declines manifestly in the monuments as time goes on, and by the date of Rameses IV. (Fig. 44) has reached a point beyond which there could scarcely be much deterioration.

One further ground of internal weakness, and therefore cause of decline, is to be found in an essential feature of the Egyptian political system, whereby a considerable but indefinite power was lodged in the hands of the priests. A hieratic system may no doubt be as long-lived as any other; but a system that is half hieratic, half monarchical, carries within it the seeds of its own destruction, and contains an element of weakness from which a thorough-going despotism is free. A time was sure to arrive, earlier or later, in Egypt, when the *pontificale* and the *regule* would come more or less into collision, when the kings, growing jealous of the priests, would seek to curtail their power at the risk of internal revolution, or the priests, losing respect for the king, would stealthily creep into their places. The actual march of events in Egypt was in the latter direction. The hieratic chiefs, the high-priests of the god Ammon at Thebes, gradually increased in power, usurped one after another the prerogatives of the Pharaohs, by degrees reduced their authority to a shadow, and ended with an open assumption not only of the functions, but of the very insignia of royalty."

A space of nearly two centuries elapsed, however, before this change was complete. Ten princes of the name of Rameses, and one called Meri-Tum, all of them connected by blood with the great Rameside house, bore the royal title and occupied the royal palace, in the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1100. Egyptian history during this period is almost wholly a blank. No military expeditions are conducted—no great buildings are reared—art almost disappears—literature holds her tongue. If at any time the silence is broken, if the stones occasionally lift up their voice and speak, it is either in dry utterance of old and well-worn official phrases and *formulae*, or in audacious plagiarisms from the compositions of an earlier age. The writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, aware that they are destitute of originality, contentedly reproduce, with slight changes, the masterpieces of the fourteenth and fifteenth."

The immediate successor of Rameses III. was his eldest son, Rameses IV., who bore the throne names of Hak-ma

and Ma-ma.⁹² Nothing is known of him excepting that he worked with great vigor the quarries of the valley of Hammamât⁹³ and the adjoining rocky and sterile regions, which produced many excellent varieties of hard stone. What use he made of these materials it is impossible to say, since neither any one great edifice, nor any large number of small ones, bear his name. He set up some magnificent sculptures in the great temple of Ammon at Karnak,⁹⁴ and made some small additions to his father's temple of Khonsu at Thebes; but beyond these, and some rocky-inscriptions in the Hammanât region, no monuments of his reign have been identified.⁹⁵ It appears by the Hammamât inscriptions that he held the throne for at least eighteen years, and we may conjecturally assign him the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1260.

The successor of Rameses IV. was neither his son nor his brother, nor even perhaps a member of the Rameside family. He took the quite new throne-name of Ammon-hi-khopeshef, but also called himself Rameses, and is known as Rameses V.⁹⁶ Some suppose him to have been a descendant of Siphthah;⁹⁷ but this is wholly uncertain. His only records are his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, afterwards appropriated by his successor, Rameses VI., and a single inscription at Silsilis, couched in inflated terms, which represents all Egypt as enraptured at his coronation, and the country as flourishing under his rule.⁹⁸ It is certain that no dependance can be placed on such self-laudation, and not impro'able that it covers an uneasy feeling, on the part of the monarch who has recourse to it, that his rule is the reverse of popular.

On the death of the usurper the throne was regained by the Rameside family, and occupied (it is thought) by two princes, sons of Rameses III., who ruled conjointly.⁹⁹ These were Rameses, his second, and Meri-Tum, his seventh son, who bore the office of high-priest of Ra in Heliopolis. It is suggested that while Rameses VI. reigned in Thebes and bore sway over the Upper Country, his younger brother held his court at the City of the Sun, and ruled over the Delta. In the tomb which the elder prince appropriated from his usurping predecessor, an astronomical ceiling is thought to furnish the date of B.C. 1240 for the time of its ornamentation,¹⁰⁰ so that that year may be regarded as included in the sixth Rameses's reign. No historical events can be ascribed to it, but we have evidence that the Egyptian dominion still extended over the distant South, where a "Prince of Kush" still ruled as the Pharaoh's viceroy, with Adons of the various districts under him, and the Pharaoh's suzerainty was marked

by the erection of statues in his honor, and the settlement upon them in perpetuity of lauded estates.¹⁰¹

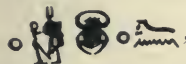
Conjointly with these two princes, or after their decease, two other sons of Rameses II. assumed the royal title, and are ranked as Pharaohs under the names of Rameses VII. and Rameses VIII. The latter bore the throne name of Sethi-khopeshef,¹⁰² which would seem to indicate that he was a votary of Sutech, whose worship was, it is clear, always held in respect by the Rameside monarchs. Nothing is recorded of Rameses VII. and VIII. beyond their names. We may perhaps assign them, conjecturally, the space between B.C. 1230 and B.C. 1220.

With Rameses IX. we bid adieu to the immediate issue of Rameses III., and descend, at least a generation, to a grandson or great-grandson of the last warlike monarch. This king took the throne name of Neferkara-sotep-en-ra,¹⁰³ and held the throne for at least nineteen years,¹⁰⁴ thus bringing us nearly to the close of the thirteenth century. His reign is remarkable for two novel circumstances. One of these was the trial of a number of sacrilegious malefactors, who had invaded the sanctity of the royal burial-places, plundered the royal mummies of their golden ornaments, burnt the coffins, and thrown the corpses on the ground. Kings and queens had alike suffered: Antefs of the eleventh dynasty, Sabak-adorers of the thirteenth, a queen Isis, a Ra-Sekenen, and even an Amen-ôphis, the first of the name.¹⁰⁵ All belief in the "divinity that hedged a king," according to the Egyptian religious system, must have passed away when a "thieves' society was formed for the special purpose of secretly opening and robbing the tombs of the kings, in which even sacerdotal persons took a part."¹⁰⁶ We may perhaps trace in the proceedings a concealed purpose of bringing royalty into contempt, we cannot be mistaken in gathering from them a weakening of the old superstition which viewed the kings as gods. As yet, however, the new ideas had the general public sentiment against them. Opinion was greatly shocked by the disclosures made, and officials of the highest rank were nominated to form a court of inquiry which should investigate the business, and inflict condign punishment upon the guilty. Amen-hotep, the high-priest of the Great Temple of Ammon at Thebes, the chief of the Egyptian hierarchy, presided over the court, and, after acquitting a certain number of the accused, not perhaps the least guilty, condemned eight persons as the real culprits, who were either bastinadoed, or else put to death.¹⁰⁷


The other novelty, which documents of the time put before us, is the new position, relatively to the king, that the high-priest of the Theban Ammon seems now to begin to occupy. An acute observer, familiar with all the monumental evidence, makes indeed the remark, that "*from the time of Rameses III.*, the holy fathers, who bore the exalted dignity of chief priest in the temple-city of Ammon, were always coming more and more into the foreground of Egyptian history. Their influence with the kings assumed, step by step, a growing importance."¹⁰⁸ But even he does not note any tangible change until the reign of Rameses IX. (Fig. 46), when for the first time the high-priest of Ammon at Thebes steps forward as the great guardian, protector, and restorer of his shrine, and, "whereas formerly it was the priests who expressed in the name of the gods their thanks to the kings for the temple-buildings at Thebes," now this is reversed, and "it is the king who testifies his gratitude to the chief priest of Ammon for the care bestowed on his temple by the erection of new buildings and the improvement and maintenance of the older ones."¹⁰⁹ The office of high-priest has become hereditary, and in the tenth year of Rameses-neferkara-sotepenra, Amen-hotep, who has recently succeeded his father, Ramessu-nekht, who appears on the walls of the temple as the first person in a scene where the king has simply to assign him his reward, and to see it conferred upon him by his great dignitaries.¹¹⁰ A titular superiority still attaches to the Pharaoh, who is "the fountain of honor" and whom Amen-hotep frequently acknowledges to be "his lord;" but practically there can be no doubt that Amen-hotep plays the principal part. He is "the teacher of the king;" he has "found the holy house of Ammon hastening to decay, and has taken in hand its restoration;" he has "strengthened its walls," has "built it anew," has "made its columns," has "inserted in the gates the great folding doors of acacia-wood."¹¹¹ The high-priest is the active mover in the whole business; the king is passive; he looks on, "sees and admires what is done," approves it, and rewards it. But the initiative has passed into the hands of his nominal subjects; and it is easy to see that ere long there will be a division of the royal authority, and the Pharaoh will possess its shadow, the high-priest its substance.

Still the royal authority in Egypt died hard, and, as we shall find soon revived. The reign of Rameses IX. brings us, as we have seen,¹¹² to the close of the thirteenth century. It is not until the opening of the eleventh that we find the high-

priests of Ammon completely established in the position of actual rulers of the country. An entire century thus passed between the first beginning of serious encroachment upon the Pharaoh's position and the transfer of their authority to the priests of Ammon. During this century four other kings, bearing the name of Rameses, and distinguished by special epithets, seem to have occupied the throne—viz., Rameses X., bearing the further names of Khepr-ma-ra Sotep-en-ra,



, and Ammon-hi-khopeshef; ¹¹³ Rameses XI.,

known as Sesha-en-ra ¹¹⁴ Meriammon ; Ram-

eses XII., called User-ma-ra ¹¹⁵ Sotep-en-ra; and Rameses XIII. ¹¹⁶ The twelfth Rameses reigned at least thirty-three years, ¹¹⁷ and the thirteenth at least twenty-six years, ¹¹⁸ thus holding the throne, between them, for considerably more than half a century. Their predecessors may have been almost as long-lived; and the four reigns may well have occupied the space between B.C. 1200 and B.C. 1100.

One event only can be assigned to this obscure period. An inscription set up in the temple of Khonsu, founded at Thebes by Rameses III., relates a tale which must undoubtedly have had an historical foundation, though its details may have received much amplification and embellishment. The document belongs to the time of Rameses XII. It relates ¹¹⁹ that, once upon a time, when this prince was in the land of Nehar, ¹²⁰ collecting the revenues or tributes that were willingly rendered to him annually by the territorial chiefs of those parts, one of them, called the chief of Bakhtan, placed his daughter among the tribute-bearers, and thus drew the king's attention to her beauty, which was so great that he immediately made her his wife, and advanced her to the first rank in his harem. Some time after this, Rameses XII. was in Thebes, performing his religious duties in the great temple of Ammon, when an extraordinary embassy from his father-in-law sought his presence, and requested that the Egyptian monarch would send the best-skilled man of his court to recover the queen's sister, Bentaresh, who was struck down by a sudden sickness. Rameses complied. The man supposed to be most skilful, the scribe, Thoth-em-hebi, was selected, and sent back with the envoys to Bakhtan, with orders to place all the knowledge that he possessed at the disposal of the chief of the country. We are told that, on his arrival, he pronounced the case of Bentaresh to be one of

possession by an evil spirit,¹²¹ but that after various attempts he was forced to acknowledge himself unable to cope with the demon. Upon this it would seem that he returned to Egypt, and the chief of Bakhtan sought assistance elsewhere. But eleven years later¹²² he once more had recourse to his son-in-law. This time his envoy requested that the god Khonsu, the expeller of evil spirits, might be sent from Thebes to Bakhtan¹²³ for the relief of the possessed princess. Rameses hesitated, but after consulting the oracular shrine of Khonsu in the Theban temple, and receiving a favorable reply, he dispatched the image of Khonsu in a sacred ark, borne on the shoulders of ten priests,¹²⁴ and escorted by a troop of cavalry, from Thebes to Bakhtan, in order that a second attempt might be made to cure the princess. After a journey which lasted seventeen months,¹²⁵ the ark arrived, was joyfully received by the afflicted prince, and brought into the presence of his daughter, from whom it at once expelled the demon. Great joy now prevailed in Bakhtan; for the spirit departed,¹²⁶ and the recovery of the princess was complete. It might have been expected that the ark which had wrought the cure would have been immediately restored to its Egyptian owners with grateful thanks for the loan of it; but the power shown seemed to the prince of Bakhtan so valuable that he was loth to lose possession of so great a treasure. Accordingly he resolved to retain the ark in his own capital, and actually had it in his keeping for three years and nine months,¹²⁷ at the end of which time he was induced to relinquish it under the following circumstances. He dreamed that he saw the god Khonsu, in the shape of a golden sparrowhawk, quit the ark, and fly away in the direction of Egypt. Waking up in a state of great agitation,¹²⁸ he summoned the priest attached to the ark, and, declaring to him what he had seen, announced his determination to send the holy structure back, and desired him to make the needful preparations. The return journey seems to have taken even a longer time than the journey from Egypt; for it was not until the thirty-third year of Rameses¹²⁹ that the ark of Khonsu was once more safely replaced in its proper chapel in the temple at Thebes.

The interest of this narrative is considerable and of a varied character. If we accept the identification of "Nehar" with Naharain, we shall have to regard it as indicating the retention to so late a date as about B.C. 1130 of Egyptian supremacy over Mesopotamia;¹³⁰ and we must ask ourselves, Who is this king of Bakhtan who dwells at such a remote distance

from Egypt, yet regards himself as in some sort an Egyptian tributary, and where is this Bakhtan, not elsewhere mentioned in the Egyptian records, yet apparently a place of considerable consequence? Bagistan (now Behistun) and Ecbatana (now Hamadan) have been suggested; ¹³¹ but these seem too remote, and the latest historian thinks that a town of no great importance in Syria, called elsewhere Bakh or Bakhi, may be intended. ¹³² Some have gone so far as to suppose that the "prince of Bakhtan" who detained the ark was Tiglath-Pileser I., the first great Assyrian conqueror ¹³³ (about B.C. 1130-1110); but, besides the want of correspondence between the names "Bakhtan" and "Asshur," ¹³⁴ the entire position of the prince of Bakhtan in relation to Egypt is one which we cannot conceive Tiglath-Pileser occupying. Tiglath-Pileser was an independent and warlike monarch who bore sway (about the close of the twelfth century B.C.) over the entire tract between Babylonia on the one hand and Phœnicia on the other. He perhaps on one occasion made Egypt pay him tribute, ¹³⁵ and it is incredible that he should, a little time before or a little time after, have paid tribute himself to Egypt, and sent his daughter to be a secondary wife of the Egyptian monarch. The greatness of Assyria began about B.C. 1300; and it is unlikely that Egypt maintained her Mesopotamian conquests much beyond that date. We have already noted the decline of the Egyptian power in this quarter, ¹³⁶ and the improbability that even Rameses III. possessed any real authority in the countries east of the Euphrates. Supposing that he did, his weak successors must almost certainly have lost it. Chushan-Risathaim, who was independent king of Mesopotamia within a century of the Exodus, ¹³⁷ must have been long anterior to Rameses XII., and Egyptian rule, even over Syria, must have been lost before he could conquer Palestine. We incline therefore to believe that "Nehar" in the tablet of Rameses XII. is not Naharaïn; that Bakhtan is not a country very remote from Egypt; and that the long time spent upon the road by the envoys who carried the ark was owing to the difficulty of conveying so large and unsteady a structure on the shoulders of a few priests along the rough tracks of the country.

The Rameses who closes the long list, and is reckoned the last king of the twentieth dynasty, was Rameses XIII., who, as if an exuberant amount of titles could make up for a deficiency in power, called himself Men-ma-ra, Sotep-en-ptah, Shaemuas, Meri-ammon, Ramessu, Neter-hak-on. ¹³⁸ His principal monuments are found in the temple of Khonsu at

Thebes, which he appears to have delighted in ornamenting.¹³⁹ The other indications of his reign are scattered and fragmentary; ¹⁴⁰ they scarcely contain a single notice of historic interest. By one of them, however, we learn that, weak and insignificant as he was, Rameses XIII. held the throne of Egypt for above twenty-six years.

The decline of Egypt under this dynasty was not merely a decline in power. Architecture, glyptic art, literature, morals—all suffered, and suffered almost equally. After the death of Rameses III. not a single great building was set on foot by any of the Egyptian kings, much less was any architectural novelty attempted. The monarchs contented themselves with making small additions to old edifices, having no pretension to originality, and inferior in every respect to the buildings whereto they were appendages. The grand features of ancient times were not even imitated. No more hypostylé halls, like those at Luxor and Karnak—no more gigantic colossi—no more mighty obelisks. The greatest works which the kings undertook were their tombs. These were still “hypogees,” or subterraneous galleries excavated in the rock, and divided into a number of halls, passages, and chambers. They still attained a considerable length, and were ornamented with interesting paintings. But neither in the size nor in the finish of their ornamentation did they rival the similar works of former days—such as the tombs of Amenôphis III., of Seti I. and Rameses II. They ceased to have any architectural features, such as columns, or piers, or chambers with arched roofs.¹⁴¹ Even the paintings were, on the whole, less interesting than those of an earlier age.

In glyptic art, connoisseurs detect a falling off as early as the latter part of the reign of Rameses II.;¹⁴² but the decline is not palpable until the reign of Rameses III. is past. Then the “grand style” disappears. The great compositions, covering entire pylons, and comprising hundreds of figures, come to an end—no new scenes are portrayed—rather, a wearisome sameness, a repetition *usque ad nauseam* of the same stereotyped religious groups, meets us and disgusts us. If there is any change, it is in the grossness of the religious representations, which increases.¹⁴³ Again, the range of art is narrower. Domestic and military scenes almost drop out; but few animals are depicted; we have no banquets, no gardens, no fishing, no fowling, no games. And the drawing certainly deteriorates; there is a feebleness and clumsiness in the outlines, a rigidity in the forms, as well as a want of variety, which are unpleasing.

Statuary also falls off. The figures become unduly elongated, and are finished with less care.¹⁴⁴ They have no longer the truth to nature which is possessed by the earlier statues, while they are certainly in no respect idealized. Moreover, unless we include statuettes, they become, comparatively speaking, rare, as if they had gone out of fashion, and were no longer demanded from the artists.

The decline of literature is even greater and more surprising. After the galaxy of talent which clustered about the reigns of Rameses II. and Menepthah,¹⁴⁵ after the masterpieces of Pentaour, Kakabu, Nebsenen, Enna, and others, suddenly there comes a time when literature is almost dumb, when "the true poetic inspiration appears to have vanished, and the dry official tone to have taken its place"¹⁴⁶—when abstracts of trials,¹⁴⁷ lists of functionaries,¹⁴⁸ tiresome enumerations in the greatest detail of gifts to the gods,¹⁴⁹ together with fulsome praises of the kings, either by themselves or others,¹⁵⁰ form the substance of the written compositions which survive, and which we have every reason to believe a fair sample of the literary produce of the age. Not a single name of an Egyptian writer belonging to this dreary period remains on record; not a single work of imagination can be ascribed to it. Astronomy may ultimately owe something to the tables of the hours and of the risings of the stars which decorate the tomb of the sixth Rameses in the Biban-el-Moluk;¹⁵¹ but literature, in the proper sense of the word, can never receive any enrichment from the curt and dry records, the legal *formulæ*, the endowment deeds,¹⁵² the royal orders,¹⁵³ or the religious mysticism,¹⁵⁴ which constitute the whole that remains to us of Egyptian literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In morals, the decline had begun under Rameses II., with the introduction of polygamy. It advanced under Rameses III. (Fig. 36), when the court became a hotbed of intrigue and conspiracy, the highest officials combining with the women of the harem to seek the life of the king, or reduce him to an imbecile condition, by magical arts,¹⁵⁵ enchantments, and "all sorts of villainy."¹⁵⁶ The grossest license appears in the caricatures of the time, which assume that the king is a voluptuary, and satirize his weakness with a shameless disregard of decency.¹⁵⁷ Not long afterwards sacrilege becomes fashionable, and a "thieves' society" is formed, containing several members of the sacerdotal order, for the purpose of opening and plundering the ancient tombs, without even sparing those of royal personages.¹⁵⁸ Inquiry on

the subject is baffled for a considerable period, probably through the high position of some of those engaged in the transactions.¹⁵⁹ These transactions included the grossest ill-usage of the dead bodies, which Egyptian notions made almost the extreme of wickedness. When at last punishment overtakes some of the offenders, it is inadequate, the greater number of the condemned merely suffering the bastinado.

Civilization and the arts of life reached perhaps their highest development under Rameses III. It is then that we find the most luxurious fauteuils and ottomans,¹⁶⁰ the richest dresses, the most gorgeous river-boats,¹⁶¹ the most elaborately carved musical instruments.¹⁶² After his time, Egypt became, comparatively speaking, poor; and, while the general mode of life continued much the same as before, there was a falling off in grandeur and magnificence. Dresses (Fig. 63) became somewhat more complicated,¹⁶³ but less splendid. Anklets were no longer worn, earrings became rare, and bracelets ceased to be jewelled. On the other hand, the wigs of men and the hair of women (if it is indeed their own) were worn longer, and arranged more elaborately.¹⁶⁴ The absurd fashion still continued of turning up the toes of sandals to a height of two or three inches. Monkeys continued to be kept as pets; ¹⁶⁵ the lotus blossom was still the usual adornment of the head for ladies at feasts, and lotus collars were still placed round the necks of guests. Music appears in the sculptures rather as an accompaniment of sacred ceremonies than as a means of amusing and entertaining company.¹⁶⁶ The domestic scenes of the period are, however, so few, that we cannot pretend to anything like a full knowledge of Egyptian private life at the time; and, on the whole, it is perhaps most probable that (in the main) it remained under the twentieth dynasty the general character which it had acquired under the great kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1100-975).

Accession of Her-hor, the first Priest King. Chief Features of his Reign. His Semitic Connection. His Titles, Personal Appearance, and Character. Doubtful Reign of Piankh. Reign of Pinetem. His Son, Men-khepr-ra, re-establishes Tranquillity at Thebes. Uneventful Reign of Men-khepr-ra. Later Kings of the Dynasty. General Prevalence of Peace and Prosperity. Duration of the Dynasty.

"Les grands prêtres d'Ammon à Thèbes se mettent à jouer le même rôle que plus tard les maîtres du palais sous nos derniers rois mérovingiens."—LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 446.


THE bold priest, who, biding his time, by cautious steps advanced himself into the rank and position of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," bore the name of Pe-hor or Herhor,



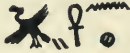
According to Manetho,¹ he was a native of Tanis, one of the chief cities of the Delta, the favorite residence of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings.² How he became high-priest of Ammon at Thebes is not clear, since that office seems ere this to have been hereditary;³ but, having once attained that position, he speedily conciliated to himself the favor of the reigning monarch, Rameses XIII., and received from him the additional titles and offices of "chief (*uer*) of Upper and Lower Egypt," "royal son of Kush," "fanbearer on the right hand of the king," "chief architect," and "administrator of the granaries."⁴ Having thus managed to get all the most important offices of the government into his own hands, he succeeded, probably at the death of the king without issue,⁵ in quietly stepping into his place. No doubt, his position as head of the priestly order secured him important support in every city of the empire; but had not the Egyptians generally, and the military class in particular, been weakened and demoralized by their long abstention from war under the last ten Rameside kings, he would scarcely have settled himself upon the throne without a struggle. Of this, however, there is not the slightest trace. Her-hor appears to have been troubled by no internal disturbances. He adorned Thebes with sculptures,⁶ led the forces of Egypt beyond the frontier to the more distant portion of Syria,⁷ obtained military successes, and left his crown to his son or his grandson, who succeeded to his authority without difficulty.

It is thought that Her-hor, in order to strengthen his power, allied himself with a foreign monarch. The names of his wife, Netem, and of his children,⁸ are non-Egyptian, and have been pronounced Semitic,"⁹ but perhaps with scarcely sufficient evidence. The positive statement that "he allied himself closely with one of the kings of Nineveh, in whose friendship he sought a support to his usurpation,"¹⁰ is one of those bold assertions in which modern historiographers indulge because it is impossible absolutely to refute them. The assertion is simply without one atom of foundation. There were plenty of Semites within the limits of Egypt, with whom Her-hor might intermarry if he so pleased, and the population of Syria was in the main Semitic, so that he had no need to go to the distant Assyria for a Semitic wife. Netem, his consort, is never said to have been of royal birth. She is the *sutem hemt eur*, or "great royal consort," but not *suten sat*, "king's daughter" or "princess." Moreover, neither the name of his wife, Netem, nor the names of any of his sons,¹¹ are definitely Assyrian. Her-hor was probably married, long before he ascended the throne, to one of those Semitic Egyptians who abounded in the northeastern provinces,¹² and allowed his wife to give her children Semitic names, such as were common in those regions.

It is remarkable that, on assuming the royal title, he did not at first lay aside the designation of "high-priest of Ammon," but bore that descriptive epithet regularly in one of his royal scutcheons,¹³ while in the other he took the title of

Si-Ammon, , or "son of Ammon," which was sub-

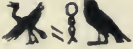
sequently claimed and borne by Alexander. Later, he called himself Si-Ammon only.¹⁴ It would seem that when he relinquished the priesthood for himself, he devolved it upon his

eldest son, Piankh, , thus securing its continued connection with the crown, and stamping his dynasty with a permanent hieratic character.


The personal appearance of Her-hor (Fig. 48) was pleasing. In the sculptures his features are delicate and good; his expression mild and agreeable.¹⁵ Though he claims to have reconquered the Ruten, we cannot suppose him to have been much of a warrior; and he certainly did not revive the glories of the empire to any considerable extent, or re-inspire the Egyptians with military ardor. On the whole, he would seem to have been a mild prince, not much more energetic

than his Rameside predecessors; and we may suspect that he took the bold step of usurping the crown, rather at the prompting of his order than inspired by any personal ambition.

It is uncertain whether Her-hor's son, Piankh, or his grandson, Pinetem, was his successor. Bunsen and Brugsch accord to Piankh the title of king;¹⁶ but it is admitted that he has neither the cartouche surrounding his name, nor the royal title affixed to it, in any of the monuments. The monuments are so scanty,¹⁷ that the negative argument is perhaps not of very much weight; and it is just possible that Piankh, the son of Her-hor, succeeded his father, and held the crown for a few years before the accession of Pinetem.

Pinetem, the grandson of Her-hor and son of Piankh, whose name is expressed in the hieroglyphics by  took


to wife a princess of the Rameside house named Ramaka or Rakama,¹⁸ and so strengthened his title to the crown, which is thought to have been disputed by the male descendants of the old Rameside stock, who had been banished with their partisans to the lesser Oasis. Pinetem had fixed his court at Tanis in the Delta,¹⁹ the native place of his grandfather, and had probably thereby offended the Thebans, who, to vent their spleen, took the part of the Rameside pretender. Hereupon Pinetem, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, despatched

his son Ra-men-khepr, or Men-khepr-ra, , on whom he had devolved the office of high-priest of Ammon, to the southern capital, to persuade or coerce the disaffected.²⁰ After punishing a certain number, he appears to have received the submission of the rest, but at the same time to have accepted their view, that clemency rather severity was the proper course to be pursued towards the rebels, and that the first step necessary to be taken was the recall of the exiles from the Oasis. These are said, in the hyperbolical language of the East, to have amounted to a hundred thousand; and though this is no doubt an exaggeration, it is one which implies that they must have been in reality very numerous, and that the internal troubles, to which the usurpation of the high-priests had led, must have become ultimately of a very serious character indeed. Men-khepr-ra, as Pinetem's representative, allowed the exiles to return, and pledged his word that the practice of banishment for political offences should be discontinued. After this we do not hear of any more dis-

turbances, and we may conclude that the policy of conciliation was successful.

Men-khepr-ra must, soon afterwards, have become king. His name occurs, enclosed in the royal cartouche, on bricks brought from the city of Kheb in the Heptanomis,²¹ on which we find almost the name of his wife, Hesi-en-kheb;²² but we cannot ascribe any events to the period during which he occupied the throne. The supposition of a great Assyrian attack upon Egypt under a king, Sheshonk, and his son Nimrud, which has the authority of one important name in its favor,²³ is not generally accepted, and seems to lack evidence.

Other eventless reigns belonging to the dynasty²⁴ are those of Pa - seb - en - sha, , Pinetem II., and Hor-

Pasebensha, . It is generally agreed that

these kings belonged to the same family with those already enumerated, but their exact relationship one to another and even the order of their succession are uncertain. Egyptian history is a blank during this space. We only know that friendly relations were established during the course of it between Egypt and Palestine, where an important kingdom had been set up by David and inherited by Solomon; that a monarch of the Tanite line consented to give one of his daughters in marriage to the latter prince;²⁵ and that, under these amicable relations of the two powers, a brisk trade was carried on for horses and chariots between the Egyptians on the one hand and the Syrians and Hittites on the other.²⁶ Egypt was at the same time, as no doubt it was always, open as an asylum to the political fugitive; and the Hadad, prince of Edom, who fled from David, found a refuge with some monarch of the Tanate dynasty,²⁷ just as Jeroboam, at a later date, found a refuge with Shihsak.²⁸ The country was quiet, without disturbance from within or menace from abroad; the kings were peaceful, never forgetting that they were priests as well as sovereigns; the people were satisfied to apply themselves generally to useful trades and productive employments; they were no longer assailed either from the west or from the north, since the Libyans had been taught a lesson, and the "war of Troy" had changed the condition of the powers of the Mediterranean; they were safe upon the side of the east, since they had a bulwark in the new empire raised up by the kings of Israel; and on the side of the south the Ethiopians

as yet gave no sign. Cloud and tempest were gathering, and would burst in fury upon the land at a not very distant future; but as yet the atmosphere was serene—thunder did not even mutter in the distance—the calm prevailed which is generally thought to a portend storm.

The duration of the dynasty is calculated by Manetho²⁹ at 130 years; and, having regard to the synchronism between Sheshonk and Solomon, we may assign it, without much chance of serious error, the space between B.C. 1100 and B.C. 975.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TWENTY-SECOND AND CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES (ABOUT B.C. 975-750).

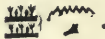
The Twenty-second Dynasty not Assyrian, but Bubastite. Ancestors of Sheshonk I. —his Royal Descent—his Marriage with a Tanite Princess. His reception of Jeroboam—his great Expedition into Palestine—his Arabian Conquests. His Bas-reliefs and Buildings. His two sons—Death of the elder, and Accession of Osarkon I. Peaceful Reign of Osarkon. Reigns of Takelnt I. and Osarkon II. Expedition of "Zerah the Ethiopian." Reigns of Sheshonk II., Takelut II., Sheshonk III., and Sheshonk IV. Other Contemporary Kings. Rise of Piankhi. Disappearance of Art and Literature under the Sheshonks.

"If the history of the twenty-first dynasty is obscure, that of the twenty-second, or Bubastite dynasty, as it has been called, is not less difficult."—BIRCH, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 155.


WE are asked to see in the establishment of the twenty-second dynasty the effect of the absolute conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians,¹ which resulted in the establishment of a junior branch of the Assyrian royal family upon the Egyptian throne, and the subjection of the country for nearly two centuries to a foreign yoke. But a large number of important considerations oppose themselves to the reception of this novel theory, which has not, so far as we are aware, been accepted by any Egyptologist of repute, except its propounder. In the first place, the Assyrians appear to have been at the time in question exceptionally weak;² and whereas, rather more than a century earlier (B.C. 1100), they carried their victorious arms across the Euphrates into Northern Syria,³ and a century later (B.C. 875) reduced the Phœnician towns to subjection,⁴ in the interval—from B.C. 1100 to B.C. 900—they were in a depressed and debilitated condition, quite in-

capable of making extensive foreign conquests. Secondly, it is certain that the Egyptians neither speak with any distinctness of any foreign attack upon their independence at this time, nor use the term "Assyrian"—with which they were well acquainted⁶—in any connection with the kings of this dynasty. The term used in such connection, and supposed to designate "Assyria," is *Mat*,⁶ which may perhaps mean "the peoples," but which has no more connection with the word Assyria than with Palestine, or Babylon, or Persia. Further, the new names which now come into Egyptian history, and which are thought to support the Assyrian theory, are decidedly non-Assyrian, and, so far as is known, were never borne by any Assyrian person.⁷

Manetho, who, living under the Ptolemies, had no false shame leading him to conceal the subjection of Egypt by her neighbors—who called the seventeenth dynasty Phœnician or Arabian,⁸ the twenty-fifth Ethiopian,⁹ and the twenty-seventh Persian¹⁰—declared the twenty-second to be Bubastite,¹¹ and therefore native Egyptian. His statement is confirmed by the fact, that two of the kings¹² called themselves *Si-Bast*, or "Son of Bast;" the goddess from whom Bubastis took its name, and who was especially worshipped there. It appears¹³ that a certain Sheshonk (Fig. 50), a Bubastite contemporary with one of the later kings of the twenty-first dynasty, took to wife a princess of the Tanite House,¹⁴ named Meht-en-hont or Meht-en-usekh,¹⁵ and had by her a son, Namrut, who became the father of a second Sheshonk



This second Sheshonk, having royal blood in his veins, was selected by a later Tanite king as a fitting hus-

band for his daughter, Keramat, , and was

thus led to raise his thoughts to the crown. Whether he usurped it, or succeeded, in right of his wife, on the failure of heirs male in the Tanite line,¹⁶ is doubtful; but perhaps it is not probable that he was regarded as the rightful heir. Shortly after his accession, he took the throne-name of Hutkhepr-ra-sotep-en-ra, and bore this name in his second shield on most occasions.¹⁷

It was probably not long after his accession that he received a fugitive of importance from the neighboring country of Palestine, where Solomon still occupied the throne of his father David. This was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, an officer who had held high employment under Solomon,¹⁸ but

had become an object of suspicion because it had been prophesied that he would one day be king of ten out of the twelve tribes of Israel. To prevent the accomplishment of this prophecy, Solomon wished to put Jeroboam to death; ¹⁹ he, however, contrived to effect his escape, and became a refugee at the court of Sheshonk, where, according to tradition, ²⁰ he was well treated. When Solomon died some time after, Jeroboam returned to his native land; and the prophecy of Ahijah was fulfilled under the circumstances related in the First Book of Kings. ²¹ The Israelites elected Jeroboam to be their sovereign; but he probably felt his tenure to be insecure, and consequently made representations to Sheshonk which caused that monarch to undertake an important military expedition. The Egyptians had for several centuries known nothing of war; but a number of mercenary soldiers had been maintained as a sort of police, and there was thus a standing army of a certain amount, consisting mainly of the Libyans of the west and the negroes and Ethiopians of the south, which preserved internal order, guarded the frontiers, and might be employed, if need were, beyond them. Sheshonk, a new king of a new dynasty, might be anxious, like Her-hor when he attacked the Ruten, ²² to impress the nation favorably by the display of energy and military daring. If he could count on the friendship of Jeroboam, he would be exposing himself to little danger, and he might gather laurels, such as had been unheard of for above a century, without any risk of a reverse. Accordingly he determined on a great expedition into Palestine. Collecting the whole body of the mercenaries, and adding to them probably some Egyptian levies, he was able to raise a force of twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse, ²³ and footmen "without number," at the head of which he entered the Holy Land—"in three columns," as has been supposed ²⁴—and, spreading his troops far and wide over the country, "took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah and came to Jerusalem." ²⁵ Now for the first time since they entered the "Land of Promise" had the Jews to contend with their great southern neighbor—now for the first time did they come in contact with huge masses of disciplined troops, armed and trained alike, and soldiers by profession. The clouds of horse, the vast body of chariots, the countless number of the footmen which swarmed over the land, seem to have overawed their minds, and prevented the very thought of an organized resistance. In vain had Rehoboam, immediately after Jeroboam's revolt, fortified a number of the towns of Judæa, ²⁶ especially those

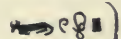
towards the south and southwest,²⁷ in anticipation of an Egyptian inroad. At the sight of the advancing host the cities opened their gates, or fell after brief sieges ;²⁸ and in an incredibly short space of time the triumphant Pharaoh appeared before the Jewish capital, which yielded at discretion. Sheshonk entered the city, stripped the temple of its most valuable treasures, and plundered the royal palace,²⁹ but accepted Rehoboam's submission, allowed him to remain in Jerusalem as tributary prince,³⁰ and marched away his troops to further conquests.

Jeroboam, it would seem, had work for his ally to do, not in Judæa only, but also in his own territory. The Levitical cities, scattered about the land, were hostile to him ;³¹ and many of the Canaanitish towns had either never been subdued, or had taken advantage of the disruption of the kingdom to reclaim their independence.³² Sheshonk is found, by the list of the conquered cities and tribes which he set up on his return home, to have carried his arms over the kingdom of Isarel no less than over that of Judah, and to have captured in the former a large number of Levitical cities, such as Rehob, Gibeon, Mahanaim, Beth-horon, Kedemoth, Bileam or Ibleam, Alemoth, etc., and a certain number of Canaanite ones. He may even be traced across the Jordan valley, where he took Beth-shan, into the trans-Jordanic region, where he captured Mahanaim and Aroer, and thence into northwestern Arabia, where he reduced the Edomites, the Temanites (?), and several tribes of the Hagarenes.³³ Thus his expedition, though not to be compared with the great campaigns of Thothmes I. and III., of Seti I. or Rameses II., had a considerable success. Jeroboam, the friend and ally of Egypt, was strengthened and helped; Rehoboam (Fig. 58) was made a tributary; and the Arab tribes south and east of Palestine were reduced to dependence.

On his return to Thebes from Asia, with his prisoners and his treasures, it seemed to the victorious monarch that he might fitly seek to emulate the glories of the old Pharaohs, not only in war but in the arts of peace. Seti and Rameses had eternized their victories by inscribing them upon imperishable stone at Thebes—why should he not follow their example, and set up his memorial in the same place? He was "high-priest of Ammon in Apt,"³⁴ and the Great Temple of Karnak was thus under his special care; it was therefore at that place that he resolved to impress upon the stone the image of his own person and the record of his successes. On the external southern wall of this building, in the so-called portico

of the Bubastites, he caused himself to be represented twice—once holding by the hair of their heads thirty-eight captive Asiatics and threatening them with uplifted mace,³⁵ and a second time leading captive 133 cities or tribes, each specified by name, and personified in an individual form, though the form is incompletely rendered.³⁶ Out of all these, the greatest interest will always attach to that which bears the inscription, “Yuteh Malk,” and represents either the captive Judæan kingdom, or Rehoboam himself.³⁷

Besides engraving his bas-reliefs on a part of the old Temple of Ammon, Sheshonk “built a sort of entrance hall, which leads from the south, close by the east wall of the sanctuary of Rameses III., into the great front court of the temple.”³⁸ A record in the quarries of Silsilis shows that he drew the stone for this edifice from that locality, and that he gave the order for the stone to be hewn in the twenty-first year of his reign.³⁹ As no higher date than this is found on his monuments, and as Manetho gave him exactly twenty-one years,⁴⁰ we may assume as highly probable that his reign was not much further prolonged, and assign him the period from about B.C. 975 to B.C. 953.

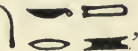
Two sons of Sheshonk I. are known to us. The eldest, who was named Shupot or Anpot, , received during his father's lifetime the titles of “high priest of Ammon-Ra in Thebes” and “commander-in-chief of the Theban soldiers.”⁴¹ He also presided over the working of the quarries at Silsilis.⁴² Apparently, however, he died before his father, and so made way for the second son Osarkon,



, who took the throne name of Sokhem-khepra-sotep-en-ra,⁴³ and held the throne, according to Manetho, for fifteen years,⁴⁴ from about B.C. 953 to B.C. 938. It is thought by some⁴⁵ that, like his father, he was ambitious of military glory, and that he followed his father's example by making a great expedition into Palestine, being, in fact, the Zerah, or Zerach, זֶרַח, who invaded Judæa in the reign of Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam.⁴⁶ But the dates of the two expeditions, which fell thirty years apart, and the epithet of Zerah, “the Cushite,” חִשְׁתִּי, are against the view. Osarkon I. (Fig. 61) cannot possibly have been termed “the Cushite,” since his father and mother were both native Egyptians; and as Shishak's expedition was made tolerably late in his reign,⁴⁷

and Osarkon probably did not outlive him above fifteen years, the date of Zerah's expedition would not be reached until Osarkon's reign was over. There is every reason to believe that he was a peaceful and wholly undistinguished prince, content to add a few sculptures to the "Bubastite portico" of his father,⁴⁸ and to rule Egypt in quietness during such term of life as Heaven might allow him. His portrait, as given by Rosellini,⁴⁹ is that of a mild prince, not remarkable for energy or determination..

Osarkon I. was followed upon the throne by his son Take-

rut or Takelut, , who assumed the title of Si-

Hesi, "son of Isis," and further took the throne-name of Hut-ra-sotep-en-Ammon-neter-hak-uas. It is thought⁵⁰ that, in the early part his reign, he was engaged in a struggle with his younger brother, Sheshonk, the son of Osarkon I. by a Tanite princess, Keramat, and that, although successful, he had to concede to the cadet of his house the new and high title of "Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt," which is found attached to his name in the inscriptions. Sheshonk was also recognized as "high-priest of the Theban Ammon," and thus enjoyed a dignity not much inferior to that of his brother. He likewise bore the office of "commander-in-chief of the troops." Takelut had a short⁵¹ and undistinguished reign. He has left no monuments, and is only known through the Apis stelæ, which give him a wife called Kapes, and a son Osarkon,⁵² who succeeded him.

The second Osarkon reigned at least twenty-two years.⁵³ He called himself Si-Bast, or "son of the goddess Bast," the queen of Bubastis, and also took the throne-name of Userma-ra-sotep-en-Ammon. Chronological considerations⁵⁴ make it probable that the great expedition into Palestine, ascribed in the Second Book of Chronicles to "Zerah the Ethiopian," took place in his reign, either under his own auspices, or under those of an Ethiopian general, to whom he entrusted the command of his army. The Hebrew Zerach, זרח, may possibly represent the Egyptian O-sark-on, and Osarkon II. may be called an Ethiopian, because his mother, Kapes, was an Ethiopian princess;⁵⁵ or the Pharaoh, whose mercenary troops were largely Ethiopian, may have placed the invading army under a leader of that nation. The object of the expedition was to bring back Judæa, which had revolted,⁵⁶ to the subject position which had been imposed upon her by Sheshonk (Shishak). The attack, however,

completely failed. Inspired by the words of Shemaiah, which assured him of victory, the Jewish king Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, boldly met the invader in the open field, engaged his numerous host, which is vaguely estimated at a "thousand thousand," and completely defeated it in a great battle.⁶⁷

Osarkon II. (Fig. 51) appears to have had three wives.⁶⁸ The chief of these bore the same name as the queen of Sheshonk I., Keramat, and was probably by birth a princess of the royal house. She was the mother of Sheshonk II. (who, in his father's twenty-third year, was old enough to exercise the functions of royalty at Memphis), and must therefore have been taken to wife by Osarkon before, or soon after, he ascended the throne. Another of his wives, named Hesi-em-kheb, bore him the princess Thes-bast-per, while a third, Mut-at-ankhes, was the mother of prince Namrut, who became "overseer of the prophets and commander of the soldiery at Heracleopolis Magna,"⁶⁹ governor of the Thebaïd, the high-priest of Ammon at Thebes.

The crown-prince, Sheshonk, as governor of Memphis, celebrated the funeral rites of a deceased Apis bull in his father's twenty-third year,⁷⁰ and probably ascended the throne soon afterwards. He was even less distinguished than his predecessors, and apparently had but a short reign.⁷¹ The throne-name which he assumed, and which distinguished him from the other Sheshonks, was Seses-khepr-ra-sotep-en-Ammon.

The remaining monarchs of the dynasty were Takelut II., called Si-Hesi, or "son of Isis," like the former prince of the name, and also Hnt-khepr-ra-sotep-en-ra; Sheshonk III., known as Si-Bast and User-ma-ra-sotep-en-ra; Pamai;



called User-ma-ra-sotep-en-ammon; and Sheshonk

IV., called Aa-khepr-ra. These four princes are thought to come in the regular line of succession⁷² from Sheshonk II., and, together with Sheshonk I., Takelut I., and the two Osarkons, to make up the nine monarchs whom Manetho assigned to this royal house.⁷³ Egypt rapidly declined under their government and once more suffered disintegration; rival dynasties established themselves at Thebes, Tanis, Memphis, and elsewhere;⁷⁴ Ethiopia acquired a preponderating power in the south, and the empire tended to dissolution. Disturbances are spoken of as occurring as early as the reign of Takelut II., both in the south and in the north;⁷⁵ and very soon the entire attention of the rulers was diverted from public works and

foreign expeditions to internal quarrels and dissensions. The descendants of the great adversary of Rehoboam still claimed the royal title, and exercised a precarious authority at Thebes, while the twenty-third dynasty of Manetho reigned at Tanis and Bubastis,⁶⁶ and an upstart prince, called Tegnaphthus or Tafnekht, held Memphis and the Western Delta. At Napata, on the Upper Nile, a certain Piankhi obtained sovereign power, and by degrees established a sort of protectorate or suzerainty over the whole of Egypt. As this change marks one of the main crises in Egyptian history, and is connected closely with the period of the twenty-fourth, or Ethiopian dynasty, its consideration is deferred to the ensuing chapter.

Art under the Sheshonks did not so much decline as disappear. A certain number of porticoes and bas-reliefs⁶⁷ were indeed added to the Temple of Karnak by the earlier monarchs; but these weak efforts are wholly devoid of artistic value; and after a time they are discontinued, as though the kings were ashamed at the contrast between their own feeble performances and the great works of former sovereigns. The Apis stelæ continue, but are rude memorial stones, with no pretension to rank as works of art.⁶⁸ Stagnation and deadness characterize the tombs of the time, which repeat antique forms, but without any of the antique spirit. Statuary almost entirely ceases;⁶⁹ a certain number of statuettes may belong to the time,⁷⁰ but life-sized figures are almost wholly wanting.

The condition of literature under the dynasty is similar. Excepting a few official tablets without the slightest literary merit,⁷¹ and some magical texts and spells,⁷² nothing seems to have been written. The literature of the time is reduced to the two branches of the mystic and the commonplace. On the one hand, we are gravely informed that "when Horus weeps, the water that falls from his eyes grows into plants producing a sweet perfume. When Baba (Typhon) lets fall blood from his nose, it grows into plants changing to cedars, and produces turpentine instead of the water. When Shu and Tefnut weep much, and water falls from their eyes, it changes into plants that produce incense. When the Sun weeps a second time, and lets water fall from his eyes, it is changed into working bees; they work in the flowers of each kind, and honey and wax are produced instead of the water."⁷³ On the other hand, the eternity of inscription on hard stone is bestowed on statements that "King Sheshonk caused a new quarry to be opened to begin a building,"⁷⁴ or that "in the

Fig. 49.—HEAD OF SHAVATOK.— See Page 339.



Fig. 50.—HEAD OF SHESHOK I. (SHISHAK).— See Page 224.



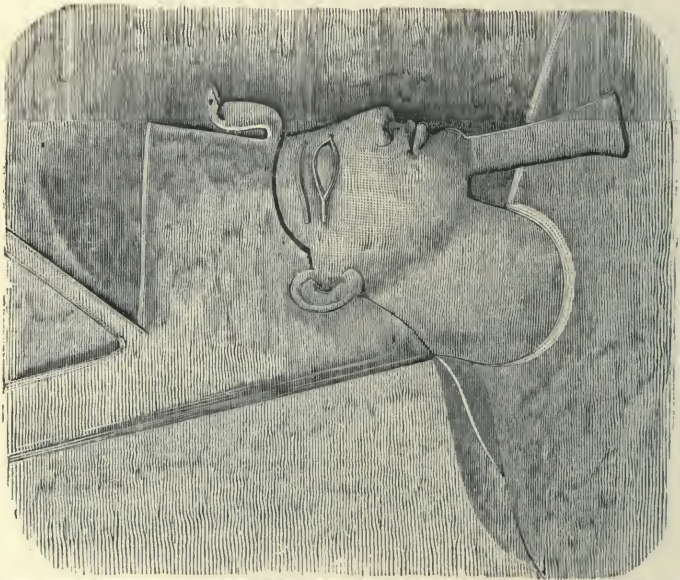


Fig. 51.—HEAD OF OSARKON II.—See Page 229.



Fig. 52.—HEAD OF SHABAK.—See Page 338.

year 2, the month Mechir, on the first day of the month, under the reign of King Pimai, the god Apis was carried to his rest in the beautiful region of the west, and was laid in the grave, and deposited in his everlasting house and his eternal abode. He was born in the year 28, in the time of the deceased king Sheshonk III. His glory was sought for in all places of Lower Egypt. He was found after some months in the city of Ha-shed-abot. He was solemnly introduced into the temple of Phthah, beside his father, the Memphian god Phthah of the south wall, by the high priest in the temple of Phthah, the great prince of the Mashuash, Petise, the son of the high-priest of Memphis and great prince of the Mashuash, Takehut, and of the princess of royal race, Thebast-per, in the year 28, in the month Paophi, on the first day of the month. The full lifetime of this god amounted to twenty-six years." ⁷⁶ Such are the highest efforts of Egyptian authorship in the two centuries and a quarter which intervene between B.C. 975 and B.C. 750.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ETHIOPIAN PHARAOKHS.

Geography of Ethiopia, and Condition of the Ethiopians about B.C. 750. Position and Importance of Napata. Connection of its Kings with the Egyptian Pharaohs. Sudden Rise of Piankhi to Power, and Nature of his Rule over Egypt. Revolt of Tefnekht. Great Civil War and Re-establishment of Piankhi's Authority. Revolt and Reign of Bocchoris. Invasion of Shabak (Sabaco). His Reign. His Monuments. First Contest between Egypt and the Assyrian Kingdom of the Sargonids. Reign of Shabatok. Accession of Tirhakah. His Connection with Hezekiah. His First Assyrian War. His Monuments. His Second War with the Assyrians. His Death. Reigns of Rntamen and Miamen-Nut. End of the Ethiopian Power in Egypt.

"The land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia!"

ISALAH xviii. 1.

THE slight sketches given of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians in the first volume of the present work are scarcely sufficient to enable the reader fully to comprehend the relations in which Egypt had come to stand towards her southern neighbor, or the nature of the subjection with which she was now threatened from that quarter. Ethiopia, in the ordinary and vague sense of the term, was a vast tract extending in length above a thousand miles, from the ninth to the twenty-

fourth degree of north latitude, and in breadth almost nine hundred miles, from the shores of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to the desert of the Sahara.² This tract was inhabited for the most part by wild and barbarous tribes—herdsmen, hunters, or fishermen—who grew no corn, were unacquainted with bread, and subsisted on the milk and flesh of their cattle, or on game, turtle, and fish, salted or raw.³ The tribes had their own separate chiefs, and acknowledged no single head, but on the contrary were frequently at war one with the other, and sold their prisoners for slaves. Such was Ethiopia in the common vague sense; but from this must be distinguished another narrower Ethiopia, known sometimes as “Ethiopia Proper” or Ethiopia above Egypt,”⁴ the limits of which were, towards the south, the junction of the White and Blue Niles, and towards the north the Third Cataract.⁵ Into this tract, called sometimes “the kingdom of Meroë,” Egyptian civilization had, long before the eighth century, deeply penetrated. Temples of the Egyptian type, stone pyramids, avenues of sphinxes, had been erected;⁶ a priesthood had been set up,⁷ which was regarded as derived from the Egyptian priesthood; monarchical institutions had been adopted; the whole tract formed ordinarily one kingdom; and the natives were not very much behind the Egyptians in arts or arms, or very different from them in manners, customs, and mode of life. Even in race the difference was not great. The Ethiopians were darker in complexion than the Egyptians,⁸ and possessed probably a greater infusion of Nigritic blood; but there was a common stock at the root of the two races—Cush and Mizraim were brethren.⁹


In the region of Ethiopia Proper a very important position was occupied in the eighth century by Napata. Napata was situated midway in the great bend of the Nile, between lat. 18° and 19°, where for a time the mighty stream ceases to flow to the north, and takes a course which is considerably south of west. It occupied the left bank of the river in the near vicinity of the modern Gebel Berkal. Here, as early as the time of Amenôphis III., a great sanctuary was raised to Ammon by that distinguished king;¹⁰ and here, when the decline of Egypt enabled the Ethiopians to reclaim their ancient limits, the capital was fixed of that kingdom, which shortly became a rival of the old empire of the Pharaohs, and aspired to take its place. The city increased in size; new temples were raised to Osiris and other Egyptian gods; avenues of sphinxes adorned the approaches to the temples; sepulchral monuments were erected in the shape of pyramids; the

entire city had a thoroughly Egyptian aspect ; and Egyptian ideas dominated the minds of the inhabitants. "The Theban god, Ammon-Ra, was recognized as the supreme god of the country. The king's full name was formed exactly according to the old Egyptian pattern. The Egyptian language and writing, division of time, and everything else relating to manners and customs, were preserved." " Though an Ethiopian city, Napata had all the appearance of an Egyptian one; and nothing showed its foreign character but a certain coarseness and rudeness in the architecture, and an entire absence of any attempt at originality in the artistic forms or in the mode of employing them.

Napata was also a place of much wealth. The kingdom of Meroë, whereof it was the capital, reached southward as far as the modern Khartoum, and eastward stretched up to the Abyssinian highlands, including the valleys of the Atbara and its tributaries, together with most of the tract between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. This was a region of great opulence,¹² containing many mines of gold, iron, copper, and salt, abundant woods of date-palm, almond-trees and ilex, some excellent pasture-ground, and much rich meadow-land suitable for the growth of *dooru* and other sorts of grain. Fish of many kinds and large turtle¹³ abounded in the Atbara and other streams'; while the geographical position was favorable for commerce with the tribes of the interior, who were able to furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of ivory, skins, and ostrich feathers. Napata continued down to Roman times a place of importance, and only sank to ruin in consequence of the campaigns of Petronius against Candacé in the first century after our era.¹⁴

It is thought that during the troubles which issued in the supersession of the first Tanite dynasty by that of the Sheshonks, a branch of the family of Her-hor transferred itself from Thebes to Napata, and intermarrying there with the principal Cushites of the place, was accepted as a royal house, and founded the northern Ethiopian kingdom, which after a time became dangerous to the Egyptians. The "princes of Noph"¹⁵ at first were of no great importance; but as Egypt became more and more disorganized and decentralized, their power grew relatively greater, until at last they found themselves able to assume the protectorate of one Egyptian kingdom after another, and ultimately about B.C. 750, to exercise a species of lordship over the whole country.

The individual who is first found occupying this novel

position is a certain Piankhi, , who calls himself Mi-

Ammon or Meri-Ammon, "beloved of Ammon," and is thought to have been a descendant of Her-hor.¹⁷ On a stéle found at Gebel Berkal, the ancient Napata, this prince, who assumes the ordinary Pharaonic titles, "Son of the Sun," and "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," states that in his twenty-first year, a great revolt broke out in Egypt against his authority.¹⁸ By the account which he gives of the revolt we find that, previously to it, Egypt was divided into at least seven kingdoms, each ruled by a native Egyptian king, who however was not independent, but owed allegiance to Piankhi. Tafnekht ruled in the Western Delta, and held Saïs and Memphis; Osarkon was king of the Eastern Delta, and kept his court in Bubastis; Petisis was king of Athribis, also in the Delta, and Aupot ruled in some portion of the same region; in middle Egypt the tract next above Memphis formed the kingdom of Pefaabast, who had his residence in Sutensenen, or Heracleopolis Magna; while above this was the dominion of Namrut, extending beyond Sesennu (or Hermopolis), his capital. Bek-en-nefi had also a principality, though in what exact position is uncertain. Other chiefs appear to have held cities, but probably under one or other of the seven princes above mentioned. There were also various generals of mercenaries in different parts of the country, who had independent commands,¹⁹ owing allegiance only to Piankhi. Upper Egypt, from the vicinity of Hermopolis (lat. 27° 47'), appears to have been completely absorbed into the kingdom of Napata, and to have had no subordinate or tributary monarch.

It is impossible to say at what time in Piankhi's reign, prior to his twenty-first year, the original establishment of his authority over Egypt took place; but his stéle contains no indication that the date was recent. On the whole, it would seem to be most probable that he began to extend his sway over Upper Egypt soon after his accession,²⁰ which cannot have been much later than B.C. 755,²¹ and, gradually advancing towards the north, became master of the Delta, and so of all Egypt, by B.C. 750. He may then have reigned quietly and peacefully for fifteen or sixteen years, and so have reached the twenty-first year of his sovereignty when the revolt broke out. At that date, Tafnekht, the ruler of Saïs and Memphis, suddenly resolved to throw off his allegiance, trusting perhaps partly in his power, partly in his remoteness from Napata. Sailing up the Nile, "with multitudes of warriors

from the whole (western) land following him,"²² he occupied the country on both sides of the river, including the Fayoum,²³ as far as Heracleopolis Magna (lat. 29° 11'), without—so far as appears—encountering any opposition. "Every city, both of the west and of the east, opened its gates to him."²⁴ Heracleopolis seems to have ventured to stand a siege,²⁵ but was taken. Tafnekht then advanced on Hermopolis, and so alarmed the king, Namrut, that, after razing one of his forts in order to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hand, he gave up the idea of resistance, and joined the rebellion.²⁶ About the same time, several other of the subject monarchs, as Osarkon of Bubastis, Bek-en-nefi, and Aupot,²⁷ gave in their adhesion to Tafnekht, and brought their forces to swell the number of his army.

Meanwhile, Piankhi, having received intelligence of the revolt, sent a strong body of troops down the Nile under the command of two generals, who would, he hoped, be able to defeat and disperse the rebels without his own intervention.²⁸ This expedition was at first successful. On its way down the river, below Thebes, it fell in with the advancing fleet of the enemy and completely defeated it. The rebel chiefs, abandoning Hermopolis and the middle Nile, fell back upon Sutensenes, or Heracleopolis, where they concentrated their forces and awaited a second attack. This was not long deferred. Piankhi's army, having besieged and taken Hermopolis,²⁹ descended the river to Sutensenen, gave the confederates a second naval defeat, and disembarking followed up their success with another great victory by land, completely routing the enemy, and driving them to take refuge in Lower Egypt or in the towns along the banks of the Nile below Heracleopolis. But now a strange reverse of fortune befell them. Namrut, the Hermopolitan monarch, hearing that his capital was in the enemy's power, resolved on a bold attempt to retake it, and, having collected a number of ships and troops, quitted his confederates, sailed up the Nile, besieged the Ethiopian garrison which had been left to hold the city, overpowered them, and recovered the place.³⁰ Hereupon Piankhi made up his mind that his own personal presence was necessary in order to quell the revolt. Quitting Napata in the first month of the year, he reached Thebes in the second,³¹ and after performing sundry religious ceremonies in honor of the great god, Ammon, advanced against Hermopolis, pitched his camp to the southwest of the city, and prepared to take it by storm. Towers were raised to a greater height than the walls, from which the archers shot into the city, and the

catapult-men hurled stones into it, with such effect, that in a short time the inhabitants could not bear the stench of the corpses³² and insisted on a surrender. Namrut consented. (Fig. 56). Having first softened the great king's heart by sending his wife as a suppliant to Piankhi's harem, to prostrate herself before his wives, daughters, and sisters, and beseech their intercession in his favor, he himself came forth from the city, and presented himself before Piankhi in equally humble fashion, leading his horse with his left hand, and holding a sistrum in his right—the instrument wherewith it was usual for worshippers to approach a god. Piankhi had this scene engraved at a later date on the monument which he set up to record his victories;³³ but at the time he seems not to have been much impressed by it, and to have declined to receive Namrut into favor.


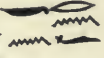
Pefaabast, king of Heracleopolis Magna, who shortly afterwards surrendered, was treated with equal coldness. Piankhi seems to have felt himself strong enough to suppress the revolt without the help of any of the subject princes, and reserved the question of punishing or condoning their offences until the struggle should be over.

Bent on putting down all opposition, Piankhi now proceeded from Heracleopolis along the course of the Nile towards Memphis, receiving the submission of the cities on either bank of the river upon his way, and in a short time appeared before the southern capital, and summoned it to surrender at discretion.³⁴ But Tafnekht had recently paid the city a visit, strengthened its defences, augmented its supplies, and reinforced its garrison with an addition of 8,000 men, thereby greatly inspiring its defenders. Resistance was therefore resolved upon; the gates were closed, the walls manned, and Piankhi challenged to do his worst. "Then was his Majesty furious against them like a panther."³⁵ Collecting vessels of every sort and size, and taking the command in person, he attacked the city from the water, brought the ships close to the houses, and, using the masts and yards of the vessels for ladders, succeeded in forcing an entrance, and captured the place after a great slaughter. Aupot, Petisis, and Merkaneshu, a leader of mercenaries, upon this surrendered, and armed resistance to the authority of Piankhi ceased. Two chiefs, however, had still to make their submission, Tafnekht, the leader of the rebellion, and Osarkon, the prince of Bubastis. Proceeding against the latter, Piankhi had reached Heliopolis, where he was received with acclamations and hailed as "indestructible Horus,"³⁶ when Osarkon, seeing that resistance

was hopeless, came into his camp and did homage. Nothing remained but that Tafnekht should bow to fortune. That prince, after the capture of Memphis, had fled beyond the seas,—to Cyprus, as one writer conjectures,³⁷—and was thus in no personal danger; but the condition of a refugee is irksome, and Piankhi had shown himself so clement to the other chiefs, that even the arch-rebel felt he might perhaps be forgiven. Tafnekht, therefore, from his island refuge sent an embassy to Piankhi, with a sufficiently humble message,³⁸ desiring pardon and proffering a new oath of allegiance. The Ethiopian monarch accepted the overture; the oath was taken, the pacification of Egypt effected; and, amid music and song,³⁹ the conqueror re-ascended the Nile, and returned, laden with the good things of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to his own capital city, Napata.

It would seem that Egypt now returned to its previous condition, all the rebel chiefs being allowed to resume their several governments and to exercise the same powers as before. Piankhi showed himself of a mild and merciful disposition, deposed no one, deprived no one of any portion of his territories, did not even take hostages, but trusted that their experience of the futility of revolt would prevent the chiefs from making any further efforts.

It is uncertain whether or no he personally witnessed the disappointment of his expectations. Egypt revolted and threw off the Ethiopian yoke within a few years of its reimposition, but perhaps not until Piankhi himself had been gathered to his fathers. The leader of the rebellion on this

occasion was a certain Bek-en-ranf,  , whom the

Greeks called Bocchoris or Bonchoris,⁴⁰ a native of Saïs, and perhaps a son of Tafnekht.⁴¹ The circumstances of his revolt are wholly unknown to us, since the monuments are silent, barely mentioning his name,⁴² and neither Manetho nor the native Greek writers were aware of the subjection of Egypt by Piankhi. Bocchoris is regarded by the Greeks as a somewhat remarkable personage, feeble in body and avaricious, but with a certain renown for wisdom, and the author of laws which had the approval of his countrymen.⁴³ According to Africanus,⁴⁴ Manetho gave him a reign of six years only, and as this number is found also upon one of the Apis stelæ,⁴⁵ we may accept it as probably marking the real duration of his reign. The Ethiopians, evidently stronger at this period than the Egyptians, are not likely to have allowed him a long re-


spite, and when Sabaco, who had succeeded Piankhi at Napata, reclaimed the dominion which Piankhi had held, it is evident that Bocchoris was unable to make a prolonged resistance. Sabaco, a genuine Ethiopian,⁴⁶ not (like Piankhi) more than half an Egyptian, used his rights of conqueror to the full, employed large numbers of the inhabitants in forced labors,⁴⁷ and, by way of a warning to others, burnt Bocchoris alive for his rebellion.⁴⁸

The reign of Shabak,  or Sabaco, over

Egypt, is estimated by Manetho at twelve years; and this date is also found upon the monuments⁴⁹ as a *minimum* one, which may have been exceeded. According to Herodotus,⁵⁰ he transferred his residence from Ethiopia to Egypt, where he certainly set up memorials, both at Thebes and at Memphis.⁵¹ It was probably soon after his accession⁵² that he received an embassy from Hoshea, king of Israel, entreating his assistance against Assyria, and had to consider whether he would venture to provoke the hostility of that mighty empire.



A time had been when Egypt was the aggressor, and carried her arms deep into Asia, robbing (as we have seen)⁵³ Assyria of a province, and forcing her kings to pay an annual tribute. But that time was a very distant one; seven centuries, or more, had passed away since the great Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty harried the Mesopotamian plains and struck terror into the hearts of the kings of Asshur. Now for above a century and a half the power of Assyria had been in the ascendant;⁵⁴ she had continually advanced her limits; the Euphrates had been crossed; Upper Syria, Phœnicia, Hamath, the kingdom of Damascus, brought under subjection; and at length an attack was made upon that country which Egypt might well consider almost her last bulwark upon the northeast, which she looked upon as properly her own, and over which, so late as the time of Sheshonk I., she had actually exercised sovereignty. Shabak, as an Ethiopian, might not feel keenly the change in the relative position of the two countries; but he had enough of political sagacity to perceive the peril of the situation, and enough of boldness to resolve on meeting it halfway, and not remaining wholly upon the defensive. He encouraged Hoshea to defy the power of the Assyrians; and though, from circumstances which are unknown to us, he did not march to his aid, yet, a year or two later (B.C. 720), he met the advancing tide of Assyrian


conquest on the southern limits of Palestine, and fought a great battle in defence of the country whereof he had become king.⁵⁵ The battle of Raphia is one of the turning-points in the world's history. Then for the first time was the relative strength of Asia and Africa tested in open combat on a fair field. It was ominous of the future that Africa succumbed. Shabak was completely defeated by the great Sargon, the builder of Khorsabad, and founder of the last and greatest Assyrian dynasty. His army was routed, and he was forced to seek safety in flight. It was probably soon afterwards that he concluded that treaty with the Assyrians, the seal of which, containing his cartouche, was found by Layard on the site of Nineveh.⁵⁶

If Shabak reigned twelve years only, he must have been succeeded by Shabatok (Fig. 50), , about B.C.

712. Sargon was at this time still king of Assyria, and at the zenith of his power. In B.C. 715, he had conquered part of Arabia, and received tribute from Egypt;⁵⁷ in B. C. 711, "he took Ashdod," as noticed by Isaiah.⁵⁸ In the same year he claims to have received the submission of Ethiopia. "The king of Meroë," he says, "who dwelt in the desert, and had never sent ambassadors to any of the kings, my predecessors, was led by the fear of my majesty to direct his steps towards Assyria, and humbly bow down before me."⁵⁹ Shabatok is probably the monarch intended; and it would seem that, through fear of the Assyrian power, he must have undertaken a journey into some part of Sargon's dominions⁶⁰ for the purpose of bowing down before his footstool and doing him homage.

Shabatok probably reigned about fourteen years,⁶¹ from B.C. 715 to B.C. 698. He has left very few memorials of himself. In a sculpture, given by Rosellini,⁶² he makes an offering to Ammon-Ra and Maut; in one, given by Mariette,⁶³ he receives life from Neith; and a sitting statue of him, much broken, has been found on the site of Memphis.⁶⁴ On this last he calls himself Mi-Phthah, "lover of Phthah;" but his more ordinary epithet was Meri-Ammon, "beloved by Ammon." In personal appearance he would seem to have much resembled Shabak, who was probably his father; but his eye was larger, his nose shorter, and he represents himself as without a beard. It is remarkable that both he and his predecessor went back for their throne-names to the early

period of Egyptian history, Shabak calling himself Neferka-ra, , a form of name not borne by any king since the tenth dynasty,⁶⁶ and Shabatok Tatkaura, , one not borne since the fifth.⁶⁶

The immediate successor of Shabatok appears to have been Tirhakah, whom Manetho made the third Ethiopian king. The form of his name in Egyptian is Tahark or Tahrak, , which Manetho rendered by Tarakos⁶⁷ and the later Greeks by Tearehon.⁶⁸ His monuments are found at Memphis, at Medinet-Abou, at Thebes, and at Napata. It is not improbable that from Napata he exercised the supreme authority over Egypt even during the reign of Shabatok, and it appears to have been with him that Hezekiah negotiated,⁶⁹ when the continued existence of Judæa was menaced by Sennacherib. Sennacherib had in B.C. 701 taken Asealon and Ekron, defeated an Egyptian army which marched to the relief of the latter city;⁷⁰ invaded Judæa, and made Hezekiah tributary,⁷¹ after which he had returned to Nineveh. The Jewish monarch took advantage of his absence to send an embassy to Egypt, and received such encouragement that, in the next year, Sennacherib deemed it necessary to march a second time⁷² into Palestine (B.C. 699) for the purpose of chastising both Judæa and Egypt. Regarding the Egyptians as his main enemy, and hearing that Tirhakah was on his way to oppose him, he marched past Jerusalem, by way of Libnah and Lachis towards Pelusium,⁷³ and found there an Egyptian army encamped under a leader whom Herodotus calls Sethos, possibly Shabatok, but more probably⁷⁴ another Egyptian sub-king, whom Shabatok or Tirhakah had established at Memphis. The two hosts were encamped opposite each other, when in the night occurred that terrible calamity, explained by different writers in different ways,⁷⁵ whereby the Assyrians were utterly discomfited, their invasion brought to an end, and Egypt for the present relieved from any danger of further attack. Sabatok having soon afterward died, Tirhakah established himself as sole ruler of Egypt (B.C. 698), and probably transferred his abode from Napata to Memphis, where so many of his memorials have been discovered.

It is chiefly in a religious character that Tirhakah appears in his sculptures and inscriptions. In a temple which he built to Osiris-Phthah at Memphis, he represents himself in one tablet⁷⁶ as cherished by Isis, whom he calls "the great

goddess," "the mother of all the gods," while in another" he receives life from Mentu, and in a third pours a libation to Osiris Phthah.⁷⁸ An Apis is recorded as having died in his twenty-fourth, and another as having been born in his twenty-sixth year.⁷⁹ He is, however, exhibited at Medinet-Abou in the dress of a warrior,⁸⁰ smiting numerous captive enemies with his mace, and celebrated in Greek tradition as a great conquering king who carried his victorious arms along the whole of North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules;⁸¹ but it is quite uncertain whether these traditions have any basis of truth. We have no native accounts of the circumstances of his reign, which *seems* to have been eventless, or nearly so, from the destruction of Sennacherib's army to the great invasion of Egypt by Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, succeeded him upon the Assyrian throne in B.C. 681. He was one of the most warlike of all the Assyrian monarchs,⁸² and having, during the first nine years of his reign, established the authority of Nineveh over Armenia, Babylonia, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Arabia, he in B.C. 672 determined on wiping out the memory of his father's Pelusiac disaster by effecting, if possible, the conquest of Egypt. Marching from Aphek in Lebanon along the coast of Palestine to Raphia, and obtaining, like Cambyses at a later date,⁸³ supplies of water from an Arabian sheik,⁸⁴ he passed the desert in safety, and, invading Egypt, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, took Memphis and Thebes, and drove Tirhakah to take refuge in Ethiopia. Having thus made himself master of the country, he broke it up into twenty governments, appointing rulers—some Assyrian, but most of them native Egyptians—in the twenty most important cities or districts.⁸⁵ These were Thebes itself, Memphis and Saïs, which were united, Tanis, Sebennytus, Athribis, Natho, Pisapti, Heracleopolis, Mendes, Busiris, Momemphis, This, Hermopolis, Lycopolis, etc. Among the rulers were a Sheshonk, probably descended from the kings of the twenty-second dynasty, a Tafnekht, a Petubastes, and a Neco. The last-named chief, who was ruler of Saïs and Memphis, is no doubt the father of the first Psamatik⁸⁶ and we may presume that, not very long after his accession, he associated that prince upon the throne, since Psamatik counts the years of his reign from B.C. 667.⁸⁷ Egypt remained for three years in this condition—subject to Assyria, and split up into twenty governments or states. Tirhakah's reign appeared to have come wholly to an end, and the Ethiopian dominion to have terminated.

But the Ethiopians were merely biding their time. Tirhakah had withdrawn to Napata or to Meroë, where he kept watch upon events. No sooner did Esarhaddon, in B.C. 669, shows signs of physical decay, than Tirhakah "issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, descended the valley of the Nile, expelled the kings set up by Esarhaddon, and re-established his authority over the whole country." ⁸⁸ The kings fled to Nineveh, where they found Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, established in power. Learning from them what had happened, he at once put his forces in motion, and in B.C. 668 led them through Syria and Palestine into Egypt, defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians in a great battle near Karbanit, stormed Memphis and Thebes, and forced Tirhakah once more to take refuge in his own proper country. ⁸⁹ After this he retired, having first reinstated the princes, in the former governments and strengthened the Assyrian garrisons in the various towns.

But the contest was not yet over. The tributary monarchs themselves had grown weary of the Assyrian yoke, and were inclined to prefer the Ethiopians, if subjection to one power or the other was a necessity. They intrigued with Tirhakah; and though some of them were arrested and sent to Nineveh, ⁹⁰ yet the rebellious spirit smouldered on; and, Lower Egypt being in a state of disturbance, Tirhakah (Fig. 53) again invaded the upper country, took Thebes, and prepared to march upon Memphis. Neco was sent from Nineveh to oppose him, and Tirhakah in alarm evacuated Thebes, and retiring to Napata, there died (B.C. 667). His stepson, Rut-ammon, the Urdamané of the Assyrian inscriptions, ⁹¹ succeeded him and immediately applied himself to the task of maintaining the Ethiopian power. Descending the Nile, he reoccupied Thebes and Memphis, cleared Egypt of the Assyrians, and made himself master of the whole country. Assurbanipal, upon this, undertook the conduct of the war in person, marched an army into Egypt, drove Rut-ammon from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to Kip-kip, an unknown town of Nubia—thus, for the fourth time, establishing the Assyrian authority over the country. It would seem that Rut-ammon, shortly after this, died in Nubia, and was succeeded by Mi-ammon-Nut, ⁹² who was perhaps a son of Tirhakah. ⁹³

Mi-ammon-Nut tells us ⁹⁴ that in the year of his accession to the throne (about B.C. 660) he had a remarkable dream in the night. Two serpents ⁹⁵ appeared to him, the one on his right hand, the other on his left. He woke to find that they

had vanished, and at once consulted the interpreters as to the meaning of the vision. It was expounded to signify that all Egypt would one day be his—the Lower country as well as the Upper; the land was given to him in its length and in its breadth; Ammon would be with him and prosper him.⁹⁶ Mi-ammon-Nut accepted the interpretation, and marched upon Egypt at the head of a hundred thousand men.⁹⁷ In Upper Egypt it would seem that he was hailed as a deliverer. Under the Assyrians, who were probably still dominant, though nothing is said of them, the temples had gone to decay, the statues of the gods were overturned, the temple revenues were confiscated, and the priests restrained from the exercise of their offices. Mi-ammon-Nut proclaimed himself the champion of religion. He visited the temples, led the images in procession, offered rich sacrifices, and paid every respect to the priestly colleges. Accordingly “even those whose intention had been to fight were moved with joy.”⁹⁸ Acclamations were everywhere raised. “Go onward in the peace of thy name,” they said, “go onward in the peace of thy name! Dispense life throughout all the land—that the temples may be restored which are hastening to ruin; that the statues of the gods may be set up after their manner; that their revenues may be given to the gods and goddesses, and the offerings for the dead to the deceased; that the priest may be established in his place, and all things be fulfilled according to the holy Ritual.”⁹⁹ It was not until he reached Memphis that any opposition was made. There a battle was fought without the walls, and a decisive victory gained,¹⁰⁰ after which Memphis was occupied, and the enlargement and beautification of the temple of Phthah commenced. The chapel to Phthah-Sokari-Osiris, recently uncovered by M. Mariette, which is full of Mi-ammon-Nut’s sculptures and descriptions,¹⁰¹ was no doubt taken in hand and highly decorated, its stones being inlaid with gold, its panelling made of acacia-wood scented with frankincense, its doors of polished copper, and their frames of iron.¹⁰² Still the princes of the Delta, Assyrian feudatories, hesitated to come in; and Mi-ammon-Nut after a while proceeded against them with his troops. The princes shut themselves up in their towns; and unwilling to waste his time in sieges, the Ethiopian returned to Memphis, and probably commenced separate negotiations with the various chiefs. The result was that ere long they made up their minds to submit, and by the mouth of Paqrur, king of Pi-sapti, placed themselves, their lives, and their possessions, at his disposal. The act of humiliation was accept-

ed; their lives were spared; and after receiving hospitable entertainment they were sent back to their several towns, to govern them as Ethiopian and no longer as Assyrian vassals. Finally, Mi-ammon-Nut (Fig. 38), having (as he thought) firmly established his power, sailed up the Nile amid general rejoicing, and returned to Napata.¹⁰³

But this expedition, which had seemed to rivet the Ethiopian yoke on the necks of the Egyptians, led in fact to their shaking it off. On the one hand, the attack showed the princes the evils of divided empire, and suggested the idea of their placing themselves under a chief. On the other, the non-interference of the Assyrians in the quarrel rendered it plain that their power was on the decline, and that the Egyptians had not much to fear from them. After having been a shuttlecock between Ethiopia and Assyria for some ten or twelve years, Egypt resolved on an endeavor to detach herself wholly from both. How Mi-ammon-Nut's authority was shaken off we do not know. Perhaps he died, and left no successor of sufficient energy to attempt the difficult task of holding in subjection a great nation, possessed of a higher civilization than that of his own. Perhaps he made a struggle to retain his authority, but was worsted. All that is known is, that, from about the year B.C. 650, the Ethiopian dominion over Egypt ceased. It had lasted, with interruptions, a little more or a little less than a century.¹⁰⁴ Egypt had derived no advantage whatever from the connection, had improved neither in arts nor arms, and could show not a single monument of any splendor or artistic excellence for which she was indebted to her conquerors.¹⁰⁵ The influence of the great Nigritic power was altogether depressing and debasing; and if under the new dynasty, which succeeded, the Egyptians showed any advance in civilization or in any of the arts, it was owing, not to the closer contact with their southern neighbors, but to an effluence which reached them from the north.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY (B.C. 650-527).

Depressed State of Egypt at the Close of the Ethiopic Rule. Communications between Psammetichus I. and Gyges of Lydia. Battle of Memphis and Establishment of the Power of Psammetichus over the whole of Egypt. Personal Appearance and supposed Libyan Origin of Psammetichus. Settlements of the Greeks at Bubastis. Revolt and Secession of the "Warriors." Other Results of the Greek Influx. Psammetichus takes Ashdod. He buys off the Scyths. His Buildings. Accession of Neco. His two Fleets. His Ship-canal. Circumnavigation of Africa. His Expedition to Carchemish. Counter-Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar. Reign of Psammetichus II. His War with Ethiopia. Reign of Apries. His First War with Nebuchadnezzar. His Phœnician War. His Second Babylonian War and Deposition. His Obelisk and Inscriptions. Reign of Amasis. Condition of Egypt under him. He conquers Cyprus and makes alliance with Lydia. His great Works. His Wives. Short Reign of Psammetichus III. Egypt conquered by Cambyses. Civilization and Art under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Novelties in Religion. Changes in Manners. Conclusion.

THE long struggle of the Ethiopians and Assyrians for the mastery over Egypt, the rapid advances and retreats executed by the armies of both powers in the course of the various campaigns—advances and retreats which generally commenced at one extremity of the Nile Valley and terminated at the other—must have inflicted an amount of injury on the country and people which can scarcely be estimated, must have half ruined the towns, and have carried desolation over the broad and fertile plains on either side of the river. The great city of Thebes, so long the admiration of the Greeks,¹ and probably for many ages quite the most magnificent city in the world—passed into a byword for depression and decay in consequence of the long-continued troubles. "Art thou better than populous No," Nineveh was asked,² "that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the flood? Yet she was carried away—she went into captivity." And the fate which befell Thebes was shared by Memphis, Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, Hasebek,³ and by the great majority of the other towns. Nor could the ruin be readily repaired. The petty princes, vassals either of Assyria or Ethiopia, were neither sufficiently assured of their position, nor sufficiently rich, to undertake works of the cost and magnitude needed in order to restore the ruined edifices and obliterate the marks of invasion. Thus Egypt, towards the middle of the seventh century B.C., was reduced to a condition of extreme wretchedness and depression, for which it could scarcely have been anticipated

that a revival would ever take place—far less so rapid and complete a revival as that which was actually effected under the Saitic monarchs of the great twenty-sixth dynasty.

The signal for the movement which resulted in this revival was given in the far-off country of Babylonia. There, about B. C. 650,⁴ a brother of the great Assyrian monarch, Assurbanipal, raised the standard of revolt against his suzerain, and, in conjunction with the neighboring country of Elam or Susiana, commenced a struggle for independence. At the same time, in order to distract the efforts of his adversary, he sent emissaries to various distant countries, and among them to Egypt,⁵ with the object of exciting the subject nations to throw off the Assyrian yoke, pointing out to them that they had now an excellent opportunity of regaining their freedom. It seems to have been this invitation, rather than any quarrel with his brother princes,⁶ that caused Psammetichus, at this time king of Saïs, to form the project of reuniting Egypt into a single monarchy, and at the same time of releasing his country from any, even nominal, dependence on Assyria. Before, however, manifesting his intention by any overt act, he took the precaution of strengthening himself by a distant and powerful alliance. Having learnt that Gyges, king of Lydia, a rich and warlike monarch, was ill-affected towards the Assyrian power,⁷ which had recently been extended over his country, he sent an embassy to Sardis, with a request for a contingent of troops. Gyges assented;⁸ and a body of soldiers, drawn chiefly from the Carians and the Ionian Greeks⁹—who were at this time in his service¹⁰—was dispatched from Asia to Africa, to help Psammetichus against the Assyrians and the Assyrian vassal-kings. By the aid of these foreign auxiliaries, the Saïte monarch was completely successful. In a battle near Momemphis¹¹ the modern Menouf—he signally defeated the combined forces of the vassal-monarchs, and, as the result of his victory, placed on his head the double crown, and proclaimed himself “lord of the two Egypts, the upper and the lower country.”



It is suspected¹² that Psammetichus (Fig. 47)—or Psamatik, , to give him his native name—was of Libyan descent, connected with the family of which the arch-rebel against the Persians, Inarôs, was also a member.¹³ The names Psamatik and Neco, , are unknown in the Egyptian nomenclature up to this date, and have no Egyp-



Fig. 53.—HEAD OF TIRHAKAH.—See Page 242.



Fig. 55.—CAPITAL OF PILLAR
(time of the Psammetichi).
—See Page 268.



Fig. 54.—HEAD OF SETI II.—See Page 183.



Fig. 56.—PIANKHI RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF NAMRUT AND OTHERS.—See Page 236



Fig. 57.—BAS-RELIEFS OF PSAMATIK I.—See Page 268.

tian etymology. Moreover, the Western Delta was, as we have already seen,¹⁴ peculiarly open to Libyan invasion, and Saïs, the chief city of this region, would naturally contain in its population a large Libyan infusion. It is not to be supposed, however, that the Psammetichi were recent immigrants—they had no doubt been long settled in the region, and had gradually raised themselves to a high position among the nobles of Saïs. But the physical type of the family was markedly non-Egyptian. Psammetichus had a more open eye than the ordinary Egyptian one, a nose the reverse of the Egyptian form, which is aquiline and depressed, lips of moderate thickness, and a large but retreating chin. His skull seems to have been of the shape called “dolichocephalous,” with a very small development behind the ears.¹⁵ He bore his foreign origin in his very aspect, and therefore hastened to cover this defect, and legitimate himself in the eyes of his subjects, by marrying an Egyptian princess, Shepenput,¹⁶ the daughter of a “King Piankhi,” who traced his descent to the unfortunate Bekenranf or Bocchoris,¹⁷ the earliest Saïtic monarch in the dynastic lists.

Having thus strengthened his right to the throne, the prudent ruler proceeded to secure himself the still more important support of might, by permanently engaging the services of those mercenary troops to whose strong arms he felt that his success was owing; and, having induced them to enlist regularly under his banner, he settled them within a moderate distance of his capital in two great fortified camps on either side of the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile below Bubastis.¹⁸ This proceeding appears to have given offence to the Egyptian warrior class, which was chiefly concentrated in three localities, Daphnæ or Tahpenes, near Pelusium, Marea on the Lacus Mareotis, and Elephantiné.¹⁹ It was either forgotten that mercenaries had been freely employed by the Ramesides and the Sheshonks, or there was something in the extent and character of the new arrangement which made it peculiarly unpalatable. A large secession of the “warriors” took place²⁰ soon after the settlement of the Carians and Ionians in their new “camps;” and though Psammetichus pursued the deserters into Nubia and sought to arrest their march, he failed to persuade them.²¹ Above two hundred thousand of the soldier class, if we may believe Herodotus²² and Diodorus,²³ having quitted Egypt, made their way up the Nile to Ethiopia, and were settled by the reigning monarch high up the course of the river, apparently upon the White Nile,²⁴ about lat. 9°. Here they were known

as the Asmach or Automoli, under which latter name they are often mentioned by the geographers.²⁶

The introduction into Egypt of a large body of Asiatic Greeks, warlike and yet civilized and refined, and the close relationship in which they henceforth stood to the king, of whose throne they must have been the chief physical support, were events of considerable importance in their effect upon Egyptian art, manners, and habits of thought. The spirit of inquiry was suddenly awakened in the inert Egyptian mind, which had hitherto been content to work in a traditional groove, and had eschewed all needless speculations. Psammetichus himself had his curiosity aroused, and began experiments and investigations. A strong spring, which welled forth from the rock in the neighborhood of Elephantiné, and was called by some—absurdly enough—the true source of the Nile, was reputed to be unfathomable. Psammetichus brought a measuring line, with a heavy weight attached to it, and had the fountain sounded, but failed to reach the bottom.²⁶ A question having been raised, probably by some of the newcomers, as to the relative antiquity of different races of mankind, Psammetichus had two children isolated from their species, brought up by a dumb herdsman,²⁷ and suckled by a goat, in order to see what language they would speak, since he presumed that, if they never heard a word uttered, they would revert to the primitive type of speech. The result of his experiment was thought to prove the Phrygians to be the most ancient nation; and the Egyptians, we are told,²⁸ thenceforth acquiesced in that conclusion as an established one.

A second consequence of the Greek influx was the establishment of a class of "interpreters," who acted as intermediaries between the Greeks and the native Egyptians in business transactions, being equally conversant with the languages of both nations.²⁹ The Greeks, with that self-conceit which characterized them above all the other peoples of antiquity, declined to speak or understand any language but their own, and thus depended on the interpreters—persons in a humble position—for all their knowledge of the history, antiquities, and religious opinions of the Egyptians. Hence probably the frequent mistakes which disfigure their accounts of these matters, and detract so largely from their value.

It would seem³⁰ that another consequence was the opening of free communication and commercial intercourse between Egypt and Asiatic Greece, such as had certainly not existed previously. The Egyptians had hitherto been jealous of

foreigners, and scarcely allowed them to land upon their coast." Now Greek trade and even Greek settlements were encouraged. The Milesians established a fortified port on the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile, and shortly afterwards founded Naucratis on the western or Canopic branch.²² That city became an important *entrepôt* of Greek commerce, and the monopoly of the lucrative traffic thus established was not long confined to a single state. Chios, Phocæa, Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Mytiléné, Égina, Samos claimed a share in the Egyptian trade,²³ and Naucratis shortly received immigrants in considerable numbers from these and other Greek cities. The wines of Greece were highly appreciated by Egyptian epicures;²⁴ and Greek pottery and glyptic art attracted a certain amount of favor. Greek courtesans, moreover, established themselves at Naucratis, and accumulated immense fortunes.²⁵ Thus the influence exercised upon Egypt by the Greek settlement was one not altogether for good; but on the whole it is probable that the benefits which resulted from it outweighed the disadvantages.

The loss of military strength consequent upon the desertion of the "warriors" did not deter Psammetichus from attempting, like other founders of dynasties, to obtain for himself the *prestige* which is derived from foreign conquests. The Assyrian power declined rapidly in the decade of years which followed the loss of Egypt,²⁶ Western Asia became disorganized, and a tempting opportunity was thus offered for Egypt to claim once more dominion over Syria. Psammetichus, if there is any ground at all for the statement of Herodotus that he besieged Azotus (Ashdod) for twenty-nine years,²⁷ must have commenced his aggressions in this quarter very soon after he became king of all Egypt.²⁸ Ashdod was the key of Syria upon the south, and was a city of great strength, as indeed the name implies.²⁹ Psammetichus can scarcely have blockaded it continuously for the time mentioned,³⁰ but he may have attacked it frequently, or indeed annually,³¹ during that space, and his efforts may only have been crowned with success in the twenty-ninth year from the date of his first assault. The Jewish history of the time shows that he did not carry his arms inland, or make any attempt to interfere with Manasseh, Amon, or Josiah; but it would seem that from Ashdod he proceeded northwards along the Syrian coast, and reduced Phœnicia to a species of vassalage, establishing the Egyptian power over the coast line as far north as Aradus, where he built a temple to the Egyptian goddess, Sechet or Bast, and left a statuette inscribed with his name.³²

It was probably after Ashdod had fallen, and when Psammetichus regarded his power as firmly fixed in Philistia and Phœnicia, that a sudden danger manifested itself which no wisdom could have foreseen and no statesmanship have averted. Breaking through the great barrier of the Caucasian range, a horde of fierce barbarians—Ugrian or Tatar—spread themselves (about B.C. 630-620) over Armenia and Mesopotamia,⁴³ defeated the armies sent against them by the civilized nations of those parts,⁴⁴ became complete masters of the open country, and, having desolated and exhausted one region after another, finally descended upon Syria, and threatened to invade Egypt. Baffled by the high walls which for the most part defended the towns, it was their ordinary practice to pass them by, and to ravage only the unwalled villages and the cultivated plains;⁴⁵ but occasionally a weak town, reputed rich, tempted their attack, and succumbed to it. Pressing towards Egypt along the coast route, they must have come upon Ashdod; but Ashdod was too strong for them to meddle with. They passed on and reached Ascalon, an ancient city,⁴⁶ famous for its temple of Derceto, the Philistine Ashtoreth. This place fell into their hands, and proved so seductive that in a short time the invading host was reduced by its excesses to such a condition as made it little better than an army of women.⁴⁷ Psammetichus, under these circumstances, found no difficulty in persuading the chiefs, on receipt of a moderate bribe, to give up their project of invading Egypt, and even evacuate the portion of southern Syria which they had occupied. Whither they retired is uncertain;⁴⁸ but there is reason to think that from the time of their stay at Ascalon their power declined—the Philistine city proved their Capua—and Western Asia in a short time was able to rid itself of its oppressors.

During the later years of his life, Psammetichus would seem to have devoted his attention to art and architecture. Herodotus tells us that he built the southern gateway, which gave entire completeness to the great temple of Phthah at Memphis,⁴⁹ and also “made a court for Apis, in which Apis was kept whenever he made his appearance in Egypt.”⁵⁰ This latter was surrounded by a colonnade, adorned with Osirid figures eighteen or twenty feet high. Psammetichus also made a new gallery for the reception of the Apis bulls after their death, in the burial-place of Saccarah,⁵¹ piercing the solid rock with arched embrasures, in each one of which at least one Apis was to be deposited. He likewise adorned Memphis with a new temple to Sechet,⁵² where she was long

honored as the wife of Phthah and the Goddess of Life. In Thebes he restored those portions of the great temple which had been injured by the Assyrians,⁵³ and at Medinet-Abou he constructed works which attracted the attention of later ages.⁵⁴ Saïs, Mendes, Philæ, and Heliopolis were likewise objects of his care; and their sites have yielded specimens of the arts which he fostered and encouraged.⁵⁵ An invention of his reign,⁵⁶ which cannot, however, be assigned to the initiative of the monarch, was the later *enchorial* or *demotic* writing, which superseded the hieratic, being simpler and easier to write rapidly, though somewhat more spread out over the paper.

Besides his wife, Shepenput, the daughter of King Piankhi, Psammetichus is thought to have been married to a lady called Hent or Hont,⁵⁷ who was the mother of his eldest, if not his only son,⁵⁸ Neku—the Nehoc of Scripture. By Shepenput he had a daughter, whom he called Netakert-mimaut, or “Nitocris beloved of Maut;” and this princess was taken to wife by her half-brother, Neco.⁵⁹ Thus the legitimacy supposed to attach to the descendants of Bocchoris was transferred to this prince, who reigned partly in his own right, partly in that of his wife.

Neco, , who must have been tolerably advanced

in years when he ascended the throne,⁶⁰ was nevertheless one of the most enterprising and energetic of Egyptian rulers. Inheriting his father's designs against Syria and Phœnicia, and convinced that the successful prosecution of such an enterprise as the conquest of those countries required the employment of a powerful fleet,⁶¹ his first efforts⁶² were directed towards the construction of a navy capable of contending with any that the Phœnician monarchs could bring against him. As Egypt was washed by two seas, and he had ports on both, dock-yards were established and ship-building actively pursued simultaneously in the two quarters, the work being pushed with such vigor that in a short time he possessed two fleets of *triremes*,⁶³ one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Red Sea. Egyptian fleets had hitherto consisted of vessels having one rank of rowers only;⁶⁴ but *biremes*, or vessels with two ranks, had been built by the Phœnicians⁶⁵ as early as B.C. 700, and *triremes* had been invented by the Greeks at about the same date.⁶⁶ Neco's Greek and Carian mercenaries were probably well acquainted with them, and would recommend them to their master as excelling all

other vessels of war. The vessels in which they, or rather their predecessors, had reached Egypt forty years earlier, and which were laid up in dry docks near Bubastis,⁶⁷ may have been of this class and have served the shipwrights of Neco as patterns. At any rate two fleets of triremes were built on the two Egyptian seas, and their active services were put⁶⁷ in request, Herodotus tells us, on more than one occasion.⁶⁸

Closely connected with these naval projects and aspirations was, beyond all doubt,⁶⁹ another enterprise in which the active-minded monarch engaged at the same period. The great kings of the nineteenth dynasty had, as we have seen,⁷⁰ established water communication between the two Egyptian seas by means of a canal carried across from the Nile near Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and thence to the head of the Gulf of Suez. But this work had been intended for commercial, not military, purposes, and had been constructed on a moderate scale, the width of the cutting being probably not much greater than that of the canals of our own country. Neco's designed was of a far grander character. He wished to construct a ship-canal, along which his triremes might pass, and designed it on a scale which would have allowed of two vessels of this class being rowed along it abreast,⁷¹ and therefore of their meeting and crossing each other without shipping their oars. Had the work been successfully completed, it would have been feasible to unite the two fleets on any occasion when it seemed desirable, and to employ the entire naval force of the kingdom, either in the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, against Phœnicia or Arabia. Unfortunately the enterprise failed. According to Herodotus,⁷² it was stopped by an oracle which warned Neco that he was doing the work of the foreigner. But, if any such prophetic announcement was really made,—which is, to say the least, doubtful⁷³—the priestly warning was probably itself based upon another quite separate fact—namely, the loss of life which occurred when the king attempted to put his plan into execution. In a climate like that of Egypt, and still more of the deserts which border it, hard labor under the scorching sun is itself dangerous; the concentration of many laborers on one spot increases the peril; insufficient provision of supplies and shelter multiplies it. So small a work as the Alexandrian canal costs Mehemet Ali the lives of 10,000 men;⁷⁴ how many were sacrificed in the construction of the great cutting of M. de Lesseps will probably never be known. Neco is said to have lost, before he desisted, 120,000 of his laborers.⁷⁵ The number may be an exaggeration, but it indicates a fact. Excava-

tors having been unwisely concentrated, or too much labor required of them, or an insufficient provision having been made of the necessary supplies, a fearful mortality was the consequence. Thousands perished in the course of a few months; and either compassion for his subjects' woes, or fear of their resentment, induced the monarch reluctantly to forego his purpose, and leave his great work unaccomplished.

But the idea of uniting his two navies still haunted him. If it could not be effected in one way, might it not in another? His Greek friends would tell him that the Ocean surrounded the whole of the earth,⁷⁶ and he might conclude from this that Africa was a peninsula. If so, might it not be circumnavigated? To obtain an answer to this question, Neco despatched from a port on the Red Sea a body of Phœnician mariners, who, starting with abundant supplies, sailed southward until they reached the extremity of the African continent, rounded the Cape of Storms, and returned, by way of the Atlantic, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, to the country from which they had taken their departure.⁷⁷ The attempt was a success; but the success involved a disappointment. So much time was taken up by the voyage that the junction between the two seas, thus proved to exist, was of no practical service. Neco had to content himself with the glory of a geographical discovery, and to relinquish wholly his project of uniting his two fleets into one.

Having occupied in these enterprises the first two or three years of his reign,⁷⁸ Neco, in B. C. 608, proceeded to commence active military operations,⁷⁹ invading Syria with a large army by land,⁸⁰ while no doubt his fleet co-operated by advancing along the shore. Already possessed of Ascalon and Ashdod, he found no difficulty in penetrating by the coast route⁸¹ as far north as the city of Megiddo on the border of the great plain of Esdraëlon. There, however, he was confronted by a hostile force, which blocked his way. Josiah, king of Judah, an energetic monarch, who had taken advantage of the fall of Nineveh, and the general unsettlement of Western Asia consequent thereupon, to reunite under his sway the greater part of the old kingdom of David,⁸² determined on opposing the further progress of the Egyptian army,⁸³ either from a sense of duty, because he regarded himself as a Babylonian feudatory, or from a suspicion that, if the Egyptians became lords of Syria, they would not allow him to retain his sovereignty. In vain Neco tried to disarm his opposition, and induce him to retire, by an assurance that he

had no hostile intentions against Judæa,⁸⁴ but was on his way to Carehemish, the great stronghold upon the Euphrates, where he hoped to meet and engage the forces of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. Josiah was obdurate. Even Neco's assurance that God was with him, and had commanded the expedition,⁸⁵ failed to alter his resolution. A battle was thus forced on the Egyptian monarch, who would gladly have avoided one; and the hosts of Egypt and Judæa met, for the first time since the days of Asa, in the neighborhood of Megiddo, the scene of so many conflicts. As might have been expected, the Jewish king, not being miraculously helped, as Asa was against Zerah,⁸⁶ very soon succumbed; his army was completely defeated, and he himself mortally wounded by an arrow. Hastily quitting the battle-field, he made his way to Jerusalem, where he shortly afterwards died of the hurt received at Megiddo.⁸⁷ The Egyptian monarch, having brushed away the obstacle in his path, pursued his march through Galilee and Cœle-Syria to the Euphrates. Whether he fought any more battles or no is uncertain; but it appears that his expedition was entirely successful, and that the whole country submitted to him⁸⁸ as far as Carehemish (Jerabolus). Three months sufficed for the conquest,⁸⁹ and at the expiration of that time the victorious monarch returned to Egypt, taking Judæa on his way, and making new arrangements for its political status and government. As a king had been set up in the place of Josiah without his authority, he deposed him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Egypt as a prisoner.⁹⁰ He did not, however, abolish the Jewish state. On the contrary, he selected from the family of Josiah the prince who had the best title to the throne,⁹¹ and established him at Jerusalem as subject or tributary monarch. He then fixed the tribute⁹² which Judæa should pay at a hundred talents of silver (40,625*l.*), and a talent of gold (11,000*l.*), which may be considered a very moderate requirement, and returned to his own country.

The subjection of Syria to Egypt continued for three years.⁹³ But in B.C. 605 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, having perhaps associated his eldest son, Nebuchadnezzar,⁹⁴ sent him at the head of a large army to win his spurs in a campaign against King Neco. That monarch, aware of what was intended, marched in person to the defence of his newly acquired territory, and took up a position resting upon Carehemish,⁹⁵ where he awaited the onset of the enemy. The Egyptian force comprised, as usual, a large body of chariots, consisting besides of horsemen and footmen. It was an im-





mense host, and is described under the metaphor of a flood, whose waters toss to and fro, and cover the face of the earth.⁹⁶ Seemingly the Greeks and Carians did not on this occasion form any part of the expedition, African auxiliaries alone being employed—Ethiopians, Nubians, and Marmaridæ.⁹⁷ It was not long before Nebuchadnezzar made his appearance, and joined battle with his adversary. We have no particulars of the engagement, but its result is abundantly apparent. Neco suffered a complete and shameful defeat. His “valiant men were swept away;”⁹⁸ they “fled apace,”⁹⁹ and stumbled one over another.¹⁰⁰ The prestige of Egypt, which lately stood so high, was utterly lost. The cry went forth, “Pharaoh, king of Egypt, is but a noise,” an empty sound, and nothing more; “he has passed the appointed time,” outlived his energies, and is no longer formidable.¹⁰¹ The victorious Babylonians carried all before them, swept down the Cœle-Syrian valley, overran Galilee and Samaria, and appeared shortly before Jerusalem. Jehoiakim resisted them, and the city stood a siege, but was quickly taken and plundered by the irresistible invaders.¹⁰² Nebuchadnezzar then continued his march southwards, with the intention of attacking Egypt, and would probably have made himself master of the country, had he not been suddenly called away to Babylon by intelligence of the decease of his father. Leaving his prisoners and the bulk of his troops to make the long march by the ordinary circuitous route, he himself with a few light-armed troops crossed the desert and hurried to the capital.¹⁰³

Neco thus obtained a respite, and was able in some measure to repair his losses and redeem his position, before Nebuchadnezzar found himself at leisure to return into Syria, and see to the consolidation of his power in that distant and not very submissive region. The Egyptian monarch saw clearly that it was of the utmost importance to raise up opponents to the Babylonians in the Syrian territory, and prevent them from obtaining quiet possession of a tract which would bring them to the very doors of Egypt. He therefore intrigued with Judæa,¹⁰⁴ and probably also with Phœnicia, inciting the newly subjected kings to rebel and throw off the Babylonian yoke. In two instances he was successful. Jehoiakim, after three years of submissive endurance, in B.C. 602, declared the independence of his country;¹⁰⁵ and the king of Tyre, a few years later,¹⁰⁶ followed the example of his Jewish brother. Nebuchadnezzar had to begin the conquest of Syria afresh, and recognizing the importance of the crisis, made preparations accordingly. Collecting an army of above 300,000

men, partly composed of his own subjects, partly of Median allies,¹⁶⁷ he, in the year B.C. 598, marched for the second time westward, crossed the Euphrates, and led his troops into Palestine. Dividing his army into two portions, he formed the sieges of Tyre and of Jerusalem simultaneously.¹⁶⁸ Jerusalem was soon reduced, but Tyre resisted with the utmost stubbornness. For thirteen years¹⁶⁹ the further progress of the Babylonian arms was arrested by a single city of no great size, but strong in her wealth and her situation. Under these circumstances, Egypt escaped all further attack; and Neco must have felt that his intrigues had had a success which he had scarcely dared to anticipate.

From B.C. 605—the year of the battle of Carchemish—to B.C. 596, when he died, Neco undertook no military expeditions, but nursed his strength, and remained persistently on the defensive. It was probably during this interval that he occupied himself with the buildings which are mentioned in some of his inscriptions. Though not a monarch who greatly interested himself in architecture or art, Neco still regarded it as incumbent upon him to leave some memorials of his reign. He made additions to the temples of Phthah and Neith at Memphis,¹⁷⁰ embellished Saïs,¹⁷¹ and set up tablets in the quarries of Toora and in the valley of Hammamât. A statue, which represents him on his knees making an offering, adorns a private collection in Paris.¹⁷² Several vases and scarabæi bear his name;¹⁷³ but, on the whole, he must be placed among the kings whose remains are scanty and insignificant. He is thought to have been buried at Saïs,¹⁷⁴ whence, early in the last century, was brought a scarabæus, taken from a mummy, which bore his name and had probably been placed by the embalmers upon the region of his heart.¹⁷⁵

According to Lepsius,¹⁷⁶ Neco had two wives, Net-akert-mimaut, his half-sister, and Takhuat or Takhot. It was the latter who bore him the son by whom he was succeeded,¹⁷⁷ and whom he named after his own father, Psamatik. This prince, called by Herodotus Psammis,¹⁷⁸ and known to modern historians as Psammetichus II., was distinguished from his grandfather by the throne-name¹⁷⁹ of Nefer-ap-ra,

•  , the throne-name of Psammetichus I. having been Ua-ap-ra, •  . His short reign of six years, or rather of five years and a half,¹⁸¹ was not very eventful. As Tyre still baffled all the efforts of Nebuchadnezzar,¹⁸² there was for the

time no danger of the Babylonians troubling Egypt; and Psamatik seems to have felt himself so secure upon this side that he ventured to employ the main strength of the empire in the directly opposite quarter. Herodotus tells us that he made an expedition into Ethiopia;¹²³ and his own monuments give numerous indications of his presence and directing energy upon the Ethiopian border. Two inscriptions on the rocks at Elephantiné, one in the island of Bigeh or Beghe, two at Philæ, and one in the island of Konosso,¹²⁴ imply a stay of some considerable length at the extreme south of his own proper territory. If we refer to his reign the celebrated archaic Greek inscription of Abu Simbel,¹²⁵ we may consider that we have actual evidence of his Ethiopic expedition having penetrated deep into Nubia, under the joint command of a Greek and an Egyptian general, in the latter of whom we may perhaps recognize the later Egyptian monarch, Amasis.¹²⁶ Whether a contingent of Jews also lent their aid to the Egyptian monarch, as stated by Aristæas,¹²⁷ is perhaps more doubtful, yet is certainly not beyond the range of possibility. Egypt and Judæa were at this time closely drawn together by common fear of Babylon; and though Zedekiah, the king of Judæa contemporary with Psamatik II., was a Babylonian feudatory, yet in his heart he was thoroughly disaffected, intended to revolt, and looked to Egypt to support him. The friendly act of sending some of his own subjects to aid Psamatik would strengthen his claim for a return in kind when the fitting hour came, and may thus be accepted, though the authority upon which it rests is weak.

Psamatik would seem not to have brought the Ethiopian war to an end. An inscription upon a statue now in the Louvre tells us that an Egyptian general, named Hor or Horus, was engaged in a struggle with the "miserable Kush" in the first year of Apries, and completely vanquished them, thus terminating the war which had been commenced by that king's predecessor.¹²⁸

Though little distinguished as a warrior or as a statesman, as a patron of art Psamatik II. followed worthily in the footsteps of his grandfather. He adorned with bas-reliefs the temples of Abydos and Philæ¹²⁹ made additions to the great fane of Ammon at Thebes,¹³⁰ erected an obelisk (or obelisks)¹³¹ to Ra-Harmachis and Tum, probably at Heliopolis, and adorned Saïs with a statue of himself and another of the goddess Neith.¹³² Statuary seems to have received great attention during his reign. Besides the two figures already mentioned, the museums of Europe and Africa contain at least

five others, mostly, however, incomplete, which belong to this period.¹³³ One of these, in the collection of the Vatican, is said to be remarkable for its beauty.¹³⁴

The wife of Psamatik II. was a Nitocris, distinguished as Seret-pi-Mentu,¹³⁵ the daughter of Neco and Nitocris-Mimaut. She bore him two children, a son, to whom was given as a name the throne-name of his great-grandfather, Ua-ap-ra, and a daughter, called Ankhnes-neferapra.¹³⁶ The son succeeded, and was known among the early Greeks as Apries,¹³⁷ among the later as Uaphris.¹³⁸ He was a vigorous and enterprising prince, not afraid of measuring his strength against that of Babylon, and having it for his especial aim to re-establish Egyptian influence over the Asiatic regions formerly held by the great kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, and recently occupied for three years by Neco. Having rapidly brought the Ethiopian war commenced by his father, Psamatik, to a successful conclusion¹³⁹ (B.C. 591-0), he lent a ready ear, in B.C. 588 to the ambassadors of Zedekiah, king of Judæa, who proposed a close alliance between the two countries, and engaged that Zedekiah should throw off the Babylonian yoke and openly rebel, if Apries (Hophra) would agree to support the movement by a considerable army.¹⁴⁰ A treaty was at once concluded on these terms; Judæa revolted; and towards the close of the year Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, building forts around it,¹⁴¹ and blockading it so strictly that no one could either quit the city or enter it. Apries, under these circumstances, redeemed his pledged, levied an army, and, quitting Egypt, marched to the relief of the beleaguered city, and actually raised the siege.¹⁴² The Babylonian monarch did not wait to be placed between two fires, but broke up from before Jerusalem, and proceeded southward to meet the more important enemy. Hophra, advancing along the coast route, had, it would seem, taken Gaza,¹⁴³ and perhaps Ascalon,¹⁴⁴ when he received intelligence of the approach of the Babylonians. It is generally supposed that he at once withdrew into Egypt, so avoiding a battle;¹⁴⁵ but so sudden a change of mind seems improbable, and Josephus distinctly asserts that an engagement was fought in which Nebuchadnezzar was victorious.¹⁴⁶ Apries, worsted in the fight, had to retire, and made no further effort. The blockade of Jerusalem was re-established, famine set in, the Holy City fell in B.C. 586, and the last remnant of the Jewish people was led away into captivity.¹⁴⁷ Tyre surrendered in the next year,¹⁴⁸ and the schemes of Apries, for the moment, came to nought. Babylon triumphed; the

great king returned in B.C. 585 to Babylon, with more than one conquered monarch in his train, victorious over Egypt, Phœnicia, and Judæa, master of Asia from the range of Zagros on the one hand to the "river of Egypt" on the other.

But success is apt to beget security, and periods of exertion are, in the East especially, apt to be followed by periods of repose and indolence. Nebuchadnezzar, when he returned home from the captures of Tyre and Jerusalem, must have reached an age at which the physical powers begin to decay, and when rest becomes an object of desire to most men.¹⁴⁹ The silence of the Babylonian historian¹⁵⁰ and of the Babylonian monuments with respect to military expeditions at this period of his reign gives rise to the suspicion that, having, as he thought, done enough for glory, he now proceeded to console himself for the hardships of warfare by giving himself up to the seductive enjoyments of an Oriental court. In any case, Apries seems to have been emboldened to resume his projects of aggrandizement, and to have attacked Syria with a combined fleet and army.¹⁵¹ We are told by Herodotus that he fought a battle with the king of Tyre at sea, and sent an expedition against Sidon by land.¹⁵² Diodorus adds that he took Sidon, and defeated the combined fleet of Phœnicia and Cyprus in a great engagement.¹⁵³ These grand successes so elated him that he is said to have defied the gods to cast him down,¹⁵⁴ just as at an earlier date he had called the Nile his own creation—"the stream which he had made for himself."¹⁵⁵

It was, however, in the counsels of Providence, that he should suffer a severe reverse of fortune and perish miserably.¹⁵⁶ What degree of credence, indeed, we ought to attach to the story told by Herodotus of the circumstances under which he was deposed and put to death, is doubtful. Herodotus was informed by the Egyptians that the revolution which brought his reign to an end arose out of an unsuccessful expedition against Crœné, in which he was thought to have intentionally sacrificed the lives of some thousands of his soldiers;¹⁵⁷ but Josephus believed that he was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁵⁸ Inscriptions have recently been discovered which show that Nebuchadnezzar did really invade Egypt in his thirty-seventh year (B.C. 568), a date which falls within the lifetime of Apries,¹⁵⁹ and coincides so nearly with the accession of Amasis as to render it highly probable that the two events were connected. The Babylonian monarch, it appears, overran the whole of Egypt as far as Syéné, and only there encountered the Egyptian troops,¹⁶⁰ who were under the command of the general Hor, the hero of Apries's


Ethiopian campaign.¹⁶¹ This commander claims the merit of having inflicted a check on the Babylonian arms, and caused Nebuchadnezzar to retire; but he does not dispute the fact that all Egypt lay at his mercy, and that he had it in his power to remodel the government as he pleased. To depose one monarch and set up another was the usual practice of the Babylonians—to execute a prince who had offended against their code of international law was a proceeding not unknown to them; ¹⁶² it cannot but be suspected, more now than ever, that the true course of events was concealed from Herodotus by the self-love of the Egyptians, and that, whatever discontent may have arisen from the failure of the Cyrenaic expedition, Apries was really deposed and executed, and Amasis made king in his stead by Nebuchadnezzar.

The victim of a monarch's offended dignity, or, if we are to believe Herodotus, of a mob's hatred, was not deprived of the funeral honors to which his birth entitled him. His body was embalmed, and buried in the royal burial-place, inside the temple of Saïs, very near the sanctuary.¹⁶³ The passions which had pursued the living man calmed themselves in the presence of death, and the last monarch of the line of Psammetichus I. was allowed to find a resting-place in the sepulchre of his fathers.

Apries was wholly undistinguished as a builder, and cannot be said to have been ever a liberal patron of art. We have no evidence of his having employed more than a single sculptor on a single occasion in the highest kind of glyptic art, namely statuary.¹⁶⁴ His stelæ are, however, common, and are sometimes adorned with bas-reliefs; ¹⁶⁵ but these have little merit. Nor can more praise be given to the wall fragments belonging to his reign which have been found at Nahariyeh¹⁶⁶ and elsewhere. His most noted work is that small obelisk which now stands in the Piazza Minerva at Rome, placed by the fantastic Bellini on the back of an elephant.¹⁶⁷ It is one of a pair,¹⁶⁸ which the Romans brought from Egypt to adorn the temple of Isis and Serapis, when they adopted the worship of those Egyptian deities. Originally dedicated to Neith,¹⁶⁹ and erected probably at Saïs, it became the symbol of a very different and far lower worship in a remote and alien capital.

If Apries, however, cared little for artistic memorials, he did not neglect to leave behind him numerous records of his reign in the way of inscriptions. At least six inscribed stelæ belonging to his time are still extant;¹⁷⁰ and he has left rock inscriptions at the Biban-el-Moluk,¹⁷¹ at Silsilis,¹⁷² at the island of Bigeh,¹⁷³ at Philæ,¹⁷⁴ and at the island of Konosso,¹⁷⁵

His most important memorial is one found on the site of the temple of Phthah at Memphis, which has been translated by Dr. Wiedemann.¹⁷⁶ It secures the rights and privileges of the god Phthah, and of the priests attached to the worship at Memphis, in very stringent terms, requiring all officials to protect the priests in the possession of the temple-lands, to impress for the public service none of their slaves or peasants, and even to maintain in good repair the canals by which the temple-lands were intersected. It is evident that under Apries the priest class retained its ascendancy, and that even a monarch, who thought no god could cast him down, regarded it as prudent to court priestly favor.

It is agreed on all hands that Aahmes, , or Amasis, who succeeded Apries, was entirely unconnected by blood with the Psamatik family. According to Herodotus, he was a native of Siouph, a small town in the neighborhood of Saïs,¹⁷⁷ and was not even a member of a distinguished house, but a man who sprang from the middle class. This is not disproved by his possession of high military rank, even if he was an officer under Psammis;¹⁷⁸ since in the Egyptian military service advancement was obtained solely by merit. Various tales were told, not greatly to his credit, of the conduct pursued by Amasis in his younger days,¹⁷⁹ when he was "sowing his wild oats;" but it is questionable whether much credit should be attached to them. Even the anecdotes of his behavior as king¹⁸⁰ are of the legendary type, parallel to those which the early Persians loved to tell of Cyrus, and the later ones of Artaxerxes, son of Babek, the historical value of which is about equal to that of the tale, with which each English child is made familiar in the nursery, of King Alfred having his ears boxed by the neatherd's wife. We may perhaps conclude, from the general tone of the tales, that among the characteristics of the monarch was a rough and not over-delicate humor, which pleased the common people but shocked the more refined among his subjects. He compensated, however, for this unseemly trait by numerous good qualities. He was active and energetic, exemplary in his devotion to business, distinguished as a builder, as a conqueror, as a legislator, and above all as an administrator. If he began his reign under discreditable circumstances, holding his crown as a Babylonian feudatory, and bound probably to the payment of a tribute, he ultimately succeeded in raising Egypt to a high pitch of prosperity and a lofty position among the nations. The decline and fall of Babylon,¹⁸¹ complete in B.C.

538, gave Egypt wholly into his hands, and enabled him to pursue a policy of his own devising, which, whatever its effect on the national spirit and on the ultimate fate of his country, had at any rate the immediate result of enormously developing Egypt's resources and increasing her wealth and population. Herodotus declares that Egypt had in his day 20,000 inhabited cities;¹⁸² and though this statement may be pronounced impossible, yet it is strongly significant of the extremely flourishing condition of the country under the rule of Amasis. A series of high inundations is said to have intensified the productive power of the land,¹⁸³ while an active commerce¹⁸⁴ encouraged the chief Egyptian industries, led to the accumulation of fortunes, and rendered easily procurable a great variety of luxuries. Amasis induced the Greeks to settle in large numbers at Naucratis, and to adorn the town and neighborhood with temples of the peculiar Grecian type. He had friendly dealings with the important Greek state of Cyrêné, and even took for one of his secondary wives a Cyrenæan lady, called Ladicé, whom he treated with especial favor.¹⁸⁵ He also removed the Greek mercenaries from the position assigned to them by Psammctichus I., and brought them to the capital city of Memphis,¹⁸⁶ where he made them the garrison of the place. To mark his affection for the Greeks, he offered rich presents to Delphi,¹⁸⁷ Samos, Lindus, and Cyrêné, sending to the last-mentioned place a statue of Athéné covered with plates of gold, as well as a painted likeness of himself.¹⁸⁸

The only warlike expedition in which Amasis is known to have engaged was one against Cyprus. That important island had formed a part of the Egyptian dominions under the eighteenth dynasty,¹⁸⁹ and was now again subjected and forced to pay tribute.¹⁹⁰ Its reduction implies the temporary weakness of Phœnicia, which always threw the ægis of its protection over its near neighbor, when sufficiently strong to do so, and frequently claimed and exercised a certain authority over the whole island. It would seem that the long war of Nebuchadnezzar against Tyre and the subsequent expedition of Apries against both Tyre and Sidon had so brought down the Phœnician power at this time, that no help could be given to the Cypriots. To suppose, however, that Phœnicia itself was subject to Amasis, is to intrude into the narrative a fact of which there is absolutely no evidence,¹⁹¹ monumental or other; while to state¹⁹² that "he led an army into Syria and made himself master of the Phœnician towns,"

FIG. 59.—HEAD OF RAMSES II.—See Page 174.

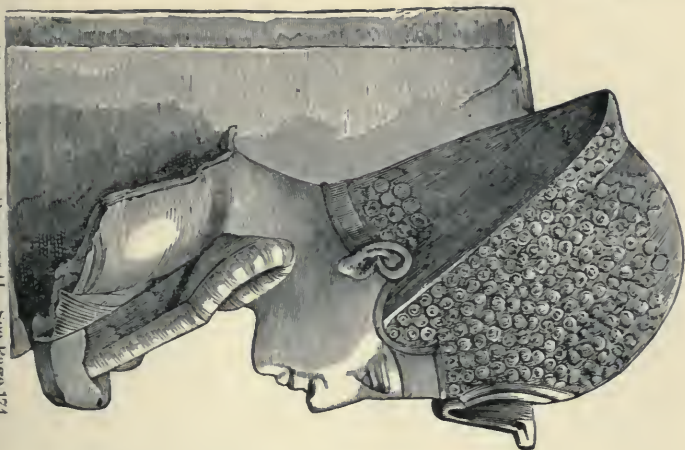


FIG. 60.—UPPER PORTION OF STATUE OF SHAFRA.—
See Page 82.

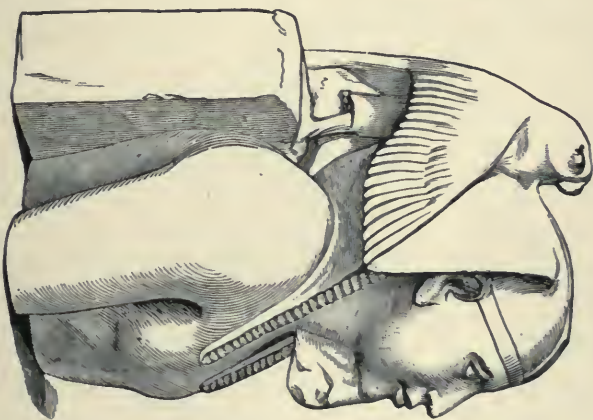


FIG. 61.—HEAD OF OSARCON I.—Page 23



FIG. 68.—STRIPPED HEAD OF REHORAM.
— See Page 226.

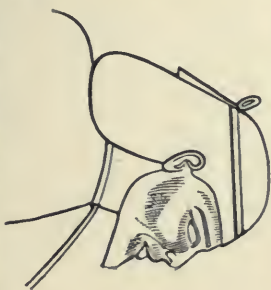




Fig. 62.—CURIOUS ORNAMENT WORN BY A MAN OF THE PSAMATIK PERIOD, PERHAPS A CHARM.—See Page 269.



Fig. 63.—DRESSES OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE AND HIS WIFE (30th Dynasty.)—See Page 218.

is to indulge in a flight of fancy scarcely worthy of a serious historian.

Amasis lived at a time in the world's history when vast changes were impending, when the entire East was in a condition of ferment and transition, old things being on the point of vanishing away, and all things of becoming new. It is doubtful whether any amount of political wisdom could have enabled him to pursue such a course as would have saved Egypt from invasion and conquest, and the kingdom of the Pharaohs from extinction. As it was, the mere shrewd common sense with which he was characterized was a very insufficient guide amid the difficulties of situation; and the course which he actually took was one certainly not calculated to keep him free from entanglements, and master of the situation. In the year B.C. 555, yielding to the representations of the Lydian king, Cræsus, he allowed himself to be drawn into a tripartite treaty,¹⁹³ which bound up his fortunes irrevocably with those of two Asiatic kingdoms, exposed to far more immediate danger than his own. The rise of the Perso-Medic power was a new feature in Asiatic history, and might have been expected to revolutionize Asia; but its effects did not necessarily flow on into another continent. Prudence should have suggested to a monarch geographically isolated to pursue a policy of abstention. Instead of so doing, Amasis was tempted by the apparent advantage of uniting three powers against one, to join with Lydia and Babylon in the alliance against Persia, and so to give Cyrus, the Persian king, a ground of quarrel with him. Whether he actually sent troops to the assistance of Lydia, or not, is perhaps doubtful, being denied by Herodotus¹⁹⁴ and asserted by Xenophon.¹⁹⁵ Subsequently, however, when he attacked Cyprus, he clearly took a second step on the road to hostilities with Persia, since, after conquering Babylon (B.C. 538), Cyrus undoubtedly regarded himself as inheriting the whole of the Babylonian empire, which embraced Phœnicia, and Cyprus, as depending on Phœnicia. It would appear that Cyrus at once took umbrage, and with hostile intent sent an embassy to Egypt, with the demand that Amasis should give him one of his daughters as a secondary wife.¹⁹⁶ Such a demand, made by equal of equal, was an insult. Amasis, however, did not dare openly to reject it. He devised a sort of compromise, and sent a princess of the house of Apries, under pretence of her being his own daughter, to take the discreditable position. The fraud was discovered after a time, and a further cause of quarrel was thus added to those existing before.

Actual invasion did not, however, befall Egypt in Amasis' time. Cyrus, soon after his conquest of Babylon, became involved in a war on his northeast frontier,¹⁹⁷ which terminated disastrously. He died in B.C. 530-529, and his son Cambyses was at first occupied with a disputed succession.¹⁹⁸ Thus Egypt had a respite. It was not till after the death of Amasis in B.C. 528-7, that war actually broke out between the two powers, and the hosts of Persia made their attack on the kingdom of the Pharaohs.

During his long reign of forty-four years,¹⁹⁹ Amasis found abundant time to encourage art and architecture. The chief object of his fostering care was his capital city of Saïs, which owed to him much of its ornamentation. He added a great court of entrance to the temple of Neith in that city, with propylæa of unusual dimensions, adorned the dromos conducting to it with numerous andro-sphinxes, erected colossal statues within the temple precincts, and conveyed thither from Elephantiné a monolithic shrine or chamber of extraordinary dimensions.²⁰⁰ The length of the chamber was, according to Herodotus, twenty-one cubits, or thirty-one feet six inches; its width, twelve cubits, or eighteen feet; and its height five cubits, or seven and a half feet. It must have weighed several hundreds of tons.²⁰¹ Another similar shrine, but of smaller dimension, was erected by Amasis at Thmuïs, or Leontopolis, and still remains *in situ*; the length of this is about twenty-two feet, the breadth thirteen, and the height eleven.²⁰²

Amasis also adorned Memphis with statues and buildings. A colossal work of the former class reached the great height of seventy-five feet, and is said by Herodotus²⁰³ to have been "recumbent," the truth perhaps being that it had never been erected. This statue, in the time of Herodotus, lay in front of the great temple of Phthah, where it seems to have been also seen by Strabo.²⁰⁴ Two lesser colossi were placed by Amasis on either side of the same temple.²⁰⁵ The temple of Isis, which he erected at Memphis, was a large and handsome building.


Thebes, Abydos, and Bubastis were also scenes of his architectural activity. At Thebes the great Karnak temple is said to have been "restored" by Amasis;²⁰⁶ at Abydos that of Osiris was beautified;²⁰⁷ at Bubastis, that of Bast or Pasht was adorned.²⁰⁸ Materials for the restorations and embellishments were derived from the quarries of Toora, of Hammamât, and of Silsilis, in all which places there are inscriptions dated in this monarch's reign, set up apparently by his officers.²⁰⁹

Statuary received its full share of attention at this period,

and the king himself was among those who gave this highest form of art the greatest encouragement. Besides his colossi, Amasis caused numerous statues to be made of himself, some of which have come down to our day. There is one, much injured, in the Villa Albani at Rome; another, in a still worse condition, at the Hague; and a third, or rather the head of a third, in the Museum of Boulaq.²¹⁰ To his reign belong also the statue of Pefaaenet in the Museum of the Louvre, that of Nefau-mencht in the Museum of Berlin, and those of Psamatik, Uta-hor-suten-net, and Henâatâ, in the Museums of Florence and London.²¹¹ Statues are also mentioned among the presents which he bestowed upon Greek communities, as Cyréné, Samos, and Lindus.²¹² Some were in stone, others in wood, a material very commonly used by the Egyptians.

The picture of himself, painted on panel, which Amasis presented to the Cyrenæans,²¹³ shows that he did not confine his attention to statuary, but was likewise a patron of the sister art of painting. Wilkinson says²¹⁴ that works of art belonging to this class were produced by the Egyptians as early as the twelfth century; but it may be doubted whether painting at that early date was not limited to the coarse coloring of bas reliefs, and whether portraits on a flat surface were not, at the time of Amasis, of recent introduction into Egypt from Asiatic Greece or Lydia, where the art seems to have originated.²¹⁵

Amasis appears to have had at least three wives.²¹⁶ The most important of them was Ankhnes-neferapra, daughter of Psamatik II. and of Nitocris, the sister of Apries, by espousing whom he sought to acquire a legitimate title to the throne of the Pharaohs. Another, as we have seen,²¹⁷ was Ladicé or Laodicé, the daughter of a Greek of Cyréné, whom he wedded to cement his friendship with that state. A third, named Tentkheta, was the daughter of an Egyptian priest of Phthah, Petnit, or Patu-nit.²¹⁸ The last-named of these royal ladies bore him the prince who succeeded him upon the

throne under the name of Psamatik Ankh-ka-en-ra, 

Ankhnes-neferapra seems to have held the principal rank in the royal harem. She alone of the royal wives was allowed to exhibit herself upon the walls of temples, where she appears sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by her husband, sometimes attended by an official called Sheshonk.²¹⁹ Her sarcophagus in black marble is of the finest quality, covered with hieroglyphics, and wrought with care and delicacy. It was found at Luxor, behind the Rameseum, in

a deep pit, by the French expedition of the beginning of the present century,²²⁰ and is now to be seen in the great Egyptian gallery of the British Museum.²²¹

Anasis was buried at Sais, in a tomb which he had prepared himself within the precincts of the temple of Neith.²²² It was a sepulchral chamber, opening out of one of the cloistered courts, with folding doors, and with the tomb at the further end. Though violated by Cambyses,²²³ it was not destroyed, but appears to have been seen by Herodotus in its pristine condition. There are, however, at present no remains to be seen of it.²²⁴

Psamatik III. succeeded his father at a time when the Persian invasion was a thing that could not be arrested. As his whole reign did not exceed six months,²²⁵ and the expedition must have been some months upon the march, we may presume that it was on its way at the time of his accession. All that he could do, therefore, was to make preparations for a stubborn resistance. He gathered his Greek and Carain mercenaries together, and took up a position near Pelusium,²²⁶ the point at which an invader from the northeast necessarily approached Egypt. The foreign corps was supported by a large army of native Egyptians; but it may be suspected that the two elements did not very heartily coalesce, and the result was a crushing defeat which decided the fate of the empire. If we may believe Ctesias,²²⁷ the loss on the Egyptian side was 50,000 men, which implies a complete rout; while, as the Persians lost 7,000, there must have been some stiff fighting before the rout began. No doubt the Greeks fought well; but in the broad plain wherein the battle took place they would be outflanked, surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. The Persians were at no time contemptible soldiers, and they were now at the height of their national vigor; they had recently conquered the whole Western Asia, were full of confidence in themselves, hardy, strong, and accustomed to fighting. The Greeks, on the other hand, had acted as a mere civic guard for nearly half a century, and the native Egyptians were still more unaccustomed to warfare, having seen but little active service²²⁸ since the time of Psamatik I. It is not surprising, therefore, that the army of Egypt was defeated, and driven in headlong flight from the field; nor can we wonder that no second stand was made in the open, since it must have been felt that the same causes which had given Persia the victory on the Pelusiac plain would secure her arms success in any other similiar encounter.²²⁹

Nothing then remained for Psamatik but to place his troops behind walls, and see if in this way he could baffle or tire out the invaders. Memphis was a strong city, and, had it been well provisioned or able to maintain its communication with the sea, might have stood a prolonged siege.²³⁰ But no special preparations for a siege seem to have been made; and Cambyses had taken care to bring with him a strong fleet,²³¹ which blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and even mounted the river to the vicinity of the capital.²³² Thus it was impossible to continue the defence very long. After murdering the crew of a Greek vessel, sent to summon them to surrender, and thus deservedly incurring the extreme displeasure of Cambyses, the entire garrison, regarding resistance as hopeless, gave themselves up. Cambyses punished the deed of blood severely. He selected from the Egyptians who had surrendered themselves two thousand chief men—ten for each of the murdered Greeks²³³—and condemned them to be publicly executed. A son of the fallen monarch shared their fate. As for the king himself, it would seem that at first his life was spared,²³⁴ and that he was even treated with some favor; but it was not long before suspicion arose. Psamatik was accused of having taken part in a conspiracy against Cambyses, and was forthwith put to death. Thus perished this unfortunate monarch, the last of the long line of Pharaohs, which commencing with Menes, or at any rate with Seneferu,²³⁵ had ruled Egypt, as a great independent monarchy, for not less than twenty centuries.

It is not within the scope of the present history to pursue the fortunes of the Egyptian people any further. Frequent revolts characterized the period of their subjection to Persia; and from time to time it probably appeared to the people themselves that the throne of the Pharaohs was re-established. But again and again the Persians proved their superiority in the field, and forced the Egyptians to submit to them. Thus during the Persian period—from B.C. 527 to B.C. 322—Egypt must be considered to have occupied in the main, the position of a Persian province;²³⁶ and her revolts and re-subjugations belong therefore to the history of Persia. The present writer, in his "Fifth Ancient Monarchy," has already treated of them;²³⁷ and the reader who desires to pursue the subject may be referred to that work for information.

Still, it remains to touch briefly upon the art and civilization of this final period, which have peculiar features not destitute of interest. The time is one of revival, and has been called 'the Egyptian *renaissance*.'²³⁸ Under the

Ethiopians, and still more under the Assyrians, Egyptain art had declined, nay, had almost sunk into abeyance. Such indications of it as we possess are coarse and tinged with foreign ideas. It was the object of the Psammetichi to re-establish a true native school (Fig. 55). We have small remains of their architecture, but enough to show clearly that it went upon the old lines; and we know that it included colossal statues, obelisks, enormous propylæa, pillared courts,²³⁹ and the other main elements of early Egyptian architectural effect. Some novelties in the ornamentation are pleasing.²⁴⁰ Of their plastic art, on the contrary, we have abundant specimens; and we can see that it aims at a "return to the good old times,"²⁴¹ the representations calling vividly to remembrance the masterpieces of the old empire. True relief is used, instead of the *cavo rilievo* which was in fashion under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. "An extreme neatness of manipulation in the drawings and lines, in imitation of the best epochs of art in the earlier times, serves for the instant recognition of the work of this age, the fineness of which often reminds us of the performances of a seal-engraver."²⁴² Extreme delicacy and extreme elaboration are the main characteristics of the plastic art of the period. Faces are finished with great care, the ear and nose being well rendered, and the hair worked out in the utmost possible detail.²⁴³ Some of the bas-reliefs (Fig. 57) seem to show traces of Greek influence. There rest upon these works, as has been well said, "a gentle and almost feminine tenderness, which has impressed upon the imitations of living creatures the stamp of an incredible delicacy both of conception and execution."²⁴⁴ Wood-engraving is incapable of expressing such soft and tender treatment;²⁴⁵ but the accompanying illustrations will perhaps help to give some slight idea of the art in question—of its beauty, delicacy, and approximation to the Greek type.

Similar refinement is observable in the statues and statuettes. The Pastophorus of the Vatican, the Horus of the Louvre, the bronze statuette of Ammon-Arsaphes in the British Museum, the "little statues, holding a shrine of the Saïte dignitary, Pitebhu,"²⁴⁶ the "famous cow of the celestial Hathor, and the statues of Osiris and Isis, the offerings of a certain Psamatik, which now form the admired masterpieces of the collection at Boulaq; the numberless standing images in bronze of the goddess Neith of Saïs—these, and a hundred similiar works of sculpture, furnish instructive examples of the refinement and delicacy of the monuments which came

from the hands of the artists of this period."²⁴⁷ The proportions of the figures are defective, the limbs being too long and slim; the muscular development is but slightly indicated;²⁴⁸ and the whole result is wanting in strength and vigor; but grace, softness, tenderness, characterize the period, and give it a beauty and elegance which are charming."²⁴⁹

But, while in artistic matters there was thus an effort—albeit only moderately successful—to return to antiquity and to produce works of an archaic type, in religion and in manners the spirit of the age was different, and exhibited an unwholesome craving after what was strange and novel. "Besides the great established gods of the old Egyptian theology, there now come forward upon the monuments," says Dr. Brugsch,²⁵⁰ "monstrous forms, the creations of a widely-roving fancy, which peopled the whole world—heaven, earth, and the subaqueous and subterranean depths—with demons and genii of whom the older age with its pure doctrine had scarcely an idea." By the time of Nectanebo I. half the gods of the Pantheon were new;²⁵¹ and though this extreme development was the work of a later age than that of the Psammetichi, the spirit from which it proceeded was already abroad. Asia poured the fetid stream of her manifold superstitions into Africa, and to the old theology was added a wild and wierd demonology which proved wonderfully attractive to the now degenerated Egyptians. At the same time the belief in magic and witchcraft became general. "Exorcisms (Fig. 62) of the demons in all manner of forms, from wild beasts with their ravening teeth to the scorpion with his venomous sting, form henceforth a special science, which was destined to supersede the old and half-lost traditional lore of past ages. The demon-song of 'The old man who regained his youth, the hoary one who became young again,' the exorcisms of Thoth and the powers of witchcraft in league with him, are the favorite themes which cover the polished surfaces of the monuments of this remarkable time."²⁵² Apis worship became also more pronounced. Ever-increasing honors were paid to the sacred bulls, as time went on. The tablets recording their birth, life, and burial grow in length;²⁵³ the ceremonies accompanying their sepulture become more complicated and more expensive,²⁵⁴ and the adornment of their tombs more magnificent. Granite saracophagi were provided for them; and these were cut and polished with great care;²⁵⁵ they were from twelve to thirteen feet high and from fifteen to eighteen feet long; the smallest did not weigh less than sixty-four tons.

Manners likewise suffered a transformation. The women were degraded by having the heavier forms of labor thrown upon them,²⁵⁶ and were otherwise burdened and placed under restrictions.²⁵⁷ The men were demoralized by being cut off from military training, and from the bracing effects of active service both upon mind and body. National spirit was sapped by the devolution of the royal favor on a race of foreigners, to whom Egyptian customs and Egyptian ideas were abhorrent, and who no doubt openly showed their contempt for the unwarlike nation which had hired their services. Commerce with Greece and with Asia unsettled all the old Egyptian opinions and habitudes, and introduced a thousand novelties of belief, dress and behavior. The Saitic kings had thought to renovate the old monarchy by an infusion of fresh blood into its veins.²⁵⁸ But the experiment, always hazardous, failed, since the patient was too weak to bear so violent a remedy. The civilization of the Egyptians had grown up under circumstances which completely isolated it. Its continuance depended on the isolation being continued. The basis upon which it rested was immobility. From the time that it was brought into contact with the spirit of progress, as embodied in the Greek race and the Grecian civilization, it was necessarily doomed to perish. It did not possess the vigor or vitality which could enable it to start afresh on a new path; nor was it sufficiently solid and self-poised to remain unaffected by the new ideas. Like a building, grown old and unstable through the long lapse of years, which it is attempted to restore and renovate by new work alien in character, the Egyptian civilization collapsed under the difficulties of the times and the experiments made upon it, disappearing from the ken of man in a heap of unslightly ruins. That it had a revival under the Ptolemies is what we should not have expected, and must be regarded as an indication of its having possessed an extraordinary force and power—a force and power which enabled it to rise from the grave after a trance of two centuries and become once more for nearly three hundred years a living entity.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. (See p. 5.)

THE fragments of the Turin "Papyrus of the Kings," after all the care and labor bestowed on them by Seyffarth,¹

MANETHO, according to.

TURIN PAPYRUS.

Names of Kings	Africanus	Armenian Eusebius	Eusebius of Syncellus	Names of Kings	Years Months Days	Authorities
	Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs.			
2ND DYNASTY						
Nephercheres . . .	25	—	—	Neferka-Sokari	8 3 0	De Rougé & Brugsch
Sesoehris . . .	48	48	48	Hutefa	11 [?] 8 4	"
Cheneres . . .	—	—	30	Beb(i)	27 2 1	"
3D DYNASTY						
Necherophes . . .	28	—	—	Nebka	19 ? ?	"
Tosorthros . . .	29	—	—	Sar	19 1? 0	"
4TH DYNASTY						
Soris	29	—	—	—	19 0 0	Brugsch
Souphis	63	—	—	—	6 0 0	"
Souphis II.	66	—	—	*** zaf	6 0 0	"
Mencheres	63	—	—	—	24 0 0	"
Ratoises	25	—	—	—	24 0 0	"
Bicheres	22	—	—	—	23 0 0	"
Sebercheres	7	—	—	—	8 0 0	"
5TH DYNASTY						
Usercheres	28	—	—	—	18 0 0	"
Sephres	13	—	—	—	4 0 0	"
Nephercheres	20	—	—	—	2 0 0	"
Sisires	7	—	—	*** ka	7 0 0	"
Cheres	20	—	—	—	12 0 0	"
Rathures	44	—	—	—	7 0 0	"
—	—	—	—	—	—	"
—	—	—	—	—	21 0 0	"
Mencheres	9	—	—	Menkahor	8 0 0	—
Tancheres	44	—	—	Tat	28 0 0	—
Onnos	33	—	—	Unas	30 0 0	—
6TH DYNASTY						
Othoës	30	—	—	—	—	De Rougé & Hincks
Phios	53	—	—	—	? 6 21	"
—	—	—	—	—	—	"
—	—	—	—	—	20 0 0	"
Methousouphis	7	—	—	—	14 ? 0	"
Phiois	94	—	—	—	30 0 0	"
Menthesouphis	1	—	—	—	1 1 0	"

MANETHO, according to.

TURIN PAPYRUS.

Names of Kings	Africanus	Armenian Eusebius	Eusebius of Syncellus	Names of Kings	Years Months Days	Authorities
	Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs.			
12TH DYNASTY						
Amenemesis . . .	16	16	16	—	—	Wilkinson
Sesonchosis . . .	46	46	46	—	45 0 0	“
Ammanemes . . .	38	38	38	—	10 at least	“
Sesostris . . .	48	48	48	—	19 “	“
Lachares . . .	8	8	8	—	30 “	“
Ameres . . .	8			—	40 “	“
Amenemes . . .	8	42	42	—	9 3 27	Wilkinson & Brugsch
Skemiophis . . .	4			—	3 10 24	

N. B.—It will be seen that of the thirty-seven reigns estimated by both authorities, three only are alike; six more come within one year, while twenty-eight differ still more widely. Taken altogether, Manetho's numbers are greatly in excess, amounting, when added together, to 384 years; whereas the numbers of the papyrus amount to less than 615 years.


Lepsius,² and Wilkinson,³ admit still of so much variety of arrangement, that only in a comparatively few cases can we compare with absolute certainty its statements as to the length of kings' reigns with those of Manetho. In far the greater number of cases where such a comparison has been regarded as possible, the possibility rests upon a hypothetical arrangement of the fragments, which is more or less probable; and thus an element of uncertainty comes in. We have, therefore, in the above comparative list, distinguished the certain from the doubtful cases by printing the former in italics. With regard to the latter, which are printed in the ordinary Roman type, we shall in each case give in a separate column the authority by whom the arrangement producing the result has been made.

NOTE B. (See p. 199.)

Most Egyptologists accept the identifications of De Rougé and regard the Tânauna as Danaans, the Sharuten as Sardinians, the Sheklusha as Sikelians or Sicilians, the Tulusha as Tuscans, the Uashash as Oscans, the Purusata as Pelasgians, and the Tekaru as Teucrians.⁴ But there is scarcely any case, excepting the last, where the identification is etymologically satisfactory.

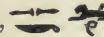
Tánauna, . Rendered letter for

letter, this word is *Ta-a-na-u-na*, hardly a natural equivalent for the Greek *Dánaoi*. The hand may no doubt represent *d*; but the double *a* which follows corresponds but ill with the short Greek alpha. The *u* is altogether superfluous, as also is the *n* of the final syllable. By saying that *Tánauna* represents the "Danaans," this surplusage is concealed, since "Danaan" has an *n*; but the *-an* is an English adjectival ending, to which there is no equivalent in the Greek *Danaoi*. It has been sought to remove the objection from the double *a* by supposing *Daunii*, and not *Danai*, to be meant; but the second *n* remains superfluous in this case no less than in the other.

Sharuten, . Here again the final *n* is


superfluous. The people of Sardinia were known to the Romans always as *Sardi*, to the Greeks generally as "*Sardooi*." It is true the Greeks called them "*Sardonioi*" occasionally; but their own name for themselves is likely to have had a form like the Latin.

Sheklusha, . In this word the last two

signs are superfluous. In *Sikeloi*, *Siculi*, there is no second *s*; and the best Egyptian equivalent would be *Sheklu*, or rather *Seklu*, , there being no necessity of changing the initial *s* into *sh*.⁸

Tulusha, . The lion may no doubt be

read as *r* no less than as *l*; and *Turusha* may be the proper articulation. It is said that that word well represents the *Tusci* of the Romans, or still better the *Tursce*, *Turscer*, of the Eugubine Tables.⁹ We are told, however, that the Tuscans or Etruscans called themselves *Rasena*,¹⁰ so that the initial *t* would appear not to be a root letter of the name.


Uashasha, . If the name "Osci"

is a contracted form of "Opici" (through *Opisci*),¹¹ and *p* consequently a root letter of the name, we should expect the *p* to appear in an Egyptian representation of the word bear-

ing date about B.C. 1300. Further, the second *sh* is superfluous, "Osci" having one *s* only.

Purusata, . Here the difficulty is admitted

to be considerable, since, if the Pelasgi are meant, the *t* of the last syllable is inexplicable. It is true that the Egyptians had no *g*; but they had several forms of *k*, and would naturally have expressed the *g* in Pelasgi by one of them.¹² There would also have been no reason why they should have used the long *u*, *ρ* to express the Greek epsilon in *Πελασγοί*. These grounds of objection to the proposed identification are so strong, that many think them insuperable, and suggest that the *Purusata* are really the Philistines,¹³ פלשתים, Φυλιστιείμ, whom they suppose to have migrated from Crete at this time, and, after their repulse by Rameses, to have been settled by him in Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon. This view, however, if free from etymological, is beset by historical difficulties;¹⁴ and the result is that the *Purusata*, like most of the other tribes named, remain an enigma for future ages to unriddle.

Tekaru, . The identification of the *Tekaru*

with the *Teuceri* (*Τευκροί*) is wholly unobjectionable. Etymologically the two words are exact equivalents, while historically the *Teuceri* are known as powerful and bold adventurers, dissatisfied with their old settlements in Asia, and desirous of spreading themselves into remote countries. The *Teucrian* and *Mysian* invasion of Europe, mentioned by Herodotus,¹⁵ which began at the Canal of Constantinople and ended at the Adriatic, is a fair parallel to the expedition of the *Tekari* and *Purusata* in the eleventh year of Rameses III., which began in Asia Minor and terminated on the confines of Egypt.

The argument which has the greatest force in favor of the proposed identifications is the cumulative one. While, severally and separately considered, the identifications are in almost every case doubtful, they lend support to each other by the way in which they blend into an harmonious whole. No counter theory has been proposed which is nearly so plausible. Dr. Brugsch's "Carian-Colchian" invasion, in which the natives proceed from Armenia and Cilicia, partly by land through Asia Minor, and partly by water on the Mediterranean,¹⁶ in which the *Uashasha* are the *Ossetes* of the Caucasus,¹⁷ the *Tekaru* and the *Purusata* *Zygritæ* and *Prosoditæ* from Cyprus,¹⁸ the *Turusha* people of Mount Taurus,¹⁹ the

Sharuten Colchio-Caucasians, and the Sheklusha the people of Zagylis,³⁰ has no coherency, and approves itself to no one. In the theory of De Rougé, adopted by M. Chabas and Dr. Birch, there is the double charm of consistency and of surpassing interest. The nations form a group, widely dispersed yet still continuous, extending from Sardinia and Sicily on the one hand to northeastern Asia Minor on the other. They represent the chief nations of these parts and leave no manifest gap. The parts, by land and sea, are distributed as we might expect. And the result is that most minds accept the view as probably not far from the truth. They delight to think that the European nations, so far back as the thirteenth century B.C., showed signs of their inherent vigor, possessed fleets, fought naval battles, and contended with the most advanced and the most powerful of the then existing monarchies. They cannot but feel that the entire subject is encompassed with difficulties; but the theory which has been put forth attracts them, and they embrace it with entire satisfaction. If it is not true it ought to be. *Se non è vero è ben trovato.*

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NOTES TO HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER XII.

¹ Compare the list given by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 30* E. T., 1st ed.) with that of the author in his *Origin of Nations*, p. 21.

² Herodotus, book ii.

³ Manetho of Sebennytus, priest of On, or Heliopolis.

⁴ It would seem that a king did not become a god until he ascended the throne.

⁵ This is the case with Usurtasen I. according to Brugsch (*History*, vol. i, p. 120, 1st ed.), who is given in the Turin papyrus forty-five years.

⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 36-7, 1st ed.

⁷ This is confessed by most Egyptologists, though not as yet very clearly apprehended by the general public. Brugsch says: "It is only from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude" (*ibid.* p. 32*). Bunsen: "History is not to be elicited from the monuments; not even its framework, chronology" (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. i, p. 32). Stuart Poole: "The evidence of the monuments with regard to the chronology is neither full nor explicit" (*Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 506). Lenormant: "Le plus grand de tous les obstacles à l'établissement d'une chronologie égyptienne régulière, c'est que les Egyptiens eux-mêmes, n'ont jamais eu de chronologie" (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 322).

⁸ Herod. ii, 100, 142.

⁹ *Ibid.* § 99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* § 101.

¹¹ *Ibid.* §§ 124-34.

¹² *Ibid.* § 111.

¹³ Mæris, he says, lived 900 years before his time (ii, 13), Sabaco 700 (*ibid.* § 140); yet nine kings intervened, to whom his method of calculation would assign three centuries.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* §§ 112-20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* § 141.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* § 3.

¹⁷ At the commencement of his account of Manetho's dynasties, Eusebius says: "If the quantity of time (covered by these kings) is in excess, we must remember that there were, perhaps, at one and the same time, several kings in Egypt, for we are told that the Thinites and Memphites reigned simultaneously, and likewise the Ethiopians and the Sa-

ites, and others also. Moreover, some seem to have reigned in one place, some in another, each dynasty being confined to its own canton; so that the several kings did not rule successively, but different kings reigned at the same time in different places" (*Chron. Can.* i, 20, § 3). The expression "we are told" is of special importance, as showing that Eusebius did not himself invent the theory of contemporary dynasties in Egypt; but it is unfortunately vague, and does not enable us to determine whether Manetho, or some commentator on his history, whose work Eusebius had read, is referred to.

¹⁸ The sum total does not generally agree with the items; but it is sufficiently near to make it probable that it was arrived at by simple addition.

¹⁹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 120, 1st ed. Errors of this kind, Dr. Brugsch says, make him "despair of putting together a chronological table of the Old Egyptian Empire."

²⁰ This is the number produced by adding together the years assigned to the first fourteen of the Manethonian dynasties by Africanus. The Armenian Eusebius raises the number to 3,023.

²¹ See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 119-125.

²² *Ibid.* p. 86. Compare Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. ii, p. 537.

²³ Results slightly differing from these are given by Bunsen (*Egypt*, vol. i, p. 82). Differences in the MSS. and in the statements made by the Syncellus make absolute accuracy impossible.

²⁴ In six only out of the thirty dynasties is the number exactly the same in all the three versions.

²⁵ E.g. Manetho, according to all the three versions, assigned six years only to Neco, the Pharaoh-Nechoh of Scripture. But an Apis *stela* assigns him sixteen years; and this is regarded as settling the matter.

²⁶ It is especially remarkable that the numbers of the Turin papyrus differ so greatly from Manetho's, showing that the Egyptians had no one definite, generally admitted scheme. As this is a very important point, the details are given in the Appendix (Note A).

²⁷ Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, p. 322.

²⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 19, 21; vol. iv, p. 27; vol. vi, pp. 23, 43, 44, 63, etc.

²⁹ Manetho's seventeenth dynasty consisted of an equal number of the

ban and Shepherd kings, whom he represented as reigning side by side during the space of 151 years (Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 61).

³⁰ Even Lenormant admits that in one part of his work, "Manéthon, pour comble d'obscurité, avait indubitablement (le témoignage des chronographes est formel) admis dans ses listes des dynasties collatérales, mais qu'en même temps, dans les extraits que nous en avons, aucune indication positive n'indique celles qui furent contemporaines" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i, pp. 355-6).

³¹ The eleventh with the ninth and tenth (*ibid.* p. 348); and the thirteenth with the fourteenth (p. 358).

³² *History of Egypt* (1st ed.), vol. i, pp. 107-119, 184; vol. ii, pp. 313-14.

³³ *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 106, 208, 239; vol. iv, pp. 499, 500, 510-12.

³⁴ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 338, 3d edit.

³⁵ Cambyses died in B.C. 521, having reigned six years in Egypt (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 305, 1st ed.), which he must therefore have conquered in B.C. 527, not in B.C. 525, as generally supposed.

³⁶ Herod. iii, 14, ad init.; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 75, d.

³⁷ So Herod. iii, 10. Manetho (according to Africanus) gave the same number, but, according to Eusebius, forty-two years only.

³⁸ Herod. ii, 161, and Manetho, according to Eusebius. But, according to Africanus, Manetho's number was nineteen.

³⁹ This is proved by one of the Apis stelæ (Mariette, No. 40; Brugsch, vol. ii, p. 287, 1st ed.), which also makes certain the sixteen years of Neco.

⁴⁰ Another of the stelæ (No. 39 of Mariette) determines the reign of Psamatik I. to fifty-four years.

⁴¹ The fifty-four years of Psamatik I. were counted from the end of the twenty-six years of Tirhakah, as appears from stelæ No. 37 of Mariette, which is given also by Brugsch (vol. ii, p. 285, 1st ed.). Manetho assigned to Tirhakah only eighteen or twenty years.

⁴² Pharaoh-Hophra appears in Jeremiah as the Egyptian antagonist of Nebuchadnezzar, and as contending with him after the time when Jeremiah was taken into Egypt. This was about B.C. 585, which would be the twelfth year of Apries, according to the numbers in the text. Pharaoh-Necho warred with Josiah of Judah, and caused his death in the fourth year before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Second Book of Kings, or B.C. 608. Neco, according to the above numbers, reigned from B.C. 618 to 602. Tirhakah is in Scripture contemporary with the great expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, which

fell in the earlier part of Sennacherib's reign, probably about B.C. 695.

⁴³ Twenty-two, according to Africanus (Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 74, B); twenty-four, according to Eusebius (*ib.* p. 75, B).

⁴⁴ It is generally allowed that the So or Seveh NID of 2 Kings xvii, 4, represents Shabak, in whose name the *k* is unimportant, being merely the suffixed article (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 275, 1st ed.). This king was called in to aid him by Hoshea, a short time before the capture of Samaria, which was in B.C. 722 or B.C. 721.

⁴⁵ Six, according to the Manetho of Africanus (Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 74, B); forty-four, according to the same author, as reported by Eusebius (*ibid.* p. 75, A).

⁴⁶ So Africanus (ap. Syncell. pp. 73-4). The numbers, as reported by Eusebius, scarcely come into competition here; since he assigns identically the same number of years (forty-four) to three dynasties in succession—the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth.

⁴⁷ 1 Kings xi, 40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xiv, 25, 26; 2 Chr. xii, 1-9.

⁴⁹ Two hundred and sixty-five, according to Africanus (Syncell. pp. 73-4); but 302, according to the Armen. Eusebius, and 308, according to the Eusebius of Syncellus (pp. 74-5).

⁵⁰ Minimum are generally to be preferred to maximum numbers in the Egyptian lists, on account of the tendency to swell the totals by counting in the entire reigns of kings who were at first associated with their fathers. But the evidence of the monuments at this point tends to show that even the highest estimate of Manetho's numbers is here insufficient.

⁵¹ Manetho's total, according to Africanus, was 209 years; according to Eusebius, 194 years (Syncell. pp. 72-3).

⁵² Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 364-71, 3d edit.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 314, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 321, etc.

⁵³ The four kings named Thothmes have but one certain representative in Manetho's list, his Tuthmosis; the three or four Amunophs (Amenhoteps) are reduced to two. Horus, really the last king of the dynasty, is followed by six or seven others; a "Chebros" is interpolated between Aahmes and Amunoph I. Manetho's numbers are insufficient for some of the kings, in excess for others. If the dynasty be closed with Horus, the sum total will not amount to 200 years, according to any computation, and according to one—that of the Armenian Eusebius—will be only 165 years.

⁵⁴ Ap. Syncell. vol. i, p. 73, A. The summation of the reigns is given as 348 years, though the actual sum of the

years assigned to the kings is, at the most, 325 years.

⁵⁵ Two hundred and sixty-three years (ap. Syncell. pp. 62, 69, 70).

⁵⁶ Two hundred and forty-six years, if we take Rameses I. as heading the nineteenth dynasty (Joseph. c. *Apion*. § 14).

⁵⁷ Mariette and Lenormant give 241 years (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 321); Brugsch, 300 years (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 314, 1st ed.); Wilkinson, 196 years (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 352, 364); Bunsen, 221 years, etc.

⁵⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 78; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁵⁹ Stuart Poole in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ad voc. *EGYPT* (vol. i, p. 510).

⁶⁰ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 61.

⁶¹ *Contr. Apion*. i, § 14.

⁶² *Chron. Can.* i, 20, § 5; ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 62, A. The two agree exactly.

⁶³ See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 3, 4; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 239-41, 1st ed.

⁶⁴ All the reporters of Manetho agree that he made Saïtes (Salatis) the first of the shepherd kings.

⁶⁵ See the "Tablet of 400 years," given in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 35-6; and compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 75-6, and 126.

⁶⁶ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. pp. 60-1. It is true that Josephus deranges the names (*Contr. Ap. l.s.c.*), making Apophis the fourth instead of the sixth king; but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius together must be taken to outweigh his authority.

⁶⁷ This point has been well argued by Canon Cooke in the *Speaker's Commentary* (vol. i, part i, pp. 447-8). His arguments seem to me quite irresistible.

⁶⁸ See the table given by Lenormant on the authority of Mariette (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 321).

⁶⁹ *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 33-4; vol. ii, pp. 311-15, 1st ed. Calculations founded upon generations are, by the nature of the case, exceedingly uncertain, and become a source of large error, if the ordinary length of a generation in the time and country for which the calculation is made is improperly estimated. Brugsch allows 33½ years for his Egyptian generations, which is an over-estimate of at least one-third. A correction of this error would reduce his 2,400 years to 1,600.

⁷⁰ *Egypt's Place*, vol. v, p. 62.

⁷¹ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 340-1, and Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 508.

⁷² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 63, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 31; De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., p. 39.

⁷³ No historian of Egypt places Abraham before the twelfth, or the later part of the eleventh dynasty. One (Lepsius)

regards his sojourn in Egypt as belonging to the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 8.

CHAPTER XIII.

¹ See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 360: "Nous assistons douc, sous la quinzisième et seizième dynasties, à un uouveau naufrage de la civilisation égyptienne."

² *Ibid.* p. 363: "La civilisation égyptienne, d'abord comme *anéantie* par l'invasion, reprit ainsi le dessus dans la Thébaïde," etc.

³ See Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 362: "Les Pasteurs dans la Basse-Egypte, comme les Tartares en Chine, se laissèrent," etc.

⁴ No names of kings have been found on the tombs of individuals anterior to the times of the fourth dynasty (De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 12-36).

⁵ Thothmes III. exhibits sixty-one of his in the "Hall of the Ancestors" at Karnak (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. i, p. 44); Seti I. exhibits seventy-seven, though living only three generations later (De Rougé, p. 14); while Rameses II., the son of Seti I., exhibits only fifty-two (Bunsen, vol. i, pp. 50-1).

⁶ Herod. ii, 99. Herodotus does not actually give this form; but his dative *Mῆνι* and his accusative *Mῆνα* imply it.

⁷ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 54, B.

⁸ Diod. Sic. i, 45.

⁹ Dr. Birch says with equal judgment and force: "Nothing known to have been made at the time of Menes remains; and he must be placed among those founders of monarchies whose personal existence a severe and enlightened criticism doubts or denies" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 25).

¹⁰ Compare the "Theseus" of Athenian legend, whose name meant "disposer," "founder," "law-giver."

¹¹ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 31; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 585.

¹² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 24: "No contemporary monument is known of his age or inscribed with his name."

¹³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., p. 17, and pl. 2 at the end of the book.

¹⁴ Birch, *Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 54.

¹⁵ These remains appear to be so slight as to make it quite uncertain whether the papyrus really contained them (De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., p. 18, note).

¹⁶ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 54, c; p. 55, b.

¹⁷ Eratosth. ap. eund. p. 91, d.

¹⁸ Manetho ap. eund. p. 54, c.

¹⁹ Chs. lxiv and cxxx. See De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., p. 30, note 1.

²⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 58, 1st ed.

²¹ The passage runs as follows:—"This is the beginning of the collection of receipts for curing leprosy. It was dis-

covered in a very ancient papyrus, enclosed in a writing case, under the feet of the god Anubis, in the town of Sochem, at the time of the reign of his majesty the defunct king, Hesepti. After his death it was brought to the majesty of the defunct king Senta, on account of its wonderful value" (ibid. l.s.c.).

²² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 54. c.

²³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., pl. 1, No. 1.

²⁴ Ap. Syncell. l.s.c.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 96. c.

²⁶ *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 20.

²⁷ Ibid. pl. ii, No. 7.

²⁸ By Bunsen (see his *Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 61). Dr. Birch appears to take the same view, when he says (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 26) that the name of Semempses "is found both in the Egyptian and the Greek lists."

²⁹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 21, 24.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 21.

³¹ That Ra-n-user was also called An will appear in its proper place.

³² *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 55, 1st ed.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 56.

³⁵ See above, vol. i, p. 159.

³⁶ Herod. ii, 99. Diodorus, however, ascribes the foundation to a later king, Uchoreus (i, 50).

³⁷ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 54. c.

³⁸ See above, p. 16.

³⁹ Manetho, l.s.c.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 54, d.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. p. 56, A.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 55, A.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 56, B.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Brugsch says: "Here ends, according to the Manethonian writing, the information—half fable, half true—of the first rulers of Egypt. *It teaches us little.* We are still waiting for the door of the chamber of the ancestors of the most ancient kingdom to be opened to us" (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 62, 1st ed.)

⁴⁷ He believed in the Nile flowing with honey, in Mena being devoured by a hippopotamus, and in a lamb speaking!

⁴⁸ A very small amount of inquiry must have taught Manetho that Neco reigned sixteen and not six years.

⁴⁹ See above, vol. i, p. 24.

⁵⁰ Compare fig. 36, pl. xii, and fig. 44, pl. xv, of vol. i.

⁵¹ Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, pls. opp. pp. 220 and 235; *Lycia*, pls. opp. pp. 128, 129, 130, etc.

⁵² Well represented by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 3, 8, 18, etc.

⁵³ Diod. Sic. i, 51.

⁵⁴ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 102.

⁵⁵ See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 66, 1st ed.; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 100.

⁵⁶ See above, vol. i, note¹⁰ Ch. vii, and for a representation of the "tower," or "pyramid," see fig. 38, pl. xiii, vol. i.

⁵⁷ Brugsch, l.s.c.

⁵⁸ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 332; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 25; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 380; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 59, 1st ed.

⁵⁹ For a representation see above, vol. i, figs. 39, 40, pl. xiii, and for the exact measurements see p. 93.

⁶⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁶¹ See the tomb of Amten, whence the above illustration is taken (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 6).

⁶² Three of Sepa and his sons, discovered near the Pyramids and now in the Museum of the Louvre; two others, "with a European cast of features," found at Meydoun, and forming a part of the same collection, and a statue of Amten in the Museum of Boulaq. (See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 30.)

⁶³ *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 333.

⁶⁴ *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 66, 1st ed.

⁶⁵ Lenormant, l.s.c.; Birch, l.s.c.

⁶⁶ Anubis is mentioned as a god of the early times by a writer of the age of Rameses II. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 58, 1st ed.)

⁶⁷ For a description of this temple, see vol. i, pp. 101-102.

⁶⁸ Herod. ii, 99; Diod. Sic. i, 45, 46, etc.

⁶⁹ An inscription given by M. de Rougé in his *Recherches* (pp. 46-9) attributes to Khufu the erection of a temple to Isis, and speaks of temples of Osiris and of the Sphinx, who is identified with Horus (Harmachis), as previously existing.

⁷⁰ Athor (identified with Isis) is mentioned as having a temple in the same inscription (p. 47). Horus and Set are mentioned as objects of veneration to Khufu's mother. The religious practice of the primitive times is not proved by these texts, but is not likely to have been very different.

⁷¹ See vol. i, pp. 200.

⁷² Birch, *Guide to British Museum*, p. 54.

⁷³ See above, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Compare vol. i, p. 70.

⁷⁵ Seneferu, the earliest king of whom we possess any monument, calls himself "the crowned Horus," and "the victorious Horus" (De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 32, 33; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 2, a).

⁷⁶ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 30, 34, etc.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 33; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 3, 6, etc.

⁷⁶ Priesthoods of Mena and Teta continued down to the latest time of Egyptian independence. Senta, Ranebka, and Sar (Soris?) are also found to have had priests attached to their worship long after their decease (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 31; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 48, 1st ed.).

⁷⁷ Teni or This, and Men-nofer or Memphis, are connected with the earliest of the traditions. The early tombs belong mainly to the necropolis of the latter city.

⁷⁸ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 40; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

⁷⁹ De Rougé, pp. 41, 44, etc.

⁸⁰ See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 3-7. The exact number of attendants represented on the walls of the sepulchral chamber of Amten is thirty-three.

⁸¹ Compare the entire series of drawings in the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, which descend as low as the time of the fifth dynasty.

⁸² Herod. ii, 36.

⁸³ See Fig. 3.

⁸⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. i, pl. 3 (upper figure).

⁸⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. i, pl. 7. Compare pls 20, 29, etc.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* pls. 3 and 6.

⁸⁷ See above, vol. i, pl. lxvii, fig. 167, and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 4, line two on left, where an attendant carries a head-rest in his left hand.

⁸⁸ See Fig. 2.

⁸⁹ Lepsius, pl. 4. Two antelopes, which make no struggles to free themselves, are carried in the arms of attendants, who bring them to their master.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* pl. 3.

⁹¹ *Supra*, vol. i, p. 258.


⁹² Lepsius, pls. 5 and 7. Loaves also appear above the sacrificial table, where Amten is seated, as at a feast. They are small, and are arranged in two baskets (pl. 3).

⁹³ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 334: "L'écriture hiéroglyphique se montre à nous dans les monuments des premières dynasties avec toute la complication qu'elle a conservée jusqu'au dernier jour de son existence."


CHAPTER XIV.

¹ The succession of Khufu to Senoferu is shown most clearly on the tomb of Meritêfs, who was successively the favorite wife of each (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 37).

² In the *Prisse papyrus* we read: "Lo! the majesty of King Huni died: and lo! the majesty of King Senoferu became a beneficent king for the entire country" (*ibid.* p. 29).

³ See the woodcut Fig. 4, where the third title,  has this meaning.

⁴ See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 30-1: "It is with the fourth Memphite dynasty that the history of Egypt begins to assume greater importance; the events recorded are no longer dependent for their remembrance on the glosses or curt notices of Greek epitomists, but the monuments of the country contain exact and contemporary accounts of the events which took place." De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 30: "J'ai fait remarquer depuis longtemps que le plus ancien monument connu jusqu'ici est le trophée de la campagne du roi Seneferu contre les populations qui occupaient la presqu'île du Sinaï."

⁵ The fourth title in the inscription of Wady Magharah, the hawk of Horus perched upon the sign for gold , is translated on the Rosetta Stone by "vanquisher of his adversaries."

⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 31.

⁷ Brugsch supposes mines of turquoise to have been the great attraction of this region (l.s.c.): but most Egyptologists consider that the tract was occupied on account of its copper-mines (Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 344, 3d edit.; De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 31; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. iii, p. 383; etc.).

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 65, 1st ed.

⁹ By Brugsch, conjecturally (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 66, 1st ed.).

¹⁰ See a paper by M. Mariette in the *Revue Archéologique* for September, 1864.

¹¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 16; De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 38.

¹² *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 17.

¹³ The tomb, No. 56 at Ghizeh, of which a representation is given in the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 16.

¹⁴ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 41, note 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 39.

¹⁶ Khufu seems to have employed his son, Saf-hotep, as his chief architect; at least, this son takes the title of "chief of the works to the king" (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 43). He is buried in a tomb close to the Great Pyramid (*ibid.*).

¹⁷ De Rougé has suggested that Seneferu may have begun, and Khufu have completed, the Great Pyramid (*Recherches*, p. 41). But there is no sufficient reason for connecting Seneferu with it.

¹⁸ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 335 (quoted above, vol. i, p. 205, note 2).

¹⁹ *Supra*, vol. i, pp. 97-101.

²⁰ Herod. ii, 124. The laborers are said to have been relieved every three months, so that 400,000 were employed in the course of each year.

- ²¹ So Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 34.
- ²² *Supra*, vol. i, p. 101.
- ²³ Herod. *l.*, 124-9.
- ²⁴ The identification of the pyramid-builders with the "Shepherds" (Herod. ii, 128), unhistorical as it was, indicated the abhorrence in which their memories were held; for the "Shepherds" were detested by the Egyptians of the New Empire.
- ²⁵ See above, vol. i, pp. 150, and 237.
- ²⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 335.
- ²⁷ See the description of the southern stone pyramid of Dashoor in vol. i, pp. 336.
- ²⁸ See the woodcut, Fig. 4.
- ²⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 36.
- ³⁰ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pl. 1; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 138.
- ³¹ As Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, l.s.c.) and Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 204, note ¹, 3d ed.).
- ³² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 32-8; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 69-76, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 337; De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 41-54.
- ³³ *Supra*, vol. i, pp. 155-157.
- ³⁴ Herod. ii, 124; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 56, d.
- ³⁵ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 46. It is possible that this inscription may be of a later date, as De Rougé suspects, and Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 81, 1st ed.), pronounces; but, if so, it was at any rate modelled on the lines of some inscription of the time, the phrases of which it probably reproduced without much alteration.
- ³⁶ De Rougé, p. 47. Brugsch, however, translates differently (*History of Egypt*, l.s.c.).
- ³⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.
- ³⁸ *I.e.* the Greek epitomists, Africanus and Eusebius (see Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, pp. 56, d, and 57, c).
- ³⁹ Khufu connects with himself especially Horus and Kneph. He represents Thoth on his tablet at the Wady Magharah. His wife regards him as an impersonation of Horus and Set (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 45). He builds a temple to Isis, whom he identifies with Athor; and he mentions with respect the temples of Osiris and of Harmachis, or the Sphinx (*ibid.* pp. 46-7).
- ⁴⁰ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 37.
- ⁴¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 42. Compare, for the fact, Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 76, 1st ed.).
- ⁴² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pls. 18-22.
- ⁴³ *Supra*, note 16.
- ⁴⁴ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 44.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 47. Compare Herod. ii, 126.
- ⁴⁶ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pls. 20 and 33.
- ⁴⁷ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 57-61.
- ⁴⁸ These have been carefully collected by De Rougé, and will be found in his *Recherches*, pp. 52-4,
- ⁴⁹ Herod. ii, 127.
- ⁵⁰ Diod. Sic. i, 64.
- ⁵¹ I am indebted for my knowledge of these statues to M. de Rougé's valuable work, *Recherches sur les Monuments*, etc., where two photographs are given, from one of which the accompanying illustration has been taken. The statues themselves are in the Museum of Boulaq.
- ⁵² De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 56. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 77, 1st ed.
- ⁵³ See above, vol. i, pp. 96, 99.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 203. The difference in the actual height of the edifices was one of 26½ feet in favor of the pyramid of Khufu. The difference in elevation of the summits above the plain was one of 6½ feet in favor of the pyramid of Shafra.
- ⁵⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 38; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 204, note ², 3d edit.
- ⁵⁶ Birch, l.s.c. On the other hand, it is quite possible that this temple may have been an older construction, and that Shafra only added to its ornamentation.
- ⁵⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 77, 1st ed.
- ⁵⁸ See above, vol. i, p. 101.
- ⁵⁹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 56.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 57-61.
- ⁶¹ On these animals, see above, vol. i, pp. 195-197. It is uncertain to which of these Merisankh was priestess, as the expression used upon her tomb is ambiguous.
- ⁶² De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 58-9.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 61-2.
- ⁶⁴ Herod. i, 173.
- ⁶⁵ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 59.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 57.
- ⁶⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 12 b.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pl. 42 a.
- ⁶⁹ Shafra, Menkaura, Aseskaf, Uskaf, and Sahura (Lepsius, l.s.c., pl. 42. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 77).
- ⁷⁰ Herod. ii, 129.
- ⁷¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 56, d.
- ⁷² *Denkmäler*, l.s.c.
- ⁷³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pl. 2 at the end of the volume, Nos. 23 and 24.
- ⁷⁴ Herod. l.s.c.
- ⁷⁵ See above, vol. i, p. 96. These dimensions are considerably less than those of the step-pyramid of Saccarah, and indicate an entire abandonment of the magnificent ideas of Khufu and Shafra.
- ⁷⁶ That is, as compared with the remarkable chamber of Khufu (see vol. i, p. 99). Otherwise, the construction is curious and worthy of notice. (Compare vol. i, pls. xiv, xv, figs. 42, 44.)
- ⁷⁷ See above, vol. i, p.
- ⁷⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40.
- ⁷⁹ There is a good representation of the lid of Menkaura's coffin in Col. Vyse's *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. ii, opp.

p. 94. and another in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 1.

⁸⁰ Translations, varying in a few particulars, are given by De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 65; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 83-4, 1st ed.; and Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40. I have followed these authorities where they agree, and referred to the text of Lepsius where they differ.

⁸¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 84, 1st ed.

⁸² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 41.

⁸³ Herod. ii. 129.

⁸⁴ See the "Ruhric" at the end of ch. lxiv (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v, pp. 209-10).

⁸⁵ Herod. ii. 129.

⁸⁶ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 66-7.

⁸⁷ De Rougé prefers the form Aseskaf (*Recherches*, pp. 66-75); Brugsch the form Shespes-kaf (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 85-7, 1st ed.). Dr. Birch allows either reading (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 41).

⁸⁸ De Rougé, p. 67.

⁸⁹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 42.

⁹⁰ Birch, l.s.c.

⁹¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 68-72.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁹³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 72. Brugsch reads the word Qebeh, but gives it the same meaning (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 87, 1st ed.).

⁹⁴ Uskaf, according to Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 87); Usurkaf, according to De Rougé (*Recherches*, pp. 75-80) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 47).

⁹⁵ See De Rougé's table in the *Recherches*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 76. De Rougé compares these princes to the "Cæsars" of the time of Diocletian and Constantine.

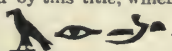
⁹⁷ Seneferu, Khufu, Shafra, Menkaura and perhaps Rataf, who, however, may have been a "Cæsar."

⁹⁸ De Rougé says: "Il résulte de notre inscription que les trois derniers noms de la quatrième dynastie, dans la liste d'Africain, n'ont pas de place chronologique sur les monuments: Bichérès, Séberchérès et Tamphthis sont évidemment interpolés dans cet endroit" (p. 75).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* l.s.c.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 80.

¹⁰¹ Mariette (in his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 54, e) gives a representation of a cylinder, now in the Museum of Boulogne, where the cartouche of Usurkaf is twice accompanied by this title, which

is written thus: 

De Rougé translates it by "le dieu faisant justice" in his *Recherches*, p. 79.

¹⁰² See above, p. 26.

¹⁰³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 41 a.

¹⁰⁴ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pl. i, No. 23; pl. ii, No. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 57, d.

¹⁰⁶ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 39 f.

¹⁰⁷ De Rougé, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. ii, p. 103; and compare the table at the end of the volume.

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp. 34, 35. The original Third Pyramid of Ghizeh is here meant, not the later enlarged one.

¹¹⁰ Bunsen, l.s.c.

¹¹¹ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 104.

¹¹² De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 82.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 88, 1st ed.; De Rougé, *Recherches*, l. s.c.

¹¹⁵ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pl. ii, at the end of the volume, No. 28.

¹¹⁶ Some of the blocks in the interior of the tomb of Ti had the name of Kaka on them, roughly painted in red by the masons (De Rougé, p. 97). It occurs also on the tomb of Senothemhet (*Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 75) and on a vase found at Saccarah (De Rougé, p. 84).

¹¹⁷ See De Rougé's table, No. 24.

¹¹⁸ Under the form Nefercheres. (Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 57, d).

¹¹⁹ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 43-49.

¹²⁰ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 85.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 86-8. Uer-khuu, besides being "scribe of the palace," "keeper of the writings," and "head receiver of petitions," was also "chief of the granaries," and "commander of the corps of recruits for the infantry service" (*ibid.* p. 86).

¹²² De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 75.

¹²³ This is the first instance of an Egyptian king with two names, one that given to him when he was a child, the other assumed at his accession. Persian monarchs had sometimes, in the same way, an original and a throne name (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 485, 2d ed.).

¹²⁴ *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 152 a.

¹²⁵ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 101

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 102.

¹²⁷ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 89.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 75.

¹²⁹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 58, a.

¹³⁰ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 55-59; De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 89-92.

¹³¹ De Rougé, p. 92.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 93.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 97.

¹³⁴ Birch says, with reference to this portrait: "He appears to have been youthful, with a good profile and rather a full face" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 48). De Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 99): "Il paraît jeune, et son profil est très-fin."

¹³⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 91; De Rougé, l.s.c.

¹⁵⁶ See the plate in M. de Rougé's *Recherches*, opp. p. 98, where I read these titles.

¹⁵⁷ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 39 c.

¹⁵⁸ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* l.s.c.

¹⁵⁹ The Turin papyrus gives the former, Manetho the latter number (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 75).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 99.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 40.

¹⁴² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 48. Compare the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 39 d.

¹⁴³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 100-1.

¹⁴⁵ This title is found at Wady Magharah, and also in a legend quoted by De Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 100, note¹). It was not as yet at all an ordinary title of the kings.

¹⁴⁶ *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 60-72, and 76-8.

¹⁴⁷ Khut-hotep, for instance, was "priest of the pyramids of Ranuser, Menkauhor, and Tatkara," "lord of the double treasury," "commandant of the granaries," "keeper of the records," and "governor of Memphis" (De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 101-2).

¹⁴⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 92, 1st ed.

¹⁴⁹ Dr. Brugsch calls him "the son of Unas" (l.s.c.); but De Rougé had pointed out the impossibility of this (*Recherches*, p. 102), since he wrote his book while Unas was still alive, and when his own age was 110.


¹⁵⁰ See below, p. 50.

¹⁵¹ This is an important point. The first marked division in the list of kings which appears in the Turin papyrus was after Unas, when there was an enumeration of the kings from the time of Menes, and of the sum total of the years of their reigns. (See De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 105.)

¹⁵² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 58, A.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁴ De Rougé observes very pertinently: "Si le Mustabat-el-Faraoun avait dû avoir primitivement la forme de pyramide tronquée, on ne voit pas pourquoi cette forme n'apparaîtrait pas comme déterminatif de la pyramide Nefer-asu" (*Recherches*, p. 103, note¹). But the determinative is the ordinary

complete pyramid, 

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 103.

¹⁵⁶ Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii, p. 53.

¹⁵⁷ See above, vol. i, p. 97.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 95, 99, etc.

¹⁵⁹ Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. i, p. 176.

¹⁶⁰ We must not make the mistake of converting this proposition, and assuming that "every pyramid is the tomb of a king" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 72, 1st ed.). Many, it is probable,

cover the bodies of mere princes and princesses. (See Herod. ii, 126.)

¹⁶¹ This would be true, even if the entire Third Pyramid were the work of Menkaura, for it is less than one-seventh of the size of the Second. But it is still more strikingly true, if we regard the original nucleus of the pyramid (see above, vol. i, Ch. vii, note¹⁰) as alone the work of Mencheres.

¹⁶² See vol. i, pp. 104-5.

¹⁶³ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 106.

¹⁶⁴ An excellent representation of this statue, taken from a photograph, will be found in the work of M. de Rougé so often quoted (*Recherches sur les Monuments*, etc., opp. p. 54).

¹⁶⁵ See the woodcut Fig. 61 of this volume.

¹⁶⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 38, 43; De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 54, 93; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 337; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 78, 1st ed.; etc.

¹⁶⁷ As with the Æginetan marbles in the Glyptothek at Munich. Some from Branchidæ in the British Museum are more on a par with the Egyptian.

¹⁶⁸ *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 340-1.

¹⁶⁹ Birch holds that there was a "canon of proportions" always, but that it varied at different periods (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 270, note, edition of 1878). Lenormant is of opinion that at first the artists were free (*Manuel*, vol. i, p. 340).

¹⁷⁰ See above, pp. 21-2.

¹⁷¹ Of Nut and Seb on the coffin-lid of Menkaura, of Khem in the name Khemten (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 50) and in the title taken by Shafra (supra, p. 63), of Kneph in Khufu's prefix, of Neith and Ma in the mention of their prophetesses (De Rougé, pp. 86, 88, 91, 97, etc.), of Saf in the name Saf-hotep (ib. p. 43) and in the appellation *Saf-meri*, "beloved of Saf," applied to a certain Akauhor (ib. p. 84), and of Heka in one of the employments of Pahenuka which includes her name (ib. p. 88).

¹⁷² De Rougé, pp. 72, 80, etc.

¹⁷³ Ptah-ases, the favorite of Menkaura and Asekaf, was priest both of Phthah (Ptah) and of Sokari (ib. p. 71).

¹⁷⁴ Rataf, Shaf-ra, Menkaura, Sahu-ra, Neferarkara, Ranuser, and Tatkara.

¹⁷⁵ Supra, pp. 33 and 42.

¹⁷⁶ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 65. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 41-2.

¹⁷⁸ Supra, p. 35.

¹⁷⁹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 44, 58-61, etc. Perhaps the females attached to the worship of Apis should be called "prophetesses" rather than "priest-

esses." Their title is *neter hon-*

not ab, 

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 51.
¹⁸¹ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 78, 79.

¹⁸² *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii.
¹⁸³ *Ibid.* pls. 73, 97. This, however, is very unusual.

¹⁸⁴ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 13, 50 b. The former of these two monuments belongs to the time of Shafra.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 80 c.
¹⁸⁶ Scribes are seen at work from the time of Shafra. They have a pen or paint-brush in the right hand and one or two behind the ear. With their left hand they hold their paper and palette. They commonly sit or squat at their work. (See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 9, 11, 19, 51, etc.)

¹⁸⁷ For glass-blowing, see the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pls. 23 and 74; and for the other trades named, see especially pl. 49 of the same work.

¹⁸⁸ Domesticated antelopes are frequently represented in the tombs. (See *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 12 b, 17 b, 23, 80, 140, etc.)

¹⁸⁹ Seven kinds of domesticated birds, with their respective names, are figured on a tomb, given in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 70.

¹⁹⁰ Cranes or herons are also very frequently represented among the poultry of a farm (*ibid.* pls. 17 b, 45 c, 50 b, etc.).

¹⁹¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 45.
¹⁹² *Denkmäler*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pl. 9.

¹⁹³ Foxes appear in pls. 11, 14 c, 15 b, 45 c, etc.; hares in pls. 3, 12 b, and elsewhere; the common small monkey in pls. 36 b and c; and the cynocephalous ape in pl. 13.

¹⁹⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 36.
¹⁹⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 96 s.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pls. 13, 49, 56 s, etc.
¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pls. 12 b and 46.

¹⁹⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.
¹⁹⁹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 43 a, 47, 56, 80 c, 106 b, etc.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pls. 10, 12 a, 22 d, etc.
²⁰¹ *Ibid.* pls. 22 d, 45 a, 64 bis, etc. For a representation, see above, vol. i, pl. lxxiv, figs. 188, 189.

²⁰² See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 45 b.
²⁰³ *Ibid.* pls. 62, 103, and 104. Compare Herod. ii, 96.

²⁰⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 12 b, 60, 77, etc.; Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 17.

²⁰⁵ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 99-100 (edition of 1878), and Birch's note.

²⁰⁶ For one representation, see above, pl. i, fig. 2; and for another, see vol. i, pl. iii., No. 2.

²⁰⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 12 and 46.
²⁰⁸ Birch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 100, note.

²⁰⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 17 c, 36 a, 42 and 52.

²¹⁰ See above, vol. i, pp. 253.
²¹¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 12 b.

²¹² *Denkmäler*, pls. 36 b, 52, 74 c, etc.

²¹³ See the *Bampton Lectures* of the present Bishop of Derry, pp. 177-80.

²¹⁴ As, for instance, the following:

1. "If thou art become great after thou hast been humble, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, and art come to be the first man in thy city; if thou art known for thy wealth, and hast become a great lord, let not thy heart grow proud because of thy riches: for it is God who has given them unto thee."

2. "Despise not another who is as thou wast; be towards him as towards thine equal."

3. "Happiness makes one content with any abode: but a small disgrace darkens the life of a great man."

4. "Good words shine more than the emerald which the hand of the slave finds among a heap of pebbles."

5. "The wise man is satisfied with what he knows: content dwells in his heart, and his lips speak words that are good."

6. "Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest. Has any one, who has once entered the grave, come forth from it?"

²¹⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 52, 57 b, 61 a, etc.

²¹⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 45.
²¹⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 12 b, 27, 30, 36 c, 67, 68, etc.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* pls. 57 b, 61 a, 69, 71 a, etc.
²¹⁹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 50 and 98 b. In the former representation the number of the bearers would seem to be twelve, in the latter twenty-six. The primitive palanquin is of a ruder kind than that represented in vol. i, p. 535, which belongs to the time of the twelfth dynasty.

²²⁰ See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 20, and compare the illustration facing p. 85. For a wooden head of this period, see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, opp. p. vii, 1st ed.

²²¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 64 bis, b, and 104 c.

²²² See above, p. 30.
²²³ As Joseph did (Gen. xxxix. 1-4).

²²⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 46.

CHAPTER XV.

¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 57, D.
² *Ibid.* p. 53, A.

³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 76-7.
⁴ *Ibid.* p. 114. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 96, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 51.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 4.
⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 98-101, 1st ed.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pls. 105-117.

⁷ No doubt the granite, syenite, etc., used in the pyramids and other constructions of these kings, must have been obtained from Upper Egypt, and the free employment of these materials makes it probable that their authority

extended to Syêné: but this probability falls considerably short of a proof. It is quite possible that they imported the granite from the dominions of other friendly kings.

⁸ It is conceivable, however, that even at this time there may have been independent kings in the western part of the Delta, at Saïs, for instance, or Xoïs, or even at Sehennytus (Semnood).

⁹ The only indications of war furnished by the pyramid period are the tablets of Seneferu, Khufu, Sahura, and Ranuser at Wady Magharah, and the employment of certain military hieroglyphs. (De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 91, 104, etc.).

¹⁰ These four monarchs form a connected group in the monuments (De Rougé, pp. 148-9), and in the table of Saccarah. The inscription of Una closely unites three of the four, Teta, Pepi, and Merenra (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 3 and 6).

¹¹ Each king is so absorbed in the glories of his divine ancestry as to neglect all reference to his human progenitors. The kings generally seem ashamed of acknowledging that they had any earthly father.

¹² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 115 f.

¹³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 149.

¹⁴ As Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 343).

¹⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 97, 1st ed. De Rougé (l.s.c.) thinks Atl may have held either position.

¹⁶ *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 115 h. The name has the cartouche certainly; but it is not preceded or followed by any royal title.

¹⁷ Una's inscription (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 3) is sufficient proof of this.

¹⁸ Or "Tat-setu," according to Brugsch (l.s.c.). Its position is at present unknown.

¹⁹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 110-11.

²⁰ *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.

²¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 115 a.

²² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 58, b. This has generally been understood to be Manetho's view, according to Africanus. Eusebius, however, makes Manetho say that Pepi (Phiops) ascended the throne at the age of six, and lived to be a hundred (ib. 58, d).

²³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 6-8.

²⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 116 a.

²⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 52; *Denkmäler*, l.s.c.

²⁶ The tablet consists of two parts. In the left-hand compartment Pepi is represented as king of Upper Egypt, slaying one of the Mentu; in the right-hand one he appears as king of Lower Egypt, hearing the flagellum and rinning.

²⁷ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 99, 1st ed. Compare De Rougé,

(*Recherches*, p. 122) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 52).

²⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 4, line 14.

²⁹ So Brugsch reads the word (*History of Egypt* vol. i, p. 100, 1st ed.). Others give the name as "Nam" (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 41, line 15).

³⁰ *Records*, vol. ii, p. 5. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 124.

³¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 125.

³² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 6.

³³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 127.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 101, 1st ed.

³⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 344.

³⁷ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 344.

³⁸ *Recherches*, p. 127, note.

³⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 19.

⁴⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 3.

⁴¹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 116, note.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴³ See above, p. 56.

⁴⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 115 a, e, f, i.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 117.

⁴⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 98, 1st ed.

⁴⁷ Pepi takes it again at Wady Magharah (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 116 a), and it is assumed also by Ranuser (ib. pl. 152 a). Compare Ptah-hotep's acknowledgment: "I have passed 110 years of life by the gift of the king" (supra, p. 50).

⁴⁸ *Recherches*, p. 116. He omits to note that it occurs as early as the time of Khufu. (See the *Denkmäler*, part ii, pl. 2 b.)

⁴⁹ *Recherches*, p. 117.

⁵⁰ On the recognition of this division, see above, vol. i, p. 113, note 105.

⁵¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 3, 4.

⁵² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 6, line 6.

⁵³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 129.

⁵⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 4.

⁵⁵ See M. de Rougé's *Recherches*, pp. 130-1, where the inscription is given at length.

⁵⁶ Or "head of the entire sacerdotal order," as De Rougé explains (id. p. 132).

⁵⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Sixty cubits long by thirty wide, according to Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 105, 1st ed.).

⁶⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 8. Dr. Birch is of opinion that this implies some considerable difference in the condition of the Nile waters about the site of the First Cataract in ancient and modern times (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 54).

⁶¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 116 b. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 135.

⁶² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 53.

⁶³ See De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 108.

⁶⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 116 a (right-hand compartment).

⁶⁵ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 129.

⁶⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 116 a (right-hand compartment). The female figure with a lotus must, I think, represent Ankhnes-merira herself.

⁶⁷ The Manethonian statement, that Binethris of the second dynasty made a law allowing females to succeed to the throne, cannot be regarded as of much weight, more especially as no practical result is said to have followed.

⁶⁸ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 58, B.

⁶⁹ Herod. ii, 100.

⁷⁰ See the note of Wilkinson on the above passage in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 142, 2d edit. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 108.

⁷¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 345; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 107-9, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 54.

⁷² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* l.s.c.

⁷³ Herod. ii, 134.

⁷⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 96; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 108, 1st ed.

⁷⁵ As those of Sahura and Ranuser (supra, pp. 39 and 40-1).

⁷⁶ Herod. l.s.c. Compare Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. ii, p. 120.

⁷⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 107, 108, 1st ed.

⁷⁸ Manetho's numbers furnish the sole basis for any measurement at all; but these are at this point in a deplorable condition. Eusebius and Africanus differed with respect to them to the extent of 355 years!

⁷⁹ Lenormant says of these: "L'art primitif avait atteint son apogée sous la sixième dynastie. C'est dans les tombes exécutées alors que l'on trouve ces belles statues élancées, au visage rond, à la bouche souriante, au nez fin, aux épaules larges, aux jambes musculeuses, dont le Musée du Louvre possède un des plus remarquables échantillons dans la figure d'un scribe accroupi que l'on a placée au centre d'une des salles du premier étage" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 346). Birch remarks: "Sculpture is admirably shown in the statues of the period" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 55).

⁸⁰ As, for instance, in the sepulchral tablet, numbered 832, in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum.

⁸¹ See particularly the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 105 and 111 b.

⁸² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 55: "No temples of the period remain."

⁸³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 105-111.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* pls. 106, 107.

⁸⁵ See the representation in vol. i, of this work (pl. lxxvii, fig. 198), which is from a tomb of this period.

⁸⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 108. In the pyramid period we find one dog only, which stands high on its legs and has a stiffly curled tail (supra, pl. i, fig. 2, vol. i; pl. liii. No. 2.

⁸⁷ *Denkmäler*, l.s.c.

⁸⁸ As in a statue of the period, now in the British Museum, No. 55.

⁸⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 151.

⁹⁰ The writer of the "Praise of Learning" mentions, besides scribes or men of letters, the employments of the blacksmith, the carpenter, the stone-cutter, the barber, the boatman, the agricultural laborer, the builder, the gardener, the farmer, the weaver, the armorer, the courier, the dyer, the sandal-maker, the washerman, the fowler, and the fisherman. Representations occur in the tombs of goldsmiths, glass-blowers, potters, tailors, upholsterers, boatbuilders, sculptors, musicians, professional dancers, brickmakers, domestic servants, etc. Embalmers also were, we know, a separate class.

⁹¹ See Dr. Birch's "Introduction" (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 146).

⁹² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 3-8.

⁹³ For a copy of the inscription, and a sketch of the altar itself, see the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iii, pls. 1-3, opp. p. 112.

⁹⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 159.

⁹⁵ *Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Society*, vol. iii, p. 114.

⁹⁶ *Supra*, vol. i, pp. 164-7.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 182-3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 169-170.

⁹⁹ The earthly and the infernal—"Thoth in the house of selection," and "Thoth at the balance" (supra, vol. i, p. 10).

¹⁰⁰ Sabak, for instance, is worshipped in five cities, Horus or Harmachis in nine, Anubis in three, Athor in three, etc.

¹⁰¹ *Supra*, vol. i, p. 189.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 185-6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 187-8.

¹⁰⁴ *Denkmäler*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pl. 115 c.

¹⁰⁵ Compare above, pp. 21-2 and 46.

CHAPTER XVI.

¹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 338, and 346, 347; Stuart Poole in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 508.

² See above, page 54.

³ M. Mariette says: "Quand, avec la onzième dynastie, on voit l'Égypte se réveiller de son long sommeil, les anciennes traditions sont oubliées. Les noms propres usités dans les anciennes familles, les titres donnés aux fonctionnaires, l'écriture elle-même et jusqu'à la religion, tout en elle semble nouveau." (See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 349.)

⁴ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 243.

⁵ Eighteen names of kings are given by Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 110, 1st ed.) as belonging to these dynasties. They are taken from the "New Table of Abydos," set up by Seti I. The general character of the names

accords with those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties. The most frequent is that of Neferkara.

⁶ According to Africanus, Manetho assigned to the seventh dynasty 70 days, to the eighth 146 years, to the ninth 409 years, to the tenth 185 years—total, 740 years and 70 days. According to Eusebius, his numbers were: for the seventh dynasty, 75 days; for the eighth and ninth, 100 years each; for the tenth, 185 years—total, 385 years, 75 days. By an arbitrary correction and combination of these two accounts, M. Lenormant produces for the period a total of 436 years (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 321), which Dr. Birch adopts (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 57). Bunsen, following Eratosthenes, and bending Manetho's numbers into accordance, reckons the actual length of the interval at 166 years (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 217-246).

⁷ *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 346.

⁸ *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁹ *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 347.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Manetho's numbers, as reported by Africanus, are—

	Years
“or the fourth dynasty,	274
“ fifth “	248
“ sixth “	203
	—
Total . . .	725

But the items of the reigns in the fifth dynasty produce the number 218 instead of 248. The substitution of this number would bring the sum total within the period of seven centuries.

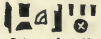
¹² See above, vol. i, p. 8.

¹³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 112-15, 1st ed.

¹⁴ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 415-421.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 415-16; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 112, 1st ed.

¹⁶ Wilkinson, p. 420.

¹⁷ Birch gives the hieroglyphic form as  (*Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 584). The phonetic part of this group would be properly rendered by Apt or Apet.

¹⁸ So Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 3, note 5.

¹⁹ Herod. ii, 166; Plin. *H. N.* v, 9; Ptol. *Geograph.* iv, 5; etc.

²⁰ See the passage from Mariette, quoted ch. xvi, note 3.

²¹ In the time of Amasis, it was said that the number of inhabited cities in Egypt was 20,000 (Herod. ii, 177). This, no doubt, is a rhetorical exaggeration, but from fifty to sixty well-known cities might be numerated.

²² All the epitomes agree in this statement.

²³ Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire An-*

cienne, vol. i, p. 348) reckons to this dynasty six kings only. Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 58) makes the number eight. Dr. Brugsch avoids a definite statement, but distinctly mentions only five (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 110-18, 1st ed.).

²⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 115-117, 1st ed. Sankh-ka-ra is not acknowledged by either Dr. Birch or M. Lenormant; but M. Chabas seems to have established positively both his existence and his place in the eleventh dynasty.

²⁵ Leemans, *Lettres à Salvolini*, pp. 28 et seqq.; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 232.

²⁶ The diadem was of gold, and its royal character was marked by the uræus. It is now in the Leyden Museum.

²⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 58. The coffin is in the British Museum.

²⁸ See the inscription upon his tomb, which is given by M. Mariette in his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 49.

²⁹ See the *Monuments Divers*, pl. 49. A copy of this plate appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv, opp. p. 172, accompanied by a very instructive commentary, the work of Dr. Birch.

³⁰ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 74, 90, and 211, 2d ed.

³¹ *Ancient Egypt*, p. 58.

³² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 111, 1st ed.; Birch, l.s.c.

³³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 59.

³⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 113, 1st ed.

³⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 113, 1st ed.

³⁶ See the *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 4.

³⁸ See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. x, No. 156.

³⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 59-60. One of the commissioners says: "His holiness ordered me to go to this beautiful mountain, with the soldiers and principal persons of the whole country."

⁴⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 110, 1st ed.

⁴¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 11-19; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 83; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 378; etc.

⁴² *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 114, 1st ed.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 14; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁴⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 115-16, 1st ed. A transcript of the original will be found in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 150 a.

⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 421; Belzoni, *Researches*, map opp. p. 485.

⁴⁷ On the early commerce of Bahrein, see Sir H. Rawlinson's "Notes on Cap-

tain Durand's Report," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1879, pp. 13-39.

⁴⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 117, 1st ed.

⁴⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 13, 19.

⁵⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 115, 1st ed.

⁵¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 115, 1st ed., and compare for a fuller account the French version published by Brugsch himself in the year 1875, p. 82, where Bes is called "la divinité de la joie, de la musique et des plaisirs, celui qui chasse le mal," and where his connection with the toilet tables of *grandes dames* is noticed. It is certainly remarkable how often cases for stibium, mirror handles, and other toilet articles are shaped into the image of this hideous god (Birch, *Guide to Museum*, pp. 28, 34, etc.).

⁵² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 12, note 6.

⁵³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 122, 1st ed.

⁵⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 12, § 5, ad fin.

⁵⁵ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 348.

⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 111, 1st ed.

⁵⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14, § 11.

⁵⁸ Herodotus says that he omits the names of certain kings, since "they left no memorial of themselves," and are therefore not worth mentioning (ii, 101-2).

⁵⁹ The famous "Labyrinth," of which some account will be given in the next chapter.

⁶⁰ See the "Stelé of Iritisen" (*Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 3, 4); and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 121-2, 1st ed.

⁶¹ Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 17-19.

⁶² See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 49; and compare below, p. 76.

⁶³ Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 50.

⁶⁴ See the preface of Professor Maspero, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁵ There is an *Amen-en-hat* who was employed under Mentu-hotep II. to convey his sarcophagus from the valley of Hammamât to the capital (supra, p. 71). There is also an *Amen-sat*, the wife of a sculptor of the time, in one of the sepulchral tablets of the British Museum (Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 33). The *Amen-en-hat* who became king must have received his name under the eleventh dynasty.

⁶⁶ See Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 125.

⁶⁷ Mentu, Khem, and Neith are represented together on a tablet set up by Mentu-hotep II. at the island of Konosso (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 150 c). The sepulchral tablets of the British Museum

show a *Mentu-aa*, a *Mentu-sa*, and a *Mentu-em-hat* among the names of the period (Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 19, 26, 28).

⁶⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 149 c, 150 b, c, and d.

⁶⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 3; Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 20, No. 462.

⁷⁰ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 145 c, 147 b, and 148 d. Dr. Birch holds that "shoes were unknown" in ancient Egypt (*Ancient Egypt*, "Introduction," p. xv). But they have been found at Thebes (Wilkinson, *A. E.*, vol. ii, p. 337, ed. of 1878), and certainly the representation in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 149 c, is of shoes and not sandals.

⁷¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 145 d and 148 a.

⁷² *Ibid.* pls. 147 a and 148 c, d.

⁷³ Compare Dr. Birch's article in the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. iv, pp. 172 et seqq.

CHAPTER XVII.

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 11,

§ 2.

² "As for myself," says Amen-em-hat, "I have given to the humble, and made the weak exist;" and again, "I have made the afflicted ones to be no longer afflicted, and their cries to be heard no more" (*ibid.* pp. 11-12. §§ 3 and 5).

³ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 122, 1st ed.

⁴ *Supra*, p. ch. xvi, note 65.

⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 12-13, §§ 6 and 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. vi, pp. 137-8.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 14, § 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, and compare an inscription found by Dr. Lüttge, near Korosko, which is to this effect: "In the twenty-ninth year of King Amen-em-hat—long may he live—he came here to beat the inhabitants of the land of Uauat." (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 123, 1st ed.)

¹⁰ In the "Story of Saneha" the following account is given of the prowess of Usurtasen in his early youth:

Moreover, he is a valiant man.
Doing deeds of strength with his sword,
There is not his equal.

Behold him going up against the Petti;
He suppresses violence; he chastens pride;

He abases regions; his enemies rise not up again;

That which is before him stands not,
But bows the knee. . . .

He is joyful when he sees multitudes,
He lets not his heart remain behind.

He is cheerful when he sees contest:
He rejoices when he goes up against the Petti.

(*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 137.)

¹¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14, § 10.

¹² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14, § 10.

¹³ *Ibid.* vol. vi, p. 135, li. 23-4.

¹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 125, 1st ed.; and compare the map which accompanies his second volume.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 124; and compare the French edition (p. 85), which is fuller.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61.

¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 124, 1st ed.

¹⁹ Birch, *l.s.c.*

²⁰ Brugsch, *l.s.c.*

²¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 14-15, § 13.

²² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 124, 1st ed.

²³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14, § 12.

²⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 34.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 255.

²⁶ Herod. ii, 70.

²⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 13, § 8.

²⁸ This fact is glanced at, without being distinctly stated, in the "Instructions," §§ 4, 8. It is seen very clearly in the "Story of Saneha," where the royal dignity of both father and son and their joint participation in governmental acts are apparent (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 137-42).

²⁹ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 127, 1st ed. Dr. Birch makes the joint reign one of the seven years only (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 60).

³⁰ The "Instructions" have been translated and published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 11-16.

³¹ The text of § 15 of the "Instructions" is both mutilated and corrupt; so that its meaning is obscure; but to me it seems to have had the intention expressed above.

³² The name, Khepr-ka-ra, is assigned to him by the author of the "Story of Saneha," while Amen-em-hat is still living (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 142).

³³ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 78.

³⁴ Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 50 a.

³⁵ The height of the obelisk of Antef is no more than 3½ mètres, or less than eleven feet.

³⁶ *Description de l'Égypt*, "Antiquités," vol. i, p. 229.

³⁷ For a good representation of this obelisk and its inscriptions, see the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 118. The translation given in the text is taken in the main from Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 131, 1st ed.).

³⁸ See above, vol. i, p. 112.

³⁹ 1 Kings vii, 21.

⁴⁰ See the measurements in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 119, which, added together, amount to 12-62 mètres, or 41 ft. 4 in.

⁴¹ See above, vol. i, pp. 154-6 and compare Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 177-8.

⁴² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 133; vol. ii, p. 181; 1st ed.

⁴³ *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 140.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 141-2.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 348, 3d ed.



⁴⁶ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 91; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 353.

⁴⁷ Brugsch, *l.s.c.*; Lenormant, p. 350.

⁴⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 138, 1st ed. The Wady Halfa memorial is now in the Museum of Florence.

⁴⁹ *Supra*, pp. 56-8.

⁵⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14, § 12.

⁵¹ The sign for "gold" in Egyptian is  or , which is read as *neb* or *nub*. Nubia is written

 = Nubi.

⁵² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 136-8, 1st ed.

⁵³ Such is the latest reading of the names (Brugsch, p. 139). Formerly they were read as Semit, Hesaa, Chaat, and Arqin (see the French version, p. 91).

⁵⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 62.

⁵⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 136, 1st ed.

⁵⁶ Birch, *l.s.c.*

⁵⁷ "Mentu-hotep remplissait à la fois les fonctions de ministre de la justice, de l'intérieur, des travaux publics, du culte, et peut-être aussi celles de ministre des affaires étrangères et de la guerre" (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 92).

⁵⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 141, 1st ed. Compare Esther iii, 2.

⁵⁹ Brugsch says "three" (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 120, 1st ed.), Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 64), "four years."

⁶⁰ Birch speaks of "the forty-fourth year of Amen-em-hat II." (ib. p. 65); but Manetho gave him thirty-eight years only; and Brugsch (*l.s.c.*) obtains the same number from the monuments.

⁶¹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 350; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 144, 1st ed.

⁶² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 65.

⁶³ This king, not otherwise known, is thought to have belonged to the disturbed time between the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, and to have been among the ancestors of the Usurtasens and Amen-em-hats (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 146, 1st ed.).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 147.

⁶⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 123-33.

⁶⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 148 and 150, 1st ed.

⁶⁷ The name is given as Kha-ka-ra in the English translation of Brugsch's

Egypt (p. 147); but it is Kha-khepr-ra in the French edition of 1875, and also in Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 622), who follows Lepsius (*Königsbuch*, Taf. vii, No. 181).

⁶⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 131, 133. Compare the descriptions of Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, pp. 65-7) and Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 155-7).

⁶⁹ Compare Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 288; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 65; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 157, 1st ed.; Cook in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i, p. 450.

⁷⁰ *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 120.

⁷¹ *Ancient Egypt*, p. 67.

⁷² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 60, d.

⁷³ De Rougé, *Revue Archéologique* for 1847, vol. iv, pp. 478 et seqq.; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 291; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 67; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 162-4, 1st ed.; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 500-2.

⁷⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 159.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 160. See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 136 i.

⁷⁶ Brugsch, p. 161; *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 136 h.

⁷⁷ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 290-1.

⁷⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 160, 1st ed.

⁷⁹ Birch says that he "set up his statue on the spot" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 67); but the inscription quoted by Brugsch (*Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 102) merely states that he had given permission for its erection.

⁸⁰ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 136 a. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 163, 1st ed.

⁸¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 136 b.

⁸² *Ibid.* pl. 136 c.

⁸³ Manetho substituted the name of Sesostri for that of Usurtasen, according to both Eusebius and Africanus (ap. Syncell *Chronograph*. vol. i, p. 59, d, and p. 60, c), and assigned him the actions which Herodotus ascribes to that monarch (ii, 102-3). He called the father of Rameses II., not Sesostri, but Sethos.

⁸⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 161, 1st ed.

⁸⁵ Job xix, 24.

⁸⁶ Herod. ii, 110.

⁸⁷ Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 501; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 291; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 162-4, 1st ed.

⁸⁸ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*. l.s.c.

⁸⁹ Herod. ii, 103-6. The sculptures in Asia Minor ascribed by Herodotus to Sesostri are thought by Mr. Sayce to be Hittite. They are certainly not Egyptian.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 103.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* ii, 108-10,

⁹² *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 351.

⁹³ As to Men-kau-ra, Men-kau-hor, Amen-em-hat II., Nefer-hotep II., and others.

⁹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 171, 1st ed.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ See above, vol. i, p. 10.

⁹⁷ On Egyptian famines, see the *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. vii, p. 332; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 263-4, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 68; Rawlinson, *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament*, pp. 51-2.

⁹⁸ Compare above, vol. i, p. 85; and see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 165, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 68; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 352.

⁹⁹ The desert generally is considerably above the level of the valley of the Nile: the lower part of the Fayoum is 130 feet below it.

¹⁰⁰ Herod. ii, 101, 149; Diod. Sic. i, 66; Strab. xvii, 1, § 37. The old notion that the Birket-el-Keroun represents the Lake Moeris, though supported by the important authority of Jomard (*Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pp. 79-114), is now pretty generally exploded. The investigations of M. Linant de Bellefonds, embodied in his work, *Mémoire sur le lac Moeris* (Alexandria, 1843), satisfied Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 226, note 7, 3d edit.) and even Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 328-50); and his conclusions have been adopted by almost all recent critics. They are, however, curiously misrepresented by Dean Blakesley (*Herodotus with a Commentary*, vol. i, pp. 303-8).

¹⁰¹ See the map, Fig. 16, which follows M. Linant de Bellefonds, and compare Herod. ii, 149, which gives the lake this direction. The Birket-el-Keroun runs nearly from east to west.

¹⁰² Linant de Bellefonds, *Mémoire*, p. 20.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Herod. ii, 149; Strab. xvii, 1, § 37. The calculations of M. Linant de Bellefonds (pp. 22-24) show that the waters of the lake, besides irrigating the northern and western portions of the Fayoum, would have sufficed for the supply of the whole western bank of the Nile from Beni-Souef to the embouchure at Canopus during one half of the year.

¹⁰⁵ Towards the north the width of the embankment, according to M. de Bellefonds (p. 19), was sixty mètres, or nearly 200 feet; but this could be only at the base.

¹⁰⁶ M. Lenormant observes, with justice, that the works constructed by Amen-em-hat III. were as vast as those of the fourth dynasty, and considerably more useful (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 351),

- ¹⁰⁷ Diod. Sic. i. 52, § 2; Strab. l.s.c.
- ¹⁰⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 167, 1st ed.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 69.
- ¹¹⁰ See vol. i, note ⁸⁹, ch. I.
- ¹¹¹ Herod. ii, 148; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, pp. 59-60; Diod. Sic. i. 61; Strab. xvii, 1, § 38; etc.
- ¹¹² See Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii, 13, where the work of Amen-em-hat is compared with that ascribed to Dædalus in Crete.
- ¹¹³ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 226, note ², 3d ed.
- ¹¹⁴ Herod. ii, 148.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, opp. p. 634.
- ¹¹⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 136.
- ¹¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 171, 1st ed.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.
- ¹²¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 50.
- ¹²² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 60, A.
- ¹²³ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 140. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 174, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 73.
- ¹²⁴ Birch, p. 72; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 373.
- ¹²⁵ Herod. ii, 149. Herodotus probably beheld Lake Mæris from the site of the Labyrinth. At the horizon, between seven and eight miles off, he would see the pyramids of Biamo crowned with their statues (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pl. xx, opp. p. 373). The lake would form his horizon on either side of the pyramids, and he would not be able to see that it did not extend beyond Biamo.
- ¹²⁶ Bunsen, vol. ii, p. 354.
- ¹²⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 73.
- ¹²⁸ The *mafka* of the hieroglyphical inscriptions is regarded by Dr. Brugsch as "the turquoise" (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 172, 1st ed.).
- ¹²⁹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 353.
- ¹³⁰ *Supra*, p. 74, 75.
- ¹³¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 157, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 66.
- ¹³² Gen. xxxvii, 25.
- ¹³³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 131-3. The six-stringed lyre carried by one of the immigrants (pl. 133) is of a form quite new in Egypt at the period.
- ¹³⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 14-15, § 13.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12, § 6.
- ¹³⁶ Herod. ii, 148. Allowing for a large amount of exaggeration, we must still conclude, from the account given by this writer, that the number of apartments in the palace, known as "the Labyrinth," was prodigious.
- ¹³⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 134, b, d, e.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.* pls. 128 and 129.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.* pls. 129-132.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* pl. 128, upper line.
- ¹⁴¹ A lion is represented as wounded by two arrows in one of the scenes depicted upon the tomb of Khnumhotep (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 132). That kings hunted the lion at this period appears from the "Instructions of Amen-em-hat" (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 14).
- ¹⁴² Birch in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv, p. 177. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 131; and for other varieties of the canine species see pls. 132 and 134.
- ¹⁴³ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 126. For a representation, see above, vol. i, pl. 76, fig. 195.
- ¹⁴⁴ See above, vol. i, pl. 39, Fig. 96; and compare *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 126, upper line.
- ¹⁴⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 6 and 175, 1st ed.
- ¹⁴⁶ Herod. ii, 148.
- ¹⁴⁷ On the early date at which the form of the obelisk was known to the Egyptians, see above, p. 31.
- ¹⁴⁸ Herod. ii, 149. It is clear that a pyramid must have been truncated to allow of the superimposition of a colossal statue. The combination can scarcely have been very satisfactory. (See Bunsen's attempted restoration of the two pyramids of Biamo, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pl. 20.)
- ¹⁴⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 15.
- ¹⁵⁰ Probably it had been greatly added to by later kings before the time of Herodotus's visit.
- ¹⁵¹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 226, note ², 3d ed.
- ¹⁵² See above, vol. i, p. 103.
- ¹⁵³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 134, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 353.
- ¹⁵⁴ See especially the tomb of Khnumhotep, represented in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pls. 126-132.
- ¹⁵⁵ Lenormant, l.s.c.
- ¹⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 178, 1st ed.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 81. Ammon holds the first place in the highest compartment on this monument.
- ¹⁵⁸ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 135, 146, 1st ed.; Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 20, 27, 32, 33, 34, etc.
- ¹⁵⁹ Sabak is represented in the third line of the Fayoum obelisk, and is placed on a par with Thoth, and before Kneph, Sati, Shu, Athor, Khem, and Horus (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 119). His name becomes an element in royal and other appellations (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 174, 1st ed.; Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 25, 26, 27, 31, etc.).
- ¹⁶⁰ Compare above, p. 74.
- ¹⁶¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 136, 1st ed.
- ¹⁶² *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 137.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 145.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 148.
- ¹⁶⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 150, ll. 75, 76, 1st ed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 184, 1st edit.; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 434-7; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 358-60; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 349-51, 3d edit.

² Xoïs is the modern Kasit (Egypt, *Khasan*) in the lower portion of the tract between the Damietta and Rosetta mouths, about lat. 31° 6'. It lay north-east of Sais and northwest of Seben-nytus.

³ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 61, A.

⁴ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 188, 1st ed.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 185-6. Compare Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 359.

⁶ Brugsch, vol. i, pp. 184-5, 1st ed.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 186. I do not, however, find the sense of "servant" among the meanings of *hotep* in Birch. (See the *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, pp. 404-5.)

⁸ As Dr. Brugsch supposes (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 189, 1st ed.).

⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 151 c.

¹⁰ Brugsch, p. 192; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.

¹¹ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, pp. 120-1.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 132.

¹³ *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 151 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 151 h.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 151 g.

¹⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74; *Denkmäler*, pl. 151 e.

¹⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 192, 1st ed.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. ii, p. 2.

²⁰ Ex. i, 1; Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. ii, p. 149; Dean Payne Smith, *Bampton Lectures for 1869*, pp. 79 et seq.

²¹ *Supra*, p. 84.

²² As Migdol ("a tower"), whence the Greek Magdolon; Succoth ("tents"); Etham ("a fort"), etc.

²³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 210-11, 1st ed.

²⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 212-13.

²⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 66.

²⁶ See the list of kings in Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 188, 1st ed. After Mennefer-ra Ai (the twenty-ninth king of the dynasty) no monarch is said to have reigned more than three years and a month or two.

²⁷ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 359.

²⁸ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 61, A.

CHAPTER XIX.

¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 61, B; Joseph. *Contr. Apion*, i, 14.

² See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 416-18.

³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 74-77; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 359-65; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 424-96; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 350-2; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 227-60, 1st ed.; Stuart Poole in *Contemporary Review* for February, 1879, pp. 576-81; etc.

⁴ The one on stone is the inscription of Aahmes which exists in a rock-tomb at El-Kaab (Eileithya), and which has been published in *extenso* by Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 11) and translated by M. Le Page Renouf and others. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 7-10; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 248-51, 1st ed.; De Rougé, in the *Memoires de l'Institut*, Prem. Série, vol. iii; etc.) The document on papyrus forms the first fragment of what is called the "First Sallier Papyrus." It is given in the fifth volume of Bunsen's *Egypt*, pp. 730-1, and has been translated by Dr. Lushington in the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 3-4.

⁵ See above, vol. i, p. 20.

⁶ See above, p. 27.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 149.

⁸ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 221, 1st ed.; Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 46.

⁹ See above, vol. i, p. 55.

¹⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 215-16, 1st ed.

¹¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 221-2, 1st ed.

¹² *Supra*, p. 98.

¹³ *Supra*, p. 99.

¹⁴ Manetho says that at Xoïs there were seventy-six kings in either 484 or 184 years. Even if we take the larger of these numbers, it gives little more than six years as the average of the kings' reigns. And there is more authority for 184 than 484, which would reduce the average to two years and a half.

¹⁵ Ἡσάρ δὲ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς ἐξ (Man. ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 61, B).

¹⁶ Manetho ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion*, i, 14. It must be admitted that this statement is qualified by the clause *τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι*. But it is the only suggestion of nationality reported by Josephus.

¹⁷ Herod. ii, 138. The "shepherd Philon," to whom the Egyptians ascribed the pyramids when Herodotus visited them, must have been the individualization of a belief that Egypt had been ruled by Philistine shepherds.

¹⁸ See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 421; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 235, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 360-2.

¹⁹ "C'était un ramassis de toutes les hordes nomades de l'Arabie et de la Syrie" (Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 361).

²⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 75.
²¹ Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* (l.s.c.); τὸ ΣΩΣ ποιμὴν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον. There is no evidence that Manetho knew anything of the Shasu, or in any way connected the Hyksos with them.
²² See the author's "Essay on the Early Migrations of the Phœnicians," in his *Herodotus*, vol. iv, pp. 236-244, 3d ed.
²³ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv, pp. 238-40.
²⁴ On the Hittite worship of Set or Sutech, see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 31-2.
²⁵ *Ibid.* vol. viii, p. 3.
²⁶ The names Set (Saites), Bnon, Pachnan or Apachnas, Staan, Archles, Apepi, have nothing Babylonian about them. Set or Sutech has no representative in the Babylonian Pantheon.
²⁷ Παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν, ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι, καταβαρσθήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ ραδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἶλον (Manetho ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i, 14).
²⁸ *Ibid.*
²⁹ Πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες. Τὰς πόλεις ὡμῶς ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν κατέσκαψαν (ib.)
³⁰ See the preceding note, and especially the emphatic word κατέσκαψαν.
³¹ Lenormant says: "Dire ce que durant ces . . . ans l'Égypte eut à subir de bouleversements est impossible. Le seul fait qu'il soit permis de donner comme certain, c'est que pas un monument de cette époque désolée n'est venu jusqu'à nous pour nous apprendre ce que devient, sous les Hyksos, l'antique splendeur de l'Égypte" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 360).
³² See above, p. 69.
³³ Lenormant, p. 363: "La civilisation égyptienne, d'abord comme anéantie par l'invasion," etc.
³⁴ Lenormant, p. 362: "Les Pasteurs dans la Basse-Égypte, comme les Tartares en Chine, se laissaient conquérir par la civilisation supérieure de leurs vaincus."
³⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 236-7, 1st ed.
³⁶ See Lenormant's *Frammento di statua di uno dei Pastori di Egitto*, p. 11, and plate.
³⁷ This appears from the remains, which are of Syenite stone (ibid.).
³⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 3.
³⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 237, 1st ed.
⁴⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 36; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v, p. 734, bottom line. (Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 76 and 126.)
⁴¹ Brugsch, l.s.c.
⁴² Stuart Poole in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1879, pp. 580-1.
⁴³ See above, p. 198, 199.

⁴⁴ The only exception to this was the Theban kingdom, which continued a distinct, though subject, monarchy under the Hyksos; but as this was the exact power which expelled the Shepherds, all authority became at once fixed in a single centre.
⁴⁵ Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i, 14.
⁴⁶ So the Manetho of Josephus. It is certain that Assyria Proper was not at this time in a condition to make expeditions into Syria (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 43-49, 2d edit.); but the "Assyrians" of Manetho may perhaps represent the Babylonians, who had made themselves felt in Syria and Palestine long before this time. (See Gen. xiv, 1-12; and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i, pp. 446-7, 3d edit.)
⁴⁷ Bunsen, *Eg. Place*, vol. v, pp. 734-5; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 36.
⁴⁸ See above, pp. 23, 30-31, 33, 46.
⁴⁹ De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 45.
⁵⁰ Joseph. l.s.c.; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 61, b.
⁵¹ Bunsen, *Eg. Place*, vol. ii, p. 425; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 229, 1st ed. Lenormant, however, prefers the reading Anon (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 362).
⁵² Gen. xxxv, 18.
⁵³ Forty years, according to Eusebius (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 62, A); forty-four, according to Josephus (l.s.c.) and Africanus (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 61, b).
⁵⁴ The latter number, which is given by Josephus (l.s.c.), seems preferable from its exactness, but is perhaps the time of the sole reign, while the other includes the period of association.
⁵⁵ See below, p. 108. The war of liberation almost certainly grew out of the demands made by Apepi on Ra-Sekenen. It was concluded by Aahmes, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, in his sixth year. Unless, therefore, we suppose the war to have lingered on through several reigns, we must place Apepi and the Ra-Sekenen to whom he sent his messages almost immediately before Aahmes.
⁵⁶ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 61, b.
⁵⁷ Africanus himself gave this as the total length of the dynasty (ibid.).
⁵⁸ As are the reigns of the kings belonging to the twelfth dynasty in the Turin papyrus (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 119, 1st ed.).
⁵⁹ If each king associated a successor after he had reigned two years, the length of the sole reigns would be as follows:—

	Years
Set (Saites)	19
Bnon	27
Pachnan	35
Staan	17
Archles	34
Apepi (Apophis)	29
Total	161

The entire duration would thus be 161 years.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 107.

⁶¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 3.

⁶² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 245-7, 1st edit.

⁶³ M. Chabas has argued that the Ra-Sekenen contemporary with Apepi, and mentioned in the Sallier papyrus, was the first of the name (see *Contemporary Review* for February 1879, p. 579); but I agree with Dr. Brugsch that it is better to regard him as Ra-Sekenen III.

⁶⁴ That Sutech represented the sun in the Hittite system appears from the terms of the treaty of peace concluded by the Hittites with Rameses II. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 28, § 8).

⁶⁵ Lushington in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 4, § 5. Chabas takes the same view (*Les Pasteurs en Egypte*, p. 18).

⁶⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 241, 1st edit.

⁶⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 4, §§ 2, 3.

⁶⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 245, 1st edit.; Birch, *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 414.

⁶⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 247, 253, 1st edit.

⁷⁰ So Josephus, who professes to follow Manetho (*Contr. Ap. n.* i. 14). But the number is suspicious for many reasons.

⁷¹ Josephus, *Contr. Apion*, i. 14.

⁷² *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 7.

⁷³ *Ibid.* pp. 7, 8.

⁷⁴ Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion*, l.s.c.

⁷⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 8, § 14.

⁷⁶ Josh. xix, 6.

⁷⁷ *Chronographia*, vol. i, p. 62, v: Ἐπι πᾶσι συμπεφώνηται ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀπόφωτος ἦρξεν Ἰωσήφ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Bunsen limits this to "all Christian chronographers" (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 433); but quite arbitrarily.

⁷⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 76, Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 363; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 260-70, 1st ed.

⁷⁹ Brugsch, p. 265.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 105.

⁸¹ Gen. xl, 2.

⁸² Ib. xli, 40.

⁸³ Ib. verse 43. This fact, and Joseph's "chariots and horsemen" (Gen. i, 9), sufficiently prove that Joseph was not anterior to the Hyksos.

⁸⁴ Ib. xli, 42.

⁸⁵ Gen. xlvii, 26.

⁸⁶ Ib. xlvii, 22.

⁸⁷ Ib. xli, 34.

mant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 369.

³ See especially the inscription on the tomb of his officer, Aahmes, son of Abana (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 7-9).

⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 78.

⁵ That the Hyksos kings introduced the horse and chariot into Egypt is generally admitted. No wheeled vehicles appear in the monuments prior to the eighteenth dynasty. The employment of chariots in the war of liberation appears in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 7. The use of cavalry at this time is uncertain.

⁶ This capture may have been the work of Ra-Sekenen III. There is no allusion to it in the inscription of Aahmes.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 109.

⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 7-8.

⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 368.

¹⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 8.

¹¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 8-9.

¹² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 276, 1st ed. M. Chabas considers Teta-an to be the name of a people rather than that of a chieftain (*Les Pasteurs en Egypte*, p. 46).

¹³ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 3 a; and compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80, and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 276-7, 1st ed.

¹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 277, 1st ed.

¹⁵ 1 Kings vi, 18; vii, 13-45; 2 Chr. ii, 13-16; etc.

¹⁶ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 62, c, and 69, c.

¹⁷ Joseph. *Contra Apion*, i, 15. Josephus gives the name the wrong form of Tethmosis; but clearly means Amosis (Aahmes), the first king of the eighteenth dynasty.

¹⁸ She is called "the daughter, sister, wife, and mother of a king" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 279, 1st ed.).

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 278.

²⁰ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 1. Brugsch denies that this is always the case; but Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 355), Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 81), and Canon Trevor (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 77) agree in regarding Nefertari-Aahmes as a black.

²¹ So Birch (l.s.c.) and Trevor (l.s.c.).

²² Birch, l.s.c.

²³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 279. Wilkinson renders the expression used by "Goddess-wife of Ammon" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 355, 2d ed.).

²⁴ *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 3.

²⁵ Brugsch, l.s.c.

²⁶ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, pp. 70 A, 72 A.

²⁷ This is the view generally taken

CHAPTER XX.

¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 273, 1st ed.

² *Ibid.* vol. i, pp. 252-3, 1st ed.; Lenor-

(Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 280, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 81). But there is no appearance of extreme youthfulness in the representations of Amenôphis.

²⁸ *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pl. 4 e.

³⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 7; vol. vi, p. 9. Amen-hotep also employed himself in the enlargement of the great temple at Karnak.

³¹ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 12 a.

³² Thothmes means "Child of Thoth," and is nearly equivalent to Aahmes, "Child of the Moon," since Thoth was a Moon-god (see vol. i, pp. 369-71).

³³ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 70 A. Strictly speaking, it is Chebros who is given this short reign. But Chebros, as the second king of the eighteenth dynasty, must represent Amen-hotep I.

³⁴ *E.g.* Chedor-laomer, whose two expeditions are mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis; and Kudur-mabuk, who calls himself *Apda Martu*, or "Kavager of Syria" (about B.C. 1600). See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i, pp. 447, 450, 3d ed.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 448-9.

³⁶ See the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 7; vol. vi, p. 10.

³⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 250, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 10.

³⁸ Brugsch, *l.s.c.*

³⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 285.

⁴⁰ A representation of the memorial is given in the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 5; and a translation of the inscription upon it will be found in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 285-6, 1st ed.

⁴¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 284, 1st ed.

⁴² See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 7, par. 9.

⁴³ Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i, 14, 26.

⁴⁴ That the Hyksos introduced the horse into Egypt, though doubted by M. Chabas (*Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique*, p. 415), is the general conclusion of Egyptologists. The employment of horses in war by the Egyptians as early as the reign of Aahmes appears from the inscription of Aahmes, son of Abana (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 7, par. 6).

⁴⁵ On the employment of cavalry by the Egyptians to a certain extent, see M. Chabas' *Etudes*, pp. 425-30; and compare above, vol. i, pp. 449-50.

⁴⁶ See 1 Kings x, 28, 29; 2 Chr. i, 16, 17.

⁴⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 295, 1st ed.

⁴⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 296, 1st ed.

⁴⁹ See above, vol. i, p. 108.

⁵⁰ For representations of these obelisks see Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xxx-xxxiv, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 6.

⁵¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 83.

⁵² Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 71. c.

⁵³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 296, 1st ed.

⁵⁴ The reading Hasheps, or Hashepsu, seems generally preferred by Egyptologists (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 83; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 301-14, 1st ed.; Chabas *Etudes*, pp. 161-76, etc.). Professor Dümichen, however, still uses the form Hatasu. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 13-19.)

⁵⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 300, 1st ed.

⁵⁷ See above, vol. i, pp. 104, 106.

⁵⁸ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 17, b, c.

⁵⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 14 and 15.

⁶⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 302, 1st ed. Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 83) says: "Probably one of these revolting conspiracies and family quarrels of the palace is veiled behind the fact of the short and inglorious reign of Thothmes II." (Compare p. 86.)

⁶¹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 15 and 21.

⁶² *Ibid.* pls. 22 and 23.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pls. 19 b, 22-4.

⁶⁴ Compare Chabas, *Etudes*, pp. 161-2: "On remarquera que cette reine . . . affecte con^t auellement de se servir des titres masculins; elle est appelée *le roi* et non *la reine*, quoique les pronoms personnels et possessifs qui la représentent dans les textes soient généralement du féminin; ces prétentions masculines donnent lieu à des formules très-singulières; c'est ainsi que, dans l'expression *Sa Majesté elle-même*, les termes *Sa Majesté* sont le possessif masculin, et ils sont suivis du pronom féminin *elle-même*; l'anglais *His Majesty herself* rend bien compte de cette anomalie."

⁶⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 303, 1st ed.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 302. Compare Dümichen, *Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*, p. 17.

⁶⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 22-4.

⁶⁸ Dümichen, *l.s.c.*; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 301, 1st ed.

⁶⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 25 d, e.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pl. 25 bis, g. Here she calls herself "the beloved of Sati and Khumu" (*i.e.* Kneph).

⁷¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 302, 1st ed.

⁷² The valuable work of Dr. Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1868), has given a celebrity to this achievement of Queen Hatasu, which it might not otherwise have obtained. This work, important though it be, is unfortunately incomplete, several of the scenes connected with the expedition not being represented in it. (See Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique* *l.s.c.*) The résumé of Dr. Dümichen's work in the *Records of the*

Past (vol. x, pp. 13-20) falls very far short of the original.

⁷³ See Dümichen's *Flotte*, etc., pl. 1.

⁷⁴ The troops are not represented in the reliefs; but they are mentioned in the accompanying inscriptions (pl. 1, 4, etc.).

⁷⁵ On the doubt as to the position of Punt, see above, pp. 71, 72. Dr. Dümichen's connection of the word with the name of the Phœnicians (Pœni, Punic) can scarcely be admitted.

⁷⁶ It is unfortunate that the "Introduction" to Dr. Dümichen's translation of the legends accompanying the reliefs in the *Records of the Past* (vol. x, pp. 11-12) should speak of "naval engagements," and of the "subjugation" and "conquest" of the land of Punt as now effected. Dümichen himself gives no ground for these expressions.

⁷⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 19; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 304, 1st ed.

⁷⁸ Dümichen's *Flotte*, etc., pl. 15.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* pls. 2 and 3.

⁸⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 14; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 308, 1st ed.

⁸¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 84; Chabas, *Études*, p. 158.

⁸² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 306, 1st ed.

⁸³ Dümichen, *Flotte*, etc., pls. 4 and 5.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* pls. 6 and 11.

⁸⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. x, p. 17; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 312, 1st ed.

⁸⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 28.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 19.

⁸⁸ Thothmes III. began to reign in the fifteenth year of his sister, which he counted as his own fifteenth year (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 314, 1st ed.). His sole reign appears to have commenced seven years afterwards, in what he called his twenty-second year (*ibid.* p. 320).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 316.

⁹⁰ On the sacred character of the scarabæus or beetle, and the symbolism which connected it with the sun, see vol. i, pp. 345, 347, 411, etc.

⁹¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 316, 1st ed.

⁹² The name Sesostris no doubt comes from Sesortosis, a Grecized form of Usurtasen. The ideal figure was composed by uniting in one the actions of all the chief Egyptian conquerors. As the greatest of these Thothmes III. furnished the most traits.

⁹³ Thothmes I. crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia and fought battles there, but retained no hold of the region. Thothmes III. seems to have conquered the entire tract as far as the Khabour, and to have left it to his successors, who held it down to the time of Amenôphis IV. The later Egyptian monarchs made raids into Mesopotamia; but no permanent result followed from them.

⁹⁴ See above, p. 121.

⁹⁵ Dr. Birch identifies Garu with the later Heroôpolis (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 87). But the identification is very uncertain.

⁹⁶ See the inscription given by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 320, 1st ed.) and also in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 38.

⁹⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 331, 1st ed.

⁹⁸ The exact site of this Kadesh is uncertain. Dr. Birch suggests that it occupied the position of the modern Hems, which is enclosed between two branches of the Orontes. (See his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.)

⁹⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 53-5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 21; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 329, 1st ed.

¹⁰¹ Given by Brugsch in his *History*, vol. 1, pp. 353-6, 1st ed.

¹⁰² No doubt portions of the country were occupied by the very ancient races of the Rephaim, Anakim, Zamzumim, and the like, mentioned in Scripture; but these races do not appear in the inscriptions, and must have sunk into insignificance. The Amorites are sometimes mentioned as possessing parts of the country north of Palestine; and the Edomites hold the tract between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah. The name "Canaan" also occurs; but the Hittites are the only Canaanitish nation of the Egyptian records.

¹⁰³ *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 221-4, 1st ed.

¹⁰⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 222, 1st ed.

¹⁰⁵ See the frontispiece to the first volume of Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, and compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 116 a.

¹⁰⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 21-2.

¹⁰⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 334, 342, etc., 1st ed.

¹⁰⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 31.

¹¹⁰ As at Boghaz-Keui, Eyuk, and Karabel on the old road between Ephesus and Sardis (See a paper by Mr. A. H. Sayce, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for July, 1880.)

¹¹¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 69.

¹¹² *Ibid.* p. 71.

¹¹³ As may be gathered from their tribal and personal names.

¹¹⁴ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 372-3.

¹¹⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 21-2; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 329-30.

¹¹⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 22, par. 8.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* par. 9.

¹¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 331, 1st ed.

¹¹⁹ Birch says with truth: "The inscriptions do not disclose to us in any instance places with a large population in this part of Asia" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 91).

¹²⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 333, 1st ed.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² One on the east bank of the Euphrates, at the place of passage, opposite a tablet set up by his father, Thothmes I.; the other near the city called Ni or Nini (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 24).

¹²³ As Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 302, 2d ed.) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 104). Brugsch combats the opinion (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 358, 1st ed.), and even seems inclined to place Ni in the country west of the Euphrates. But was this ever NaharaIn?

¹²⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 329, 1st ed.

¹²⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 25. Senkara has been identified with Singar or Siujar, the present name of the low range which crosses Mesopotamia in about the latitude of Nineveh (Wilkinson), and again with Senaar or Shinar, the Hebrew term for the lower Mesopotamian country (Brugsch); but it is quite possible that the modern Senkareh may be intended.

¹²⁶ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i, p. 253; vol. ii, p. 302, 2d ed. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 27, note¹, where it is admitted that "bitumen" is the substance spoken of as furnished by the Asi.

¹²⁷ The Egyptian remains found at Arban on the Khabour (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 280-2), which contain the cartouches of Thothmes III. and Amenôphis III., indicate most probably a prolonged occupation of that post by an Egyptian garrison.

¹²⁸ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 62; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 355, 1st ed.

¹²⁹ Distinct record is found of expeditions in the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-eighth, and thirty-ninth years (Brugsch, pp. 335, 337, 339, 340); and others appear to have belonged to the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, and fortieth (?).

¹³⁰ For the particulars, see *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 21-52, and Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 326-44, 1st ed.

¹³¹ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 334, 1st ed.

¹³² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 367-8, 1st ed.

¹³³ See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 325-6; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 387, 1st ed.; Devéria, *Nouvelle Table d'Abidos*, p. 6 (Paris, 1865); etc.

¹³⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 389, 1st ed.

¹³⁵ See above, pp. 81, 82.

¹³⁶ The nave of Canterbury Cathedral is 134 feet in length, and, excluding the aisles, forty feet in breadth, so that its area is 5,360 feet. Add one half, and the result is 8,040 square feet. The area

of the Hall of Thothmes was 7,865 square feet.

¹³⁷ See above, vol. i, pp. 151, 152, and compare Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 106-7, 1st ed.

¹³⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 386, 1st ed. 70.

¹³⁹ As the Lateran obelisk, which is only 105 feet high, has been estimated to weigh 450 tons (*Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, p. 229, note), the weight of one more than half as high again could not be less than half as much again (675 tons), and would probably be considerably more than that, as there is always a certain proportion between the height and the size at the base.

¹⁴⁰ See above, vol. i, p. 70.

¹⁴¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 404, 1st ed.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 389-90. This writer speaks of "the indescribable dignity and the kingly mien of the remaining statues of standing or sitting Pharaohs and deities," wherewith Thothmes adorned the great temple (*ibid.* pp. 387-8).

¹⁴³ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁴ The two obelisks known as "Cleopatra's needles" were originally set up by Thothmes III. at Heliopolis. Augustus transferred them to Alexandria, where they remained till recently. At present (July, 1880) one ornaments the Thames Embankment, while the other is on its way to the United States of America.

¹⁴⁵ The obelisk brought to England by the Duke of Northumberland, and long an ornament of Sion House, belonged originally to this locality.

¹⁴⁶ See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 357, 3d ed.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 396-7, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁷ As will be seen by consulting the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 47-59. On the other hand, little is left of the temple built by Thothmes at Elephantiné, which, in the time of the French expedition, was magnificent and nearly complete. (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 395, 1st ed.)

¹⁴⁸ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, l.s.c.

¹⁴⁹ See above, page 128.

¹⁵⁰ *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 40. A reduced drawing of the scene is given in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 214, 3d ed.

¹⁵¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 376.

¹⁵² As Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, vol. ii, p. 249; Hengstenberg, *Aegypten und Mose*, p. 80 (E. T.); Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. ii, p. 152; Kalisch, *Comment on Exodus*, p. 9; Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. i, Introduction, p. xix.

¹⁵³ Ex. i, 14.

¹⁵⁴ See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 98;

Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 375-6, etc., 1st ed. Wilkinson took the same view (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. xv).

¹⁵⁵ See the representation in the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Deut. xxvi, 5.

¹⁵⁷ Ps. cxiv, 1.

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp. 110, 111.

¹⁵⁹ See Brugsch's map accompanying the second volume of the English translation of his *History*.

¹⁶⁰ Gen. xlvii, 6.

¹⁶¹ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 61, B.

¹⁶² Gen. xlii, 6.

¹⁶³ Ex. i, 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* verse 8.

¹⁶⁵ Gen. xv, 13.

¹⁶⁶ The generations from Apepi to Thothmes III. are five, which would probably amount in Egypt to 125 years. The traditional numbers up to the accession of Thothmes II. are (61 + 25 + 13 + 21 =) 120 years. The reign of Thothmes II. was short, probably not exceeding five or six years.

¹⁶⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 34, par. 22; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 363, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 362, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁹ *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 386-7.

¹⁷⁰ Herodotus says nothing about the "working of the mines," and does not even notice the existence of mineral treasures in the Colchian territory. According to him, the colony which Sesostris left behind him consisted of soldiers who had accompanied him on an expedition by land against Scythia and Thrace (Herod. ii, 103).

¹⁷¹ See above, p. 126; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 335, 336, and 338, 1st ed.

¹⁷² Herod. ii, p. 182.

¹⁷³ As Birch and Brugsch, who know of no such extensive maritime dominion, Birch supposes that Thothmes exercised authority over some of the islands of the Archipelago (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 100); Brugsch confines his maritime sway to Cyprus and the Phœnician coast.

¹⁷⁴ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 385.

¹⁷⁵ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv, p. 302, 2d ed.

¹⁷⁶ *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 371-2, 1st ed.

¹⁷⁷ The Mathen or Maten of the fifth stanza are regarded by Dr. Birch as representing Asia Minor generally (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 33, note 9; *Ancient Egypt*, p. 100). They are perhaps the Matiēni of Herodotus (i, 72), who adjoined on Cappadocia and Phrygia; but their locality cannot at this time have been so far inland. Probably they held possession of the Cilician coast.

¹⁷⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 405, 1st ed.: "We will here bid farewell to the greatest king of Egyptian history."

¹⁷⁹ It appears from his annals that Thothmes insisted on his soldiers taking an oath that none of them would precede him in his attacks upon the enemy, or even "step aside before the king," so as to afford him protection. (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 322, 1st ed.)

¹⁸⁰ Valery ascribes this obelisk to Thothmes II. (*Travels in Italy*, p. 537, E. T.); but it is undoubtedly the work of his successor (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 404, 1st ed.).

¹⁸¹ Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 76.

¹⁸² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 406.

¹⁸³ See the "Inscription of Amen-em-heb" in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 63, line 36.

¹⁸⁴ That is to say, counting his accession to have taken place upon the death of his brother, and thus including in his own reign all the years of Hatasu.

¹⁸⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 104.

¹⁸⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pl. 38 a, b; where Hatasu-Merira sits behind her husband on a throne, attired as a goddess, with whip, *ankh*, and tall plumes.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pt. iii, pl. 20 b, c; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxvi, No. 351.

¹⁸⁸ Amenôphis is the name given him by Manetho (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, vol. i, p. 72, A, D).

¹⁸⁹ The seventh year of Amenophis II. is mentioned upon his monuments. (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 105). His reign is supposed to have terminated shortly after this date; but its exact duration is uncertain.

¹⁹⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 407, 1st ed.

¹⁹¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 104; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 408, 1st ed.

¹⁹² Brugsch, p. 410.

¹⁹³ On the frequent occurrence of this kind of representation, see above, vol. i, p. 487, note 2. The earliest specimen is, I believe, that of Amenôphis II. at Koummeh, which is given in the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pl. 61.

¹⁹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 411, 1st ed.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 412.

¹⁹⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. I, pls. 66, 67.

¹⁹⁷ *Denkmäler*, vol. v, pt. iii, pls. 63 and 64.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pl. 62 b.

¹⁹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 412, 1st ed.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 416.

²⁰¹ On this identification see above, p. 58, note 5.

²⁰² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 415-17, 1st ed.; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 68.

- ²⁰³ Brugsch, p. 418.
- ²⁰⁴ Brugsch, p. 413.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 414.
- ²⁰⁶ See the inscription of Amen-hotep on a tablet now in the British Museum.
- ²⁰⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 69 e.
- ²⁰⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 415, 1st ed.
- ²⁰⁹ The seventh year of Thothmes IV. is recorded on a tablet in the island of Konosso (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 105). No later year appears on the monuments. Manetho, however, seems to have given him nine years (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i, p. 72, A. D).
- ²¹⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 419, 1st ed.; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 70 bis, and 74 c.
- ²¹¹ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 359, 3d ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 107.
- ²¹² *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 72; Birch, l.s.c.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 440, 1st ed.; etc.
- ²¹³ She is represented on the monuments with a pale pinkish skin, such as is never given to Egyptians.
- ²¹⁴ Amenôphis III. instituted a new festival in honor of the Solar Disk, on the sixteenth of the month Athyr (October 4); and assigned a prominent part in the procession to the Boat of the Solar Disk (*Aten-nefru*). He also placed solar disks on the heads of his crio-sphinxes, and similarly adorned the statues of Pasht or Sekhet. (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 427, 1st ed.)
- ²¹⁵ I cannot agree with Dr. Brugsch in placing Amenôphis III. "on a level with the great Thothmes" (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 419); or with M. Lenormant, that "the epoch of great wars recurs with him" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 389). There is no evidence that he engaged in any military expeditions excepting towards the south; and there his negro slave-hunts were certainly not "great wars."
- ²¹⁶ See his inscription in the temple of Soleb in Nubia, quoted by Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 108); and remark the occurrence of his name on the remains found at Arban in Central Mesopotamia (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 281).
- ²¹⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 82 a, 87 d, and 88; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 420-3, 1st ed.; Birch, l.s.c.
- ²¹⁸ "Il faut avouer," says M. Lenormant, "que les expéditions de ses troupes n'étaient pas toujours fort chevaleresques, et semblent avoir eu souvent pour but (surtout celles que l'on faisait dans le Soudan) la chasse aux esclaves" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, l.s.c.)
- ²¹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 421, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, 106.
- ²²⁰ M. Lenormant (l.s.c.) observes with truth: "Amen-hotep III., durant son long règne, fu tun prince essentiellement bâtisseur."
- ²²¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 427, 1st ed.
- ²²² See the description in Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 108-9, 1st ed.
- ²²³ Brugsch, l.s.c. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 90 a, b, c.
- ²²⁴ Brugsch, p. 437.
- ²²⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 360, 3d ed.
- ²²⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 81 g, h, 82 a, 89, etc.; and compare Wilkinson, l.s.c.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 106-9; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 420, 421, etc.
- ²²⁷ Brugsch, vol. i, p. 429.
- ²²⁸ Wilkinson, l.s.c.
- ²²⁹ Brugsch, p. 430.
- ²³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 426, note. In the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1875 (No. 276) the height is given as no more than fifty-four feet.
- ²³¹ Brugsch, l.s.c. The "forty cubits" of Amen-hotep's inscription (reckoning the Egyptian cubit at 1 ft. 8½ in.) would give a height of 68 ft. 4 in.
- ²³² See the work of Letronne, *La Statue Vocale de Memnon, considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce*; and compare *Quarterly Review*, No. 276, p. 533-5.
- ²³³ Strab. xvii. 1, § 46; Pausan. i, 42; Tacit. *Ann.* ii, 61; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 7, § 11; Juv. *Sat.* xv. 5; Lucian, *Toxar.* 27; etc.
- ²³⁴ Sir David Brewster is said to have first given this explanation in the *Quarterly Review* for Jan., 1831 (No. 86). It has been adopted by M. Letronne, Dr. Brugsch, M. Lenormant, and others.
- ²³⁵ As by Humboldt, Jonard, De Rosière, etc.
- ²³⁶ Pausan. l.s.c.: Τὸν ἤχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κίβηρας ἢ λύρας βαγίσις χοροδῆς.
- ²³⁷ *Eastern Life*, vol. i, pp. 84 and 289.
- ²³⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 425-6, 1st ed.
- ²³⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 436, 1st ed.
- ²⁴⁰ Birch says 110 (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 107); Brugsch, 210 (*History of Egypt*, vol. i p. 420, 1st ed.).
- ²⁴¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 437, 1st ed.
- ²⁴² See above, vol. i, p. 195.
- ²⁴³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 2 b, c, 76 b, 77 c, 100 b, etc.
- ²⁴⁴ See above, vol. i, pt. lviii.
- ²⁴⁵ Herod. iv, 191; Leo African, ix, p. 294. It is true that lions were at no time very abundant in Egypt; but they were to be found in the deserts on the Egyptian borders, and were perhaps more numerous than is generally imagined.
- ²⁴⁶ See above, pl. xiv.
- ²⁴⁷ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 318, 494; *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. v, pp. 324-5.
- ²⁴⁸ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 72 74 a, 84 b, 85 b, and 86 a.

²⁴⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 432-5, 1st ed.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 437.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 438.

²⁵² *Ibid.* p. 439.

²⁵³ Wilkinson remarks strongly on the foreign cast of his countenance. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 359, 3d ed.) The statues in the British Museum (especially No. 6) show the prognathous character of the face better than the above illustration.

²⁵⁴ The thirty-sixth year of Amenôphis III. appears in a tablet at the Sarabit-el-Khadim (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 109).

²⁵⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 75 a and b.

²⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 440, 1st ed.

²⁵⁷ Tii appears on the monuments of Amenôphis IV. as still living (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 100 c, 101, 102).

²⁵⁸ See pt. xiv, and compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 91-110. Brugsch speaks of the "soft womanish traits of his countenance" (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 442, 1st ed.).

²⁵⁹ Brugsch, l.s.c.

²⁶⁰ Brugsch, l.s.c. For illustrations, see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 91, 99, 100, etc.

²⁶¹ M. Lenormant even ventures to suggest that the form of religion established by Amenôphis IV. stood in a close relation to that professed at the time by the Israelite portion of his subjects, which had been, he thinks, materialized during their sojourn in Egypt (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 333).

²⁶² Hence in the imagery of Scripture our Lord is called "the sun of righteousness" (Matt. iv, 2), and His Church represented as "a woman clothed with the sun" (Rev. xii, 1).

²⁶³ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 440, 1st ed.

²⁶⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 450, 1st ed.

²⁶⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 442, 1st ed.

²⁶⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 91-111.

²⁶⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 444, 1st ed.

²⁶⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.

²⁶⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 103.

²⁷⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 450-1, 1st ed.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 452.

²⁷² Brugsch calls them "a garland of seven princesses" (p. 443); and gives their names as Meri-Aten, Mak-Aten, Ankh-nes-Aten, Nofru-Aten, Ta-shera, Nofru-ra, Sotep-en-ra, and Bek-Aten. (Compare Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxix.) In one of the tombs at Tel-el-Amarna all the seven are represented (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 106 b).

²⁷³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 99 b and 109.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pl. 93.

²⁷⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 455.

²⁷⁶ Brugsch, l.s.c.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Brugsch gives the three next successors of Amenôphis IV. in the order of Sa'aneht, Tut-anhk-amen, Ai; Birch in that of Sa'aneht, Ai, Tut-anhk-amen.

²⁷⁸ Sa'aneht was married to Mi-aten or Meri-aten, one of Khuenaten's daughters; Tutankhamen had for wife Ankh-nes-amen, another of them. Ai was the husband of Tii, the nurse of Khuenaten (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 456, 460, 1st ed.).

²⁷⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111.

Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 110.

²⁸⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 462, 1st ed.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 457-9; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 115-18.

²⁸² M. Lenormant says that Tutankhamen "received an embassy from the Assyrians" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 394); but the embassy alluded to came from the Ruten, a people of Syria.

²⁸³ The Egyptian objects found by Sir H. Layard at Arban in no case dated later than the reign of Amenôphis III.

²⁸⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111.

²⁸⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 461; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 114 g.

²⁸⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 112; Lenormant, *Manuel*, l.s.c.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 473, 1st ed.

²⁸⁷ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 463. M. Lenormant believes that he was Khuenaten's youngest brother (*Manuel*, l.s.c.), but Dr. Brugsch regards him as merely an Egyptian of good repute whom Amenôphis III. had honored with his confidence (*History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 462-3, 1st ed.).

²⁸⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 112-13.

²⁸⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 119 e, g, h, 122 a, c.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* pls. 120 c, 122 b.

²⁹¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 464-8, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 29 et seqq.

²⁹² On the meaning of this phrase, see above, p. 78.

²⁹³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 467, 1st ed.

²⁹⁴ See above, p. 85.

²⁹⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 121.

²⁹⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 471, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 112; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 394.

²⁹⁷ Brugsch, p. 289; Birch, l.s.c.

²⁹⁸ See the inscription in Brugsch's *History*, vol. i, p. 473, 1st ed.

²⁹⁹ The number is twenty-eight in the Armenian Eusebius, thirty-six in the Eusebius of Syncellus, and thirty-eight in the same writer's Africanus.

³⁰⁰ When an Egyptian personal name begins with the name of a god, it is uncertain whether the god's name was pronounced first or last. Hence Egyptologists vary between Neferka-Sokari

and Sokari-neferka. Amonrud and Rud-amon, Mut-notem and Notem-mut, and the like.

³⁰¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 113. M. Lenormant, however, supposes him to have had at least one daughter, from whom he regards Rameses I. as deriving his claim to the succession (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 396).

³⁰² Birch, l.s.c.

³⁰³ "Il y a là," says M. Lenormant, "des obscurités encore impénétrables dans l'état actuel de la science, et que la découverte de nouveaux monuments pourra seule un jour dissiper."

CHAPTER XXI.

¹ Lenormant supposes him to have been a grandson of Horemheb, through his mother (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 396). Birch lays it down (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 113) that Horemheb had no family, and says: "Perhaps the wife of Horus survived that monarch, and Rameses may have married either the widow of his predecessor, or her daughter" (i.e., her daughter by a second husband). Brugsch suggests that Rameses I. was "the son, son-in-law, or brother of Horemheb" (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 8, 1st ed.). According to Wilkinson, (in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 398) "he was of a different family from Horus," and "restored the original and pure line of the Diospolites," tracing his descent from Amenôphis I. and Queen Nefertari-Aahmes.

² The name Rameses may not have been previously unknown in Egypt; but it was at any rate new as a royal name. It is analogous to the earlier forms, Aah-mes and Thothmes, and means "Child of Ra," as they mean respectively "Child of the Moon" and "Child of Thoth." (See Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte au temps de l'Exode*, p. 76).

³ Rameses I. took the throne-name of Ra-men-pehti, or Men-pehtira,



a name modelled on the throne-name of Aahmes, was Ra-neb-pehti, or Neb-pehti-ra. The element *pehti* had not been used in any throne-name since the time of Aahmes.

⁴ The worship of Set had been discontinued upon the expulsion of the Hyksos. It had revived under Thothmes III. (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 33 g, 34 c, 35 b, etc.); but had remained in the condition of a minor and little esteemed cult. Rameses I., by calling his son "Seti," placed him under Set's protection, and gave the greatest possible stimulus to Set-worship.

⁵ *Contr. Apion*. l. 15. This, of course, becomes a year in the epitomists. (Syn-cell. *Chronograph*, p. 72, B).

⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p.

9, 1st ed.; Birch *Ancient Egypt*, p. 113; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 397.

⁷ See the "Treaty of Peace between Rameses II. and the Hittites" published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 28-9.

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.

⁹ This was the general rule of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and even the Persian monarchs. (See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 529; vol. iii, pp. 496-7; vol. iv, p. 448; Herod. iv, 204; vi, 20 and 119.)

¹⁰ Brugsch, l.s.c.

¹¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 124.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 123 b.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. 123 a.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 23, 1st ed.

¹⁶ See above, p. 123.

¹⁷ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 396; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 3, 1st ed.

¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 11, 1st ed.

¹⁹ See the inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 13, 1st ed.).

²⁰ Ex. xiii, 20; Num. xxxiii, 6, 7.

²¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.; *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. vi, p. 511.

²² *Ibid.* Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 114.

²³ Birch, p. 115.

²⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 14, 1st ed. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 126 b.

²⁵ Brugsch, l.s.c.; *Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, l.s.c.

²⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 115.

²⁷ Brugsch, l.s.c.

²⁸ See above, p. 126.

²⁹ See the article on the AMORITES in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, pp. 61-2; and for their occupation of Kadesh at this period, see Brugsch; *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 15, 1st ed.

³⁰ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 127 a; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 15, 1st ed.

³¹ Brugsch, l. s. c.

³² *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 130 a.

³³ I follow the translation of Dr. Brugsch (see his *History*, vol. ii, p. 16). Dr. Lushington has given a somewhat different version in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. vi, p. 516.

³⁴ Brugsch, l.s.c.

³⁵ See the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 28-9.

³⁶ Sixty-five are represented in one bas-relief (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 129).

³⁷ *Ibid.* pt. iii, pl. 128 a.

³⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 17; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 114.

³⁹ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 527, note 19; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 644.

⁴⁰ Brugsch, l.s.c.

- ⁴¹ See Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 46.
- ⁴² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 115.
- ⁴³ See the inscription of Seti quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 17). Compare *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. vi. p. 518.
- ⁴⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 19, 1st ed. The Khita are placed first, Naharaïn is second.
- ⁴⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 127 b.
- ⁴⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 5; vol. ii, p. 20.
- ⁴⁷ As particularly by Amenôphis II. (supra, p. 264).
- ⁴⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.
- ⁴⁹ Birch, l.s.c.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c. Compare Herod. iv, 191, where a custom of this kind is assigned to the nation which he calls "the Maxyes."
- ⁵⁰ Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. 55.
- ⁵¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 20.
- ⁵² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.
- ⁵³ Herod. iv, 183; Strabo, xvi, 4, § 17; xvii, 1, § 53.
- ⁵⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 119. Compare the story told by Herodotus of the Psylli, who went out to war against the South Wind (iv, 173).
- ⁵⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 26.
- ⁵⁶ See above, vol. i, p. 125.
- ⁵⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 27.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 28.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 118.
- ⁶¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.
- ⁶² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 119.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 25.
- ⁶⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 26. Compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 309, 2d ed.
- ⁶⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 26.
- ⁶⁷ See the *Denkmäler* pt. iii, pls. 134-41.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pl. 137.
- ⁶⁹ See a paper by M. Edouard Naville in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iv, pp. 1-19; and compare the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 105-112.
- ⁷⁰ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 309, 2d ed.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 32.
- ⁷¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 119.
- ⁷² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 118; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 30.
- ⁷³ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 403; Sétî ordonna, la neuvième année de son règne, d'y creuser un puits artésien."
- ⁷⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.
- ⁷⁵ Lenormant, l.s.c.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.
- ⁷⁶ St. Hilaire, *Egypt and the Great Suez Canal*, p. 4.
- ⁷⁷ I have given the number as seventy-

seven (see note 5, chapter 13); but this number is only reached by including the figures and cartouches of Seti himself and his son, Rameses II., which are also represented.

⁷⁸ See pp. 15, 26-42, and 54-60.

⁷⁹ The names are given in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 110, vol. ii, p. 313, 1st ed.

⁸⁰ *Supra*, p. 70.

⁸¹ See above, p. 129.

⁸² See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 124-41. Ammon is represented ten times; Horus and Isis five times; Osiris and Athor four; Set, Tum, Ma, Sabak, and Maut twice; the remainder once each.

⁸³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 23.

⁸⁴ An inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 24) says: "Thou wast raised to be a governor of this land when thou wast a youth, and countedst ten full years." But Brugsch himself thinks that "when Rameses II. ascended the throne he may have been about twelve years old, or a little more" (*ibid.* p. 25).

⁸⁵ At first, Rameses says, he was "left in the house of the women and of the royal concubines, after the manner of the damsels of the palace" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 24). But it was not long ere important functions were assigned him (note 88).

⁸⁶ He would no doubt do so as early as possible. If he married Tuaa soon after his accession, and she bore him Rameses in the course of the next year, he may have associated that prince as early as his eleventh year.

⁸⁷ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 402; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 15; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 123.

⁸⁸ Manetho's statements that Seti reigned fifty-one or fifty-five years (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* pp. 72. v: 73. v), and Rameses II. sixty-one or sixty-six years (*ibid.*), have but little weight. He may, however, have been rightly informed with regard to Rameses.

⁸⁹ See Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., p. 79; and compare Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxxi, No. 420. The names were spelt in a vast variety of ways, as may be seen in the last-quoted work, Tafeln xxxii and xxxiii.

⁹⁰ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 24.

⁹¹ In proof of this, see especially Tacit. *An. ii*, 60. The entire series of conquests assigned commonly to the mythic Sesostris were attributed to Rameses by the informants of Germanicus.

⁹² See below, p. 168.

⁹³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 100-1.

⁹⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 119.

⁹⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 312, 2d ed.

⁹⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 76.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 77. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120.

⁹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 63, 1st ed.

⁹⁹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 28. Rameses does not give the name of his adversary in the great Hittite war; and it is possible that Khitasir had not yet ascended the throne.

¹⁰⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 50, 1st ed.

¹⁰² See the "Poem of Pentaour," as given by Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 54, 1st ed.).

¹⁰³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 69. The Maasu are thought to be the people of the Mons Masius, the Airatu those of Aradus: the Patasu may perhaps be the Assyrian Patena; the Leka are thought by Dr. Brugsch to be the Lycians. Khirabu is probably Helbon or Chalybon, the ancient name of Aleppo.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 123.

¹⁰⁵ See the "Poem of Pentaour" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.). §

¹⁰⁶ The story of the spies is told in an inscription repeated several times on the walls of the temple of Abydos, and translated by Dr. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 50-2, 1st ed.

¹⁰⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 68, ll. 9-11.

¹⁰⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 55, 1st ed. In describing the "battle of Kadesh," "I have throughout followed this authority. Dr. Birch takes a somewhat different view of the engagement (*Ancient Egypt*, pp. 120-1).

¹¹⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 68, l. 4.

¹¹¹ This seems to me the only reasonable account of the position in which Rameses found himself; but it must be confessed that Pentaour's narrative is here very hazy.

¹¹² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 57, 1st ed.

¹¹³ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 411; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 45, 1st ed.

¹¹⁴ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 164 b and 165. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 48, 1st ed.

¹¹⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 121.

¹¹⁶ See the "Poem of Pentaour" in Brugsch's *History*, vol. ii, pp. 60-1, 1st ed. According to this writer, there was a short renewal of the battle on the morrow, or rather a continuation of the butchery, after which Khitasir, at the request of his troops, sent the embassy.

¹¹⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 64, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 122.

¹¹⁸ The places attacked and taken in

the eighth year are Shalama (Salem in the Jordau valley), Tapur (Dabir at the foot of Mount Tabor), Maram, or Merom, Beth-anath, etc. Ascalon revolted, and was retaken about the same time.

¹¹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 63-4, 1st ed.

¹²⁰ *Tacit. Ann.* ii, 60.

¹²¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 33, 1st ed.

¹²² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 421.

¹²³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 65, 1st ed. The true identification of Singara is still uncertain. I have supposed it to be Senkareh, south of Babylon (supra, p. 127); but it may be the moderu Sinjar. I think there can be no doubt that it was in Mesopotamia.

¹²⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129.

¹²⁵ Lenormant, l.s.c.

¹²⁶ *Supra*, p. 164.

¹²⁷ For a condensed account of the treaty, see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 27-32. The full text is given by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 68-74, 1st ed. It is a mistake, however, of this writer to call the treaty an "offensive and defensive alliance," since union for offensive purposes is certainly not contemplated.

¹²⁸ The geographical position of the Hittite country cut off Egypt from Mesopotamia, unless by the line of Damascus and Tadmor, which is only fitted to be a caravan route.

¹²⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 75, 1st ed.

¹³⁰ See the inscription given by Brugsch (*ibid.* 86).

¹³¹ On this people, see Herod, iv, 191; and compare Hecat. Fr. 304, and Steph. Byz. ad voc.

¹³² *Infra*, p. 177.

¹³³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 78, 1st ed.

¹³⁴ See the frontispiece to Brugsch's *History*, vol. i, 1st ed., where this cast of countenance is very noticeable.

¹³⁵ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 423-4.

¹³⁶ Lenormant says (l.s.c.) that he was the first to introduce the system; but I have already shown reason for thinking that he was anticipated in the adoption of it by his grandfather (supra, p. 295).

¹³⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 100, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 124.

¹³⁸ Grote, *History of Greece*, ch. xix (vol. ii, p. 475; edit. of 1862).

¹³⁹ *Supra*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁰ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 11-12; and compare above, pp. 146-7.

¹⁴¹ As would appear by the letter of Amenemau to Pentaour, quoted above (vol. i, p. 480).

¹⁴² *Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 357, 359, and 367.

¹⁴³ This is a point on which much has been written. M. Chabas regards t⁹

identity of the Aperu with the Hebrews as certain (*Mélanges Egyptologiques*, ii, p. 148; *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la 19me Dynastie*, pp. 99-105); Dr. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 128-9, 1st ed.), Dr. Eisenlohr (*Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 356-7), and M. Maspero are of the directly contrary opinion. Dr. Birch throws a doubt on the identification (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 128).

¹⁴⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 88, 1st ed.; Ex. i, 11-14.

¹⁴⁵ Ex. xii, 37.

¹⁴⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 100, 1st ed.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 165.

¹⁴⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Compare Ex. i, 11.

¹⁵⁰ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 426-8; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 114, 1st ed.

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 161.

¹⁵² Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 205, note 2, 2d ed.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 206, note 4.

¹⁵⁴ Herod. ii, 153.

¹⁵⁵ See the essay of M. Rozière in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, pp. 140-4.

¹⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 43 and 93, 1st ed.

¹⁵⁷ Brugsch, pp. 90, 98-9, etc.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 124-5.

¹⁵⁸ See the "Letter of Panbesa," translated by Mr. Goodwin in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 13-16, and by Dr. Brugsch in his *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 96-98, 1st ed.

¹⁵⁹ See above, vol. i, p. 106.

¹⁶⁰ For representations see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 185 b, and Roberts's *Egypt and Nubia*, vol. i, vignette on title-page.

¹⁶¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 185 et seqq.

¹⁶² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 90-1, 1st ed. In his concluding remarks, the writer appears to have forgotten that his own glory was, at any rate, the object mainly sought by Rameses in his erection of this edifice. Four colossi of himself form the façade; and in the interior he associates himself as a god with Ammon, Pthah, and Horus, (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 190 c; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 91, 1st ed.). We cannot ascribe to him any very elevated or intense religious feeling.

¹⁶³ *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 113, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁴ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 107; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 89, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁵ See the inscription translated by Brugsch, (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 34-42, 1st ed.).

¹⁶⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 127; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 109, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 87, 1st ed.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 88, 90, 93, 94, etc.

¹⁶⁹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 113, 1st ed.

¹⁷⁰ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 113-14, 1st ed.

¹⁷¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 93, 1st ed.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. 89.

¹⁷³ See the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. i, p. 229. Mr. Fergusson makes its height 77 ft. (*History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 117); M. Chabas closely agrees with this measurement (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 17).

¹⁷⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 19-24.

¹⁷⁵ Supra, p. 172.

¹⁷⁶ See above, vol. i, p. 107.

¹⁷⁷ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 89, 1st ed.

¹⁷⁸ Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 87, 1st ed. Compare vol. i, p. 44.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 34, 88, etc.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 87-8.

¹⁸¹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 190 c; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 91, 1st ed.

¹⁸² For a representation, see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 192 b.

¹⁸³ See above, pp. 162-163.

¹⁸⁴ Birch says (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 129); "Rameses exhibits in his features the refined Asiatic, different from the Nigritic type of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty." But no writer, so far as I am aware, has called attention to the nobility and beauty of the face, especially as represented in some of the statues.

¹⁸⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 111, 1st ed.

¹⁸⁶ "Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years." (Ps. xc, 10).

¹⁸⁷ Supra p. 163.

¹⁸⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 110, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 404; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 128. Here, for once, Manetho gave the right number of years (*Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. ii, p. 533).

¹⁸⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, Appendix, Table ii.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 111. This would allow the concubines an average of five children each, which is quite as many as would be at all probable.

¹⁹¹ See above, vol. i, p. 259; and compare Herod. ii, 92, with Wilkinson's note (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 127, 2d ed.).

¹⁹² Birch uses the former (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 129), Brugsch the latter form (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 111, 1st ed.).

¹⁹³ Brugsch, l.s.c.

¹⁹⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 301, note 500.

¹⁹⁵ Nor a description and plan of the Serapeum, see M. Mariette's *Choix de Monuments et de dessins découverts ou exécutés pendant le déblaiement du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1856.

¹⁹⁶ See the inscription in the temple of

Abydos translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 31-42, 1st ed.), where Rameses says of himself: "His breast had a tender feeling towards his parent, and his heart beat for him who brought him up" (p. 34). And again: "The most beautiful thing to behold, the best thing to hear, is a child with a thankful breast, whose heart beats for his father; wherefore my heart urges me to do what is good for Menephthah" (p. 36).

¹⁹⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 44, 1st ed.

¹⁹⁸ See above, pp. 172-73.

¹⁹⁹ As Usurtans III., by Thothmes III. (supra, p. 131).

²⁰⁰ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 190 c.

²⁰¹ Lenormant says: "Ce n'est qu'avec un véritable sentiment d'horreur qu'on peut songer aux milliers de captifs qui durent mourir sous le bâton des gardes-chiourmes, ou bien victimes des fatigues excessives et des privations de toute nature, en élevant en qualité de forçats les gigantesques constructions auxquelles se plaisait l'insatiable orgueil du monarque égyptien. Dans les monuments du règne de Ramsès II. il n'y a pas une pierre, pour ainsi dire, qui n'ait coûté une vie humaine" (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 423).

²⁰² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 98-9, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel*, l.s.c.; Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte aux temps de l'Exode*, pp. 147-8, etc.

²⁰³ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 111, 1st ed. Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 129) says the "thirteenth."

²⁰⁴ Ap. Syuceil. *Chronograph*. pp. 72, B, and 73, B.

²⁰⁵ Birch, l.s.c.

²⁰⁶ M. Chabas thinks that he was formally associated (*Recherches*, etc., p. 83.)

²⁰⁷ I.e. "soul of Ra."

²⁰⁸ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 132; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 118, 1st ed.

²⁰⁹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 200 a.

²¹⁰ Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte aux temps de l'Exode*, p. 82.

²¹¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 115, 1st ed. M. Chabas' attempt to contravene this statement (*Recherches*, etc., pp. 80-3) completely justifies it.

²¹² Brugsch, l.s.c.

²¹³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 116, 1st ed. Compare Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., p. 82.

²¹⁴ Chabas, p. 87; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 119, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 43.

²¹⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 127-8, 1st ed.

²¹⁶ *Ibid* pp. 126-7. Compare Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., pp. 95-7.

²¹⁷ On this date, see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 123, 1st ed.; and compare his work *On the Libyan Peo-*

ples in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries before Christ.

²¹⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 42; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 131; Chabas, *Recherches*, etc., p. 86; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 118, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 429.

²¹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 123-4, 1st ed.

²²⁰ Dr. Brugsch identifies the Akausha with the Achæans of the Caucasus, the Shartana with the Chartani, the Tursha with the Taurians, the Luku with the Ilgyes. He also suggests that the Uashash of the time of Rameses III. are the Ossetes, and the "Qalqasha" the "Caucasians!" (See his *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 124.)

²²¹ *Revue Archéologique* for 1867, pp. 167 et seqq.

²²² The date of Menephthah is probably about B.C. 1350. The Trojan war took place about B.C. 1250, according to Herodotus, Thucydides, and the author of the Life of Homer.

²²³ As M. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, pp. 187-98, and *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 84; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 429; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 130; etc.

²²⁴ See Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 144; and his *Homeric Syn-chronism*, pp. 139-43.

²²⁵ As the slain and the captives together exceeded 18,000, while very many escaped with Marnaii, the smaller estimate of the text would be the least possible, while the larger would be a highly probable number.

²²⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 118, § 13, 1st ed.

²²⁷ *Ibid*. p. 117, § 4.

²²⁸ The nome of Prosôpis lay between the Canopic and Sebennytic branches of the Nile, commencing at the point of their separation.

²²⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 41, § 6.

²³⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 119, § 29, 1st ed.

²³¹ *Ibid*. p. 120, § 33; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 44.

²³² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 120, § 35, 1st ed. M. Chabas omits the "sandals" (*Recherches pour servir*, etc., p. 88).

²³³ Chabas, p. 89; Brugsch, l.s.c.

²³⁴ There is some difficulty in making out the number of the slain, owing to omissions and repetitions. Birch estimates it at 12,535 persons (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 131). But the number of the hands and members brought in is given as 8481 only. (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 122, 1st ed.)

²³⁵ The exact number is given as 9876 (Brugsch, l.s.c.).

²³⁶ See the "Annals of Rameses III." in the "Great Harris Papyrus" (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 45).

²³⁷ The eighth year of Menephtah is the latest found upon the monuments. He may have reigned some time longer; but the twenty years of Africanus (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 72, b) are probably in excess.

²³⁸ Ex. v, 1.

²³⁹ Ibid. v, 6-19.

²⁴⁰ Ex. xii, 37.

²⁴¹ Ibid. xiv, 9.

²⁴² The belief of the Egyptians is indicated by Polyhistor, who quotes the opinion of the *men of Memphis*, that Moses watched the ebb of the *tide* which could only be on the southern side of the isthmus (*Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii, p. 253). The Hebrew tradition appears by the fact that the *Yam Suph* in the later Scriptures is always the Red Sea, never a portion of the Mediterranean (1 Kings ix, 26; Jer. xlix, 21, etc.). It is also sufficiently proved by the uniform rendering of the LXX.

²⁴³ Dr. Brugsch's paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists in 1874, and published in the second volume of the English version of his *History of Egypt* (pp. 333-68, 1st ed.), is beyond a doubt exceedingly ingenious, but it has failed to convince more than a select few.

²⁴⁴ Ex. xiv, 21.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. xv, 1-5.

²⁴⁶ Kalisch (*Comment on Exodus*, pp. 192-3) and others argue from Ex. xvi, 28, and xv, 9-12, that the Pharaoh perished; but I agree with Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 54) that "there is no authority in the writings of Moses for supposing that the Pharaoh was drowned." On the contrary, it seems to me that the omission of any reference to the Pharaoh's death is the strongest possible indication that he survived.

²⁴⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 130, 1st ed. The monuments leave the history of this period in much obscurity; and it must be granted to be uncertain whether Amon-mes revolted against Menephtah, or against his son, Seti II. I have been induced to place Amon-mes directly after Menephtah chiefly by his position in Manetho's lists (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 72, c, and 73, b.)

²⁴⁸ Eisenlohr in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i, p. 377; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 433.

²⁴⁹ Manetho omits Seti-Menephtah altogether. His name is sometimes found with marks of erasure upon his monuments. (See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 135).

²⁵⁰ See the "Great Harris Papyrus," translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 46, § 3; and compare *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 359-60, and Chabas, *Recherches pour servir*, etc., pp. 9-15.

²⁵¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 73, b.

²⁵² So Manetho, according to Africanus (Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 72, c). Eusebius gives Manetho's number as 26 (*Chron. Can.* pars. i, ch. xx, § 4).

²⁵³ See Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 77.

²⁵⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 136; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 202 e.

²⁵⁵ Seti II.'s monuments are found at Thebes, at Silsilis, and at Ipsambul in Nubia. There is also evidence of his rule being acknowledged in the extreme northeast (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 132, 1st ed.).

²⁵⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 135.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 204 e.

²⁵⁹ Baï says, in an inscription, that he "put away falsehood and gave honor to the truth, inasmuch as he set the king upon his father's throne" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 134, 1st ed.; Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 128).

²⁶⁰ Brugsch, l.s.c.: Eisenlohr in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i, pp. 377-8.

²⁶¹ Eisenlohr, l.s.c.

²⁶² Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 434.

²⁶³ Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 77.

²⁶⁴ Lenormant says categorically: "Siptah, pour légitimer son pouvoir, épousa une fille de Mérenptah I., la princesse Taouser" (*Manuel*, vol. i, pp. 433-4). But this is elevating a conjecture into an historical fact.

²⁶⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 201 a.

²⁶⁶ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 73, c; Euseb *Chron. Can.* l.s.c.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 201 a and b.

²⁶⁹ See the authorities quoted above (note ²⁵⁰), and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 137, 1st ed. Amid much diversity in details, there is a general agreement that a time of anarchy and confusion is described, when there was no central authority, and the gods were treated with neglect.

²⁷⁰ Nearly two centuries, according to the Manetho of Eusebius (*Chron. Can.* l.s.c., ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 73, c); but this is certainly an overestimate. (See above, p. 8.)

²⁷¹ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 108, 1st ed.

²⁷² Ibid. p. 106.

²⁷³ Ibid. p. 113.

²⁷⁴ See W. Palmer's *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. i, "Introduction," p. xv; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," pp. xxxv-xlii, etc.

²⁷⁵ The "Great Pyramid" of Ghizeh covers an area of 543,696 square feet, the "Second Pyramid" one of 499,849 square feet. The area covered by the Palace-Temple of Karnak is estimated at 430,000 square feet (Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 85 and 106).

²⁷⁶ Dean Stanley, quoting "Herodotus and others" as his authorities, expresses a belief that the "smooth out-sides of the Pyramids were covered

with sculptures" (*Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. liv). But the stone casing of the Second Pyramid, which still in part exists, shows no trace of any such ornamentation; and Herodotus speaks of nothing but a short legend in the hieroglyphic character on one of the Pyramids (ii, 125).

²⁷⁷ On Egyptian painting as subsidiary to architecture, see above, vol. i, pp. 117-118 and p. 134.

²⁷⁸ What Mr. Fergusson says of Egyptian architecture generally, in summing up its characteristics, is especially true of the period here spoken of: "Taken altogether, we may perhaps safely assert that the Egyptians were the most essentially a building people of all those we are acquainted with, and the most generally successful in all they attempted in this way. The Greeks, it is true, surpassed them in refinement and beauty of detail, and in the class of sculpture with which they ornamented their buildings, while the Gothic architects far excelled them in constructive cleverness; but, with these exceptions, no other styles can be put into competition with them. At the same time, neither Grecian nor Gothic architects understood more perfectly all the gradations of art and the exact character that should be given to every form and every detail. Whether it was the plain flat-sided pyramid, the crowded and massive hypostylé hall, the playful pavilion, or the luxurious dwelling,—in all these the Egyptian understood perfectly both how to make the general design express exactly what he wanted and to make every detail and all the various materials contribute to the general effect. They understood also, better than any other nation, how to use sculpture in combination with architecture, and to make their colossal and avenues of sphinxes group themselves into parts of one great design, and at the same time to use historical paintings, fading by insensible degrees into hieroglyphics on the one hand, and into sculpture on the other,—linking the whole together with the highest class of phonetic utterance. With the most brilliant coloring, they thus harmonized all these arts into one great whole, unsurpassed by anything the world has seen during the thirty centuries of struggle and aspiration that have elapsed since the brilliant days of the great kingdom of the Pharaohs" (Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 126, 1st ed.).

²⁷⁹ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. xxxvi.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. xxxv.

²⁸¹ See above, p. 144-145.

²⁸² Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. xxxvi.

²⁸³ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i, p. 113.

²⁸⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 90, 1st ed.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 91.

²⁸⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 63 a, 64 a, 76 b, 77 c, etc.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pls. 126 a, 130 a, 145 c, 154, 155, 158, etc.

²⁸⁸ See above, vol. i, pl. lvii. The representation given is only about one-fourth of the actual scene upon the monument.

²⁸⁹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxi. The date of this scene is a little later than the time here assigned to it, since it belongs to the reign of Rameses III.

²⁹⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 426. The latter writer says: "Les monuments de Ramesès II. nous font assister à une décadence radicale de la sculpture égyptienne, qui se précipite avec une incroyable rapidité à mesure qu'on s'avance dans ce long règne. Il débute par des œuvres dignes de toute admiration, qui sont le *nec plus ultra* de l'art égyptien; mais bientôt l'oppression universelle, qui pèse sur toute la contrée comme un joug de fer, tarit la source de la grande inspiration des arts. . . . A la fin du règne, la décadence est complète."

²⁹¹ Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 17.

²⁹² Lenormant, l.s.c.

²⁹³ *Supra*, p. 142.

²⁹⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 184.

²⁹⁵ *Supra*, pp. 46 and 65.

²⁹⁶ If there is any exception, it is in the reign of Thothmes III., who seems to have had a considerable regard for Set, and represents him not unfrequently on his monuments (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 33 g, 34 c, 35 b, 36 b).

²⁹⁷ See above, vol. i, p. 299, note ³⁷².

²⁹⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 125 a.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pl. 124 d.

³⁰⁰ As Seti II., Setnekht, Seti, and Setem-ua, sons of Rameses II., and others.

³⁰¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 30 a, 33 b, 46 a, 55 b, 56 a, 58, 65 d, 72, 74 a, 82 c, 124 d, 151 a, etc.

³⁰² *Ibid.* pl. 36 b.

³⁰³ *Ibid.* pls. 37 a and 169.

³⁰⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 43, 71, 72, 75, 76, etc.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.* vol. ii, pp. 38, 40, 43, etc., vol. iv, p. 44, etc.

³⁰⁶ See above, pp. 94, 95.

³⁰⁷ The only exception, so far as I know, was the appointment of priests, from a very early date, for the cult of the kings, in connection with their burial-place; but this seems to have been a domestic arrangement, and to have belonged to the general worship of ancestors, of which we have spoken *supra*, vol. i, p. 200-201.

³⁰⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 47, 59.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* pls. 54 a and 57 a.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* pt. iii, pl. 67.

³¹¹ *Ibid.* pls. 147 a, 151 b, 199 d, etc.

³¹² *Ibid.* pl. 143 c.

³¹³ See above, ch. xxi, note 162.

³¹⁴ Dean Stanley well says in reference to Rameses II.: "His image carries one back to the days when there were giants upon the earth. It shows how the king, in that first monarchy, was the visible god upon earth. The only thing like it that has since been seen is the deification of the Roman emperors. No pure monotheism could for a moment have been compatible with such an exaltation of the conquering king" (*Sinai and Palestine*, "Introduction," p. xxxvi).

³¹⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 1.

³¹⁶ Supra, plate xxi, fig. 35.

³¹⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 2 d.

³¹⁸ Ibid. pl. 69 a.

³¹⁹ Ibid. iii, pl. 92.

³²⁰ Ibid. pls. 92 and 93.

³²¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 8 and 203 e.

³²² Ibid. pl. 77 c.

³²³ Ibid. pl. 115.

³²⁴ See woodcut, fig. 40.

³²⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 95. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. lxix.

³²⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 63 a.

³²⁷ See above, vol. i, p. 229.

³²⁸ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. xliv, xc-xcii; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 190-201; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 12, etc.

³²⁹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. lxxiv; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 208 a.

³³⁰ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. xc and xci; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, frontispiece to vol. ii.

³³¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 2 b, c, 76 b, 100 b, 121, etc.

³³² Ibid. pl. 208 a.

³³³ Ibid. pl. 118. (See p. 188.)

³³⁴ See above, vol. i, plate lviii. Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxi, Nos. 23 and 26; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 165, 187 c, etc.

³³⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 115 and 127 b.

³³⁶ Ibid. pl. 76 a.

³³⁷ See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* vol. vi, pp. 510, 520; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 75, etc. Brugsch holds that a pair of horses had sometimes one name between them (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 13 and 16, 1st ed.).

³³⁸ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 335.

³³⁹ See above, vol. i, plate lviii.

³⁴⁰ Ibid. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 92, 128 a, 153, 166, and 187 d.

³⁴¹ Supra, pp. 127-128, and 141.

³⁴² Supra, pp. 49-50, 64, etc.

³⁴³ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 9-16.

³⁴⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 131, 1st ed.

³⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 45.

³⁴⁶ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 425.

³⁴⁷ The actual "Book of the Dead," as we have it, is taken from a papyrus of the twenty-sixth dynasty; but all the

oldest papyri, by means of which the "Book" was conveyed on and preserved, belong to the eighteenth. (See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v, pp. 130-1.)

³⁴⁸ See above, pp. 176-177.

³⁴⁹ Ex. i, 11-14, v, 6-19.

³⁵⁰ See the letter of Amenemhat to Pentaour, quoted in vol. i, pp. 494-5, which belongs to this period.

³⁵¹ The application of the bastinado to men has been already noticed; and indeed represented in vol. i, l.s.c. For the application of the stick to women, see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 153.

³⁵² See the sculptures, *passim*; and compare above, vol. i, p. 222.

³⁵³ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 128.

³⁵⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 222.

³⁵⁵ Supra, p. 130.

³⁵⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 140, vol. iv, pp. 143-5, vol. vi, pp. 153-6.

CHAPTER XXII.

¹ See above, p. 183.

² Rameses II. (See above, plate xxvii, fig. 60.)

³ "Evidemment," says M. Chabas, speaking of the account of this period given in the Great Harris Papyrus, "il s'agit de discordes civiles, qu'il est possible d'attribuer à une compétition entre des prétendants à la couronne, dont aucun ne réussit à triompher de ses adversaires. L'autorité se trouva fractionnée (*Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire*, etc., p. 136).

⁴ Chabas, p. 17; Eisenlohr, in *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i, p. 368.

⁵ Supra, p. 183.

⁶ There is a general agreement as to the meaning of this phrase not always found among the various translators of the papyrus. (See Chabas, p. 21; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 137; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 137, 1st ed.)

⁷ "Nous ignorons absolument l'origine de Set-nekht" (Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 136).

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 133-4, 1st ed.: "After his (Seti II.'s) death the sovereignty passed in regular succession to his son, Set-nakht."

⁹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 212 and 213 a.

¹⁰ Seti II.'s throne name was *Ra-user-khepru-meri-amon*; Set-nekht's *Ra-user-shau-meri-amon*, one element only being changed.

¹¹ Eisenlohr (*Transactions of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i, p. 371). Brugsch translates "the person of Set" (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 137, 1st ed.); Birch, "Kheper and Set" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 137); but the rendering of Dr. Eisenlohr seems preferable.

¹² Brugsch, l.s.c. Chabas and Birch agree nearly.

¹³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 201 a, b. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,


vol. ii. pp. 135-6, 1st ed., and Eisenlohr, in *Transactions of Soc. of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i, p. 376.

¹⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 133, 1st ed.

¹⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 47; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 138, 1st ed.

¹⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 206 d. ¹⁷ I.e. the sole monument of his erection. There is a tomb at Abydos which was sculptured in his reign, and which has an inscription containing his name, together with that of his wife. Tlmeri-hesi, a personage otherwise unknown. (See M. Mariette's *Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 439.)

¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 139, 1st ed. Brugsch says that the fact is "proved by the monuments," but adduces no proof. No doubt Rameses III. has for one of his titles

nefer neter, but  this title is common to all the kings from a very early period.

¹⁹ Herod. ii, 121, § 1.

²⁰ Brugsch, p. 140. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 137, and Chabas, *Recherches*, pp. 28-30.

²¹ It is evident that the classification of Rameses cannot comprise the whole of the population, since it excludes the entire agricultural and the entire mercantile class. It was, I think, a classification of those who were regarded as in some sense functionaries.

²² Gen. xlv, 8.

²³ Brugsch, l.s.c. I should incline to give the word a wider meaning, and regard it as including all *high* functionaries of whatever kind.

²⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 138. Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 31: "Il semble que les guerres de Ramsès soient introduites, non pas dans leur ordre chronologique, mais dans celui de leurs résultats glorieux."

²⁵ Birch, l.s.c.

²⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 48.

²⁷ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 140, 1st ed.

²⁸ Gen. xxxvi, 8, 9.

²⁹ The hieroglyphic name is read by Dr. Brugsch as *Asbita*, by M. Chabas (*Recherches*, p. 52) as *Sabata*. *Asbita* would well express the *Asbystæ*, who are called by Pliny (*H. N.* v, 5) *Hasbitæ*.

³⁰ In the original *Hasa*, which is well compared with *Auseis* (Herod. iv, 180).

³¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 48.

³² Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 54.

³³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 49; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 141, 1st ed.

³⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 138; Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 52.

³⁵ See Note B in the Appendix.

³⁶ So Rameses, in the inscription translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 147-8, 1st ed.).

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 148.

³⁸ See the representation of the engagement in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pl. x. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxii.

³⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 149, 1st ed.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 150. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 143.

⁴¹ See above, p. 180.

⁴² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 142-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 144; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 150-1, 1st ed. The "king of the miserable land of Kush" appears at the head of a series of fourteen captured princes in the sculptures of Medinet-Abou (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 209).

⁴⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 152, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 372-3, 3d ed.

⁴⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 145; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 143, 1st ed.

⁴⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 155, 1st ed.

⁴⁸ See *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pls. 9, 10; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxxii.

⁴⁹ Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, pt. iv, pls. 30-4; Birch, l.s.c.

⁵⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 156, 1st ed.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 155.

⁵² *Ibid.* pp. 154-5.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 157.

⁵⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 49, § 7.

⁵⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 144.

⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 141, 1st ed.

⁵⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 143, 1st ed. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 50, § 8.

⁵⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 50-1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 50, § 6. "There were brought to me," says the monarch, "marvels of real turquoises in numerous bags carried before me, not to be seen again while there are kings."

⁶⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 50, §§ 1-5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 49, §§ 8-13. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 142, 1st ed.

⁶² The catalogue of temple gifts offered by Rameses occupies fifty-one pages in the *Records of the Past*, vols. vi and viii.

⁶³ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 51, § 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* § 5.

⁶⁵ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 442. Compare Rosellini, *Mon. Civili*, vol. ii, pp. 132-7.

⁶⁶ See Virg. *Ecl.* v, 80; Hor. *Epod.* xvii, 76; Juv. *Sat.* vi, 611; Tacit. *Ann.* ii, 69; etc.

⁶⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 164, 1st ed. Many of the formulæ are given in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 121-6, and vol. x, pp. 137-58.

⁶⁸ The hieratic text of the Turin papyrus which contains the account of this trial was first translated into French by M. Devéria in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1865. Since then a translation into English has been made by M. Le Page, Renouf (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 57-65); and one into German by Dr. Brugsch. The latter has been done into English by the late Mr. Danby Seymour, and will be found in the translation of Dr. Brugsch's work so often quoted in these volumes (vol. ii, pp. 158-63).

⁶⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 165, 1st ed.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 164.

⁷¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 158-9, 1st ed. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 57-8.

⁷² No doubt it was also an institution at Athens, and may claim, so far, to be compatible with civilization and enlightenment.

⁷³ On the employment of punishments of this kind in ancient times, see the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 247, 2d ed.

⁷⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 65, § 1 and note.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* §§ 2-7.

⁷⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 166, 1st ed.

⁷⁷ The names are quite unlike Assyrian names, and have not even any clear Semitic derivation.

⁷⁸ Brugsch, l.s.c.

⁷⁹ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxxviii, No. 504.

⁸⁰ *Description de l'Égypte*, "Antiquités," vol. ii, pls. 10, 12; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 210, 211.

⁸¹ See above, plate xii, fig. 27, and plate xv, fig. 33.

⁸² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 145.

⁸³ See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 443.

⁸⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 167, 1st ed.

⁸⁵ The calendar set up by Rameses III. at Medinet-Abou is thought to prove that he ascended the throne in B.C. 1311 (Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 444). If this be so, and he died in his thirty-second year, his death would fall into B.C. 1279 or 1280. The astronomical date of B.C. 1240, three reigns after this (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147), is in accordance.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 85.

⁸⁷ Herod. ii, 179.

⁸⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, pp. 109-116. On the date of the "Travels," see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 104, 1st ed.

⁸⁹ Aristot. *Rhet.* ii, 15.

⁹⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 178, 191, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 446-7.

⁹¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 172, 1st ed.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 167; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxxviii, and Taf. xxxix, Nos. 504 and 504 bis.

⁹³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 167-71, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147.

⁹⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 220-222.

⁹⁵ We must except also his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, which is a work of some importance. (See Lepsius, *Grundplan des Grabes König Rameses IV.*, Berlin, 1867.)

⁹⁶ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xxxix, No. 505.

⁹⁷ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, Table ii, at end of volume.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 171-2; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 223 b.

⁹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 172-3, 1st ed. Others place Meritum between Rameses VIII. and Rameses IX. (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147).

¹⁰⁰ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 173, 1st ed. The date rests upon the calculations of the French astronomer, Biot.

¹⁰¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 174-7, 1st ed.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* Table ii, at end of vol. ii.

¹⁰³ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xl, No. 512.

¹⁰⁴ The nineteenth year of Rameses IX. is found upon the monuments (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 148).

¹⁰⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 247, 1st ed. Compare Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série, vol. i, pp. 60-106.

¹⁰⁶ Brugsch, vol. ii, p. 182.

¹⁰⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.

¹⁰⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 178, 1st ed. Compare Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série, vol. ii, pp. 1-2; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 153; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 446.

The position of the priests of Ammon at this time has been compared to that of the Mayors of the Palace under the later Merovingian kings of France.

¹⁰⁹ Brugsch, l.s.c.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 179.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 180-1.

¹¹² *Supra*, p. 211.

¹¹³ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xl, No. 517.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Taf. xli, No. 518.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Taf. xli, No. 519.

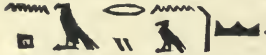
¹¹⁶ Rameses XIII. was known as Menma-ra Sotep-en-phthah, as Shaemuas, and as Soter-hak-on. See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xli, No. 522.

¹¹⁷ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 60, § 28; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 186, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 153.

¹¹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 189, 1st ed.

¹¹⁹ For the full narrative, see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 55-60; or Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 184-7, 1st ed.

¹²⁰ So Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 149. I conclude from this that the word used is not that commonly (and rightly) rendered by Naharain, which is



¹²¹ This is the earliest case of "possession" on record. That of Saul (I. Sam. xvi. 14) was above a century later.

¹²² In the twenty-sixth year of Rameses XII. (about B.C. 1140).

¹²³ Requests for gods were not unusual in the ancient world (Herod. v, 67; viii, 64, etc.). The god was identified with his image, or at any rate supposed to work through it. A special power was thought to attach to some images.

¹²⁴ For a representation, see Dr. Birch's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 151.

¹²⁵ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 59, § 17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* § 22.

¹²⁷ So Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 186, 1st ed.) Dr. Birch, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 60, § 24, makes the period one of "three years, four months, and five days."

¹²⁸ The phrase used—*em ua neh-neh*—like one paralyzed—is doubtful. It has been translated "lame"—"agitated"—"agitated and convulsed," etc. According to the general use of *neh*, no physical affection would be intended.

¹²⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 60, § 28.

¹³⁰ So Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 447).

¹³¹ Bagistan by M. de Rougé, Ecbatana by Dr. Brugsch; but the latter writer has retracted his conjecture (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 187, 1st ed.).

¹³² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 187, 1st ed.

¹³³ Mr. D. Haigh in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* for 1874, p. 65.

¹³⁴ The capital city of Tiglath-Pileser I. was called "Asshur," as well as his country.

¹³⁵ *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I.* in *Records of the Past*, vol. v, p. 19, par. 27. It is questioned, however, whether the Mizr or Muzr of this passage really represents Egypt.

¹³⁶ See above, p. 195.

¹³⁷ *Judg.* iii, 8.

¹³⁸ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xli, No. 522; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 187, 1st ed.

¹³⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 238.

¹⁴⁰ They occur at Karnak (*ibid.* pl. 237), El-Kaab (*ib.* pl. 236 b), Abd-el-Qurna (*ibid.* pls. 235, 236), and the Biban-el-Moluk (*ibid.* pl. 234).

¹⁴¹ Fergusson, *Handbook of Architec-*

ture, vol. i, p. 244 The tomb of Seti I. has five pillared chambers, and one "large and splendid chamber with a coved" or arched "roof" (*ib.* pp. 243-4).

¹⁴² Lenormant; *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 426.

¹⁴³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 212 a, 219 b, 220 b, e, 221 d, f, g, 223 c; and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxxv, Nos. 4, 5, 6, which belongs to the reign of Rameses IX.

¹⁴⁴ Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ See above, p. 193.

¹⁴⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 172, 1st ed.

¹⁴⁷ See *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, pp. 57-65; Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série, vol. i, pp. 47-173; vol. ii, pp. 3-26; etc.

¹⁴⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 158, 169, 179, etc., 1st ed.

¹⁴⁹ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 24-70, vol. viii, pp. 14-45.

¹⁵⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 171-2, 188, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 22-4, vol. viii, pp. 6-14.

¹⁵¹ Brugsch calls these tables "the most valuable contribution to astronomical science for all times" (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 173, 1st ed.); but I am not aware that they have been of any service as yet.

¹⁵² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 174-5, 1st ed.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 180 and 189.

¹⁵⁴ The "Book of Hades," as recently set forth (*Records of the Past*, vol. x, pp. 85-134), though taken principally from the tomb of Seti I., is in part derived from that of Rameses VI. It is wholly mystical. So also is the "magical Papyrus," which is pronounced to be "a work of the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty" (*ib.* p. 136).

¹⁵⁵ *Supra*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 164, 1st ed.

¹⁵⁷ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 443.

¹⁵⁸ See above, p. 211.

¹⁵⁹ See Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série, pp. 47-173.

¹⁶⁰ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, pl. x (opp. title-page), and p. 419, No. 189.

¹⁶¹ Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. cv, No. 2; cvlii, and cvliii. These vessels, which belong to the time of Rameses IV., have gayly patterned sails, gilded cabins ornamented with figures of men, and steerage oars gayly painted and terminating in the head of the god Horus, or of the king.

¹⁶² Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), vol. i, pl. xi. bis (opp. p. 436); *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 236.

¹⁶³ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 214, 233, 234.

¹⁶⁴ See the woodcut fig. 64.

¹⁶⁵ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 246 d.

¹⁶⁶ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 236.

CHAPTER XXIII.

- ¹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73, c.
² See above, p. 105.
³ *Supra*, p. 212. We should therefore have expected each successive high-priest to have been a Theban.
⁴ See Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 259; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 191, 1st ed.
⁵ So Lepsius, *l.s.c.* Brugsch (p. 192) suggests that he drove Rameses XIII. into banishment.
⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 243-248.
⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 154. Brugsch calls Her-hor's veracity in question, and suggests that he "conferred on himself the honorary title of conqueror of the Ruten, to which he had no right" (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 193, 1st ed.). But I see no ground for this supposition.
⁸ Her-hor seems to have had nineteen sons, and an equal number of daughters. (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 247 a, b).
⁹ So Birch, *l.s.c.* Yet he gives *netem*.



, as an Egyptian word signifying "sweet" in his *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*. (See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v, p. 453.)

- ¹⁰ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 450.
¹¹ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Nos. 533 to 551.
¹² Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, p. 287. Compare above, pp. 186-7.
¹³ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 243, 244 a, 245 b, c, 246 a, b.
¹⁴ *Ibid.* pls. 244 b, 246 c.
¹⁵ See fig. 49, and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. x, No. 40.
¹⁶ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, pp. 576-7; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, table iv, at the end.
¹⁷ I am not aware of any monument erected by Piankh. His name is found, almost exclusively, on monuments erected by his son. (See *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 249 c, d; pl. 250 a; pl. 251 a, b; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxlvii, No. 3).
¹⁸ So Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 154. The fact is, however, disputed.
¹⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 194, 1st ed.
²⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 194-7, 1st ed.
²¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 251 i, k.
²² *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, pl. 251 t.
²³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 197-202.
²⁴ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, p. 284; *Königsbuch*, Taf. xliii; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 155.
²⁵ 1 Kings iii, 1; vii, 8.
²⁶ *Ibid.* x, 29.
²⁷ *Ibid.* xi, 18-20.
²⁸ 1 Kings xi, 40.
²⁹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73, c.

CHAPTER XXIV.

- ¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 197-206, 1st ed.
² See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 81, 2d ed.
³ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 66, 2d ed.
⁴ *Ibid.* p. 89.
⁵ Assyria appears as Assura,



, in the inscriptions of Thothmes III. (See above, pp. 241-2.)

- ⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 192-3, 1st ed.
⁷ The names on which special reliance is placed are those of Takelot, Osarkon, and Namrut, which are identified with Tiglath, Sargon, and Nimrod. Sheshonk is parallel with the mystic name of Babylon, Sheshach (Jer. xxv, 26, li, 41); and a name, Nebnesha, among those of the ancestors of Sheshonk, is read as Nabonasi, and called Chaldean or Babylonian. Now, of these, Tiglath, *alone*, is never an Assyrian name, and could not be, since it means "adoration," and requires a suffix—"adoration to some one," e.g. Ninip, Pal-tsira, etc. Nimrod is never found as an Assyrian name, and indeed is a word whereof it is difficult to find any representative either in Assyria or Babylonia. Sargon, it is true, was an old Babylonian name, and came into use in Assyria about B.C. 720. But is Osarkon Sargina or Sargon? If so, why the un-

necessary prefix, Ua or O, , which

is not at all common at the beginning of words in Egyptian? Sheshonk, as Lepsius has shown (*Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, p. 288, is more likely the Jewish proper name Shishak (1 Chr. viii, 14, 25) than the mystical city name Sheshach (which is Babel spelt mystically by reversing the letters of the alphabet). Nebnesha, read as Nabonasi, has a Babylonian look, but, read as Nebnesha, is not even necessarily Semitic. Dr. Birch, who is an advocate of the Semitic origin of the Sheshonks, yet allows that they were possibly "Libyans" and not Semites (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 155).
⁸ See above, p. 104.
⁹ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 74, b.
¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 78, c.
¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 73, d.
¹² Osarkon II. and Sheshonk III. See below, pp. 228 and 229.
¹³ The early history of the Sheshonk family is made known to us by one of the Apis stelæ discovered by M. Mariette. (See his work *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 22.) An excellent comment on this inscription will be found in the

small brochure of Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, pp. 265 et seq.

¹⁴ Her rank is shown by the prefix,

suten sat, , which occurs be-

fore her name (Lepsius, p. 268, line 11).

Lepsius uses the first, Brugsch the second, of these forms. Mehtenhout was probably a daughter of Menkhepra or Pasebensha (Psusennes).

¹⁶ So Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 374, 3d ed.) and Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 452).

¹⁷ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 252-4; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxlviii.

¹⁸ 1 Kings xi, 28.

¹⁹ 1 Kings xi, 40.

²⁰ See the apocryphal additions to the First Book of Kings contained in the Septuagint, where Jeroboam is said to have married a daughter of Sheshonk. Compare Syncellus (*Chronograph*, p. 184, A).

²¹ 1 Kings xii, 6-20.

²² See above, ch. xxiv, note 7.

²³ See 2 Chron. xii, 3. The "twelve hundred chariots" of this passage are a number not incredible; but it is difficult to believe that Egypt ever mustered "sixty thousand horsemen." One is inclined to suspect a corruption of "six" into "sixty."

²⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 156.

²⁵ 2 Chron. xii, 4. Compare 1 Kings xiv, 25.

²⁶ 2 Chron. xi, 5-12.

²⁷ As Shoco (or Socoh), Adullam, Azekah, Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, Tekoa, Hebron, etc.

²⁸ 2 Chron. xii, 4.

²⁹ 1 Kings xiv, 26; 2 Chron. xii, 9.

³⁰ This is implied in the expressions, "they shall be his servants"—"that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms" (2 Chron. xii, 8).

³¹ 2 Chron. xi, 13-14.

³² See the remarks of Mr. R. Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 1294.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 1293.

³⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 253 b, c, 254 c, etc.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 253 a.

³⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 252. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxlviii.

³⁷ Grammatical objections may be taken to both the proposed translations of "Yuteh-Malk"—"Judah, a kingdom," and "Judah's king." But Mr. Stuart Poole has shown that the former rendering, at least, is a possible one (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 1293).

³⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 210, 1st ed.

³⁹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 254 c.

⁴⁰ Ap. Synceii, *Chronograph*, pp. 73, D, 74, D.

⁴¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 213, 1st ed.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 212.

⁴³ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 257 b, c.

⁴⁴ Ap. Syncell. l. s. c.

⁴⁵ This was the view of Dr. Hincks. M. Lenormant places the expedition in the reign of Osarkon I., but without identifying him with Zerah (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 453).

⁴⁶ 2 Chron. xiv, 9-13.

⁴⁷ Jeroboam fled to Shishak soon after Solomon began to build Millo (1 Kings xi, 27), which was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign (ib. vi, 1; ix, 10, 24). He must have remained at the court of Shishak some fourteen or fifteen years. The expedition was not till more than four years afterwards (ib. xiv, 25). Thus it can scarcely have been earlier than Sheshonk's eighteenth year.

⁴⁸ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 257 b, c.

⁴⁹ *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xii, No. 46.

⁵⁰ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 214, 1st ed. The monuments are so few and scanty for this period that historians are tempted to spin their narratives respecting the dynasty out of very unsubstantial materials. I confess I see no sufficient ground for Dr. Brugsch's "contest between the two brothers."

⁵¹ Manetho allowed twenty-five years only for the three kings who followed after Osarkon I. (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 73, D). As one of them (Osarkon II.) reigned at least twenty-two years, very little time indeed is left for the two others. Of course, Manetho may have been mistaken; but the want of monuments for the reigns of Takekut I. and Sheshonk II. tends to confirm him.

⁵² Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, pp. 268-9. Compare Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 22.

⁵³ An Apis died after he had entered on his twenty-third year (Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 18).

⁵⁴ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 254 c.

⁵⁵ There is no proof of this, and it is only thrown out as a conjecture; but the name is a new and strange one, certainly not Egyptian.

⁵⁶ Asa's revolt is indicated by his fortification of his strongholds (2 Chron. xiv, 6-7).

⁵⁷ 2 Chron. xiv, 9-13. As Zerah's chariots were only 300, it is unlikely that his army was as numerous as that of Shishak, whose chariots were 1200. The "thousand thousand" of the author of Chronicles probably means only "very numerous."

⁵⁸ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xlv, Nos. 589, 591, and 597.

⁵⁹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 215, 1st ed.

⁶⁰ Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, l. s. c.

⁶¹ See 2 Chron. xiv, 9-13. The arguments there used apply equally to the reigns of Takekut I. and Sheshonk II.

⁶² See Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. Königsdynastie*, Taf. i, at the end of the treatise. Dr. Birch, however, suggests that Takelut II. was the nephew, and not the son, of Sheshonk II. (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 158).

⁶³ Ap. Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 73, d.

⁶⁴ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 454-6; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 219-24, 1st ed.

⁶⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 157; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 217.

⁶⁶ This dynasty appears to have consisted of three kings, Pet-si-bast (Petubastes), who is given by Manetho forty years; Osarkon, who is given nine years, and Psimut (Psammus), who is given ten. Manetho adds a Zet (Seti?), of whom there is no trace in the monuments, and assigns him thirty-one years.

⁶⁷ The most important of the reliefs are given in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii, where they occupy no more than six of the plates (pls. 252-259).

⁶⁸ See Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, pls. 23 et seqq.

⁶⁹ Two statues only belonging to the time are mentioned in the *Denkmäler* (pt. iii, pls. 256 h and 259 c). The British Museum has, I think, none.

⁷⁰ As one of a king (No. 2277) in the "First Egyptian Room" of the British Museum, and a statuette represented by Lepsius in the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 256 e.

⁷¹ See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 210-13, and 220-2, 1st ed.

⁷² The "Magical Papyrus," translated by Dr. Birch in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, pp. 115-26, "appears to have been written between the twenty-first and the twenty-sixth dynasties" (ibid. p. 144). The "spells in the tomb of Boken-rauf" belong to the same form of literature, and approach to, or come within, the period.

⁷³ *Records of the Past*, vol. vi, p. 115.

⁷⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 212, 1st ed.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 221, 1st ed.

CHAPTER XXV.

¹ See vol. i, pp. 37-8, and 114-15.

² See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i, p. 57.

³ Herod. iii, 19-22; Strab. xvii, 1, § 3; Diod. Sic. i. 30-3; iii. 32-3; etc.

⁴ Herod. ii, 146; Ptol. *Geograph.* vi, 7.

⁵ These limits must be understood as indicating about the extent of the kingdom of Meroë, not as its actual limits at all times, or indeed perhaps at any time.

⁶ See the articles on MEROE and NAPATA in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*; and compare Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 41-2, note ², 3d ed.

⁷ Diod. Sic. iii. 6.

⁸ This is very strongly marked in the Egyptian wall sculptures, where the Egyptians are painted dark-red, the Ethiopians jet-black.

⁹ Gen. x, 6.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 143-144.

¹¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 227, 1st ed.

¹² See Mr. Bunbury's article on MEROE in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. ii, p. 330.

¹³ Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, p. 25. One tribe of Ethiopians was called the Chelenophagi, or "Turtle-eaters."

¹⁴ Dio Cass. liv, 5.

¹⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 226, 1st ed. Except the name Piankhi, common to the Ethiopians with the family of Her-hor, and the special devotion to Ammon of the Ethiopian Piankhi, there is little to prove any connection of the kind postulated. But even the conjectures of experts have a value.

¹⁶ Isaiah xix, 13; Ezek. xxx. 13, 16, etc.

¹⁷ Brugsch, l.s.c. Compare Table iv, at the end of his second volume.

¹⁸ See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 1; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 81; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 231, 1st ed.

¹⁹ Compare the *strategi* under the Persian system, who are quite independent of the satraps (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, pp. 556-7).

²⁰ The great efforts of warlike princes were almost always made in their early years. Youth is the time for vigorous effort; and the desire of military glory is then strongest. Upstart princes were under a special temptation to rush into war with the object of consolidating their power.

²¹ This date must not be regarded as exact, but approximate. It depends on the following considerations: Sabaco's first year must, by his synchronism with Hoshea (2 Kings xvii, 4), have been as early as B.C. 723 or 724. Bocchoris, who preceded him, reigned (at least) six years.—say B.C. 730-724. Piankhi had reigned twenty-one years before the revolt, and must be presumed to have continued on the throne some years after it. A moderate estimate for his reign would be twenty-five years. This would make his first year B.C. 755.

²² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 82, § 3.

²³ Hasebek (Crocodilopolis) is mentioned as one of the first places which Tafnekhth occupied (ibid. § 4). According to Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 247, 1st ed., it was one of the last to make its submission to Piankhi.

²⁴ *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.

²⁵ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 832, § 5, 1st ed.

²⁶ Ibid. § 7.

²⁷ Called Wuapat by Canon Cook,

Uaput by Dr. Birch, but the same name with that of the eldest son of Sheshonk I., which is commonly read as Auput.

²⁸ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 83, § 8; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 232, 1st ed.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 324, § 22, 1st ed.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 235.

³¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 236, § 29. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 88.

³² Some doubt whether this is intended literally, but both Brugsch and Birch so understand the passage.

³³ See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 1, from which the accompanying woodcut is taken.

³⁴ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 93, §§ 85-6. Piankhi promised indeed that "only the rebels against the god (*i.e.* himself), the vile, and the worthless should be executed;" but no one could tell that he might not be included in this wide category.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 95, § 92. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 241, 1st ed.

³⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. ii, p. 98, § 105.

³⁷ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 162. Brugsch thinks that he had merely fled to one of the Nile islands (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 246, § 129, 1st ed.).

³⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 246-7, 1st ed.

³⁹ The inscription of Piankhi terminates as follows: "When his Majesty sallied up the river, his heart was glad; all its banks resounded with music. The inhabitants of the west and east took to make melody at his Majesty's approach. To the notes of the music they sang: 'O king, thou conqueror! O Piankhi, thou conquering king! Thou hast come and smitten Lower Egypt; thou madest the men as women. The heart of thy inother rejoices, who bore such a son: for he who begat thee dwells in the vale of death. Happiness be to thee, O cow who hast borne the bull! Thou shalt live for ever in after ages. Thy victory shall endure. O king and friend of Thebes'" (Brugsch, *l.c.*; De Rougé, *Inscription Historique du Roi Piankhi-Mériamoun*, p. 15.)

⁴⁰ *Diod. Sic.* i, 79-94; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 74, B.

⁴¹ The statement of Diodorus to this effect (i, 45, § 2) receives some confirmation from the stèle of Piankhi, which makes Tafnekt king of Sais a little before the time of Bocchoris.

⁴² The name of Bocchoris (Bek-en-ran) has been found nowhere but at the Serapeum of Memphis, where it appeared on several stelæ in one of the Apis tombs, and was also traced in black on one of the walls (Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 24, and pl. 34).

⁴³ See *Diod. Sic.* i, 79, §§ 1-3; 94, § 5.

⁴⁴ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 74, B.

⁴⁵ Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, p.

24. The authority of Eusebius is always weak, compared with that of Africanus. Here his number (forty-four) is exceptionally suspicious from its repetition.

⁴⁶ The names Shabak, Shabatok, Taharak, are genuine Ethiopian, terminating in the Ethiopic article. Shabak is "the tom-cat;" Shabatok, "the son of the tom-cat." Shabak has also a genuine Ethiopian countenance, prognathous, and with lips thicker than the later Egyptians. (See plate xxiv, fig. 52.)

⁴⁷ Herod. ii, 137. Herodotus says those whom he thus employed were "criminals;" but the forced labor of the really criminal population would scarcely have sufficed to raise conspicuously all the embankments of all the towns. Shabak probably regarded as "criminals" all the disaffected.

⁴⁸ Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph*, p. 74, B.

⁴⁹ So Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii, p. 597, and Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 1337. Recent writers on Egypt do not notice the fact; and Dr. Birch even speaks of his being "supposed" to have reigned only eight years (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 165).

⁵⁰ Herod. ii, 139. Piankhi had, it is evident, resided at Napata.

⁵¹ Shabak's "name is found on the monuments of Karnak" (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, *l.c.*). It occurs also in the Serapeum of Memphis (Mariette, *Sérapéum*, p. 26) and on a slab of stone now in the British Museum, which must have belonged to the great temple of Pthah at Memphis (Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série, vol. i, p. 248). Rosellini has some representations of his sculptures (*Monumenti Storici*, pl. cli, Nos. 2 and 3), but does not say where they were set up.

⁵² Hoshea's embassy cannot have been sent later than B.C. 723, since it preceded the commencement of the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser, which was, at the latest, in that year. It was most probably sent in B.C. 724, which I incline to regard as the year of Sabaco's accession.

⁵³ *Supra*, p. 127.

⁵⁴ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 83-133, 2d ed.

⁵⁵ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 142-5, 2d ed.

⁵⁶ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 156.

⁵⁷ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 145-7.

⁵⁸ *Isaiah* xx, 1.

⁵⁹ Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargones*, p. 27.

⁶⁰ It is not necessary to suppose that he really went to Assyria. The Assyrian klugs often held courts for the express purpose of receiving homage at provincial towns in their dominions. Tiglath-Pileser held such a court at Damascus, where Ahaz did homage (2 Kings xvi, 10).

⁶¹ This is the length of reign that Manetho gave him, according to Africanus (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 74, B). It is adopted by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place.* vol. ii, p. 597). Chronological considerations seem to me to require the number.

⁶² *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cli, No. 5.

⁶³ *Monuments Divers*, pl. 29, No. e, 2.

⁶⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 269, 1st ed. Compare Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 29, No. e, 1.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, ch. xvi, note 5.

⁶⁶ *Supra*, p. 42. There is a slight modification here, the king of the fifth dynasty having been named Tatkara.

⁶⁷ Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* l.s.c.

⁶⁸ *Strab.* i, 3, § 21.

⁶⁹ See 2 Kings xviii. 21. At any rate it was Tirhakah who moved to his relief (ib. xix, 9), and who must have been lord-paramount of Egypt at the time.

⁷⁰ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 150-60, 2d ed.

⁷¹ 2 Kings xviii, 13-16.

⁷² *Ibid.* verses 17 et seqq.

⁷³ So Herodotus ii, 141. Pelusium was the usual point at which Egypt was entered from the northeast.

⁷⁴ The names, Shabatok and Sethos, are too remote to be properly regarded as identical. Moreover, Sethos is said to have been high-priest of the Memphian Phthah, a title never given to Shabatok. It must be remembered that Egypt at this time was full of sub-kings. (Compare Is. xix, 1, 11, 13).

⁷⁵ As caused by the simoom, by a pestilence, or by the direct visitation of God.

⁷⁶ Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 79.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 85.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* pl. 87.

⁷⁹ Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, pp. 26 and 28.

⁸⁰ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cl.

⁸¹ Megasthenes, Fr. 20.

⁸² See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 186-96.

⁸³ Herod. iii, 7-9.

⁸⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 166.

⁸⁵ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 193. This fact was first brought forward, and the names of the princes and their cities were first deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson, whose paper on the subject in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. vii, pp. 136 et seqq., has priority over all others, whether published in England or abroad.

⁸⁶ Herod. ii, 152.

⁸⁷ The fifty-four years of the reign of Psamatik I commence, according to the view now generally taken, in B.C. 667 or B.C. 666 (See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 277; and compare Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.*, p. 121, who makes the date B.C. 664, and Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* vol. iii, p. 1514, who makes it B.C. 669.

⁸⁸ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 195.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 201.

⁹⁰ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 202.


⁹¹ G. Smith, *History of Asshurbanipal*, pp. 47, 52, etc.

⁹² Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 170-171. Compare Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, pp. 464-5. Dr. Brugsch makes Miammon-Nut succeed Piankhi (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 248, 1st ed.).

⁹³ The close connection of Miammon-Nut with Tirhakah is strongly exhibited in the sculptures and inscriptions of the Phthah-Osiris temple at Memphis, which Tirhakah probably began, but which must have been completed by Miammon-Nut. In one sculpture they are represented as if they were both reigning together. Tirhakah in Lower and Miammon-Nut in Upper Egypt (*Mariette, Monuments Divers*, pl. 83).

⁹⁴ See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 81. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 250, 1st ed.

⁹⁵ The serpent (*cobra de capello*),

ur,  was the hieroglyphic for

"crown" or "kingdom," whence the interpretation.

⁹⁶ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 81, §§ 5, 6.

⁹⁷ So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 250, § 7, 1st ed. Maspero translates "1,100,000 men" (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 82, note 1); but this number is scarcely a possible one.

⁹⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 252, § 16, 1st ed.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 251, §§ 14-15.

¹⁰⁰ *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 83, § 17.

¹⁰¹ See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 79-84.

¹⁰² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 252, §§ 19-21, 1st ed.

¹⁰³ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 254, 1st ed.; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv, p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ From about B.C. 750 when Piankhi established himself as king. (See above, p. 223.)

¹⁰⁵ The court added to the temple of Medinet-Abou by Tirhakah is the highest effort of the Ethiopians. It is not without merit, but cannot be said to possess real artistic excellence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

¹ See Hom. *Il.* ix, 381-4; Herod. ii, 3, 143; Hecat. Fr. 276; Diod. Sic. i, 31, 45; *Strab.* xvii. 1, § 46.

² Nahum iii, 8-9.

³ See above, p. 235.

⁴ G. Smith's *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 341. The exact date given is B.C. 652-1.

⁵ G. Smith's *History of Asshurbanipal*, p. 155. Egypt is undoubtedly intended, though the word used is *Milukha* (Meroë or Ethiopia).

⁶ As related by Herodotus (ii, 151) and Diodorus (i, 66).

⁷ G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 66, ll. 24-7.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 66, l. 28.

⁹ So Herodotus (ii, 152), who, however, knows nothing of their having been sent by Gyges.

¹⁰ Gyges had taken the Ionian city of Colophon (Herod. i, 14), and had thus Ionian subjects, whom he could force to serve. His Carian troops were probably *mercenaries*. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 200, 2d ed.)

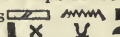
¹¹ Diod. Sic. i, 66.

¹² Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 291.

¹³ Inarōs was the son of a Psamatik (Herod. vii, 7, ad fin.).

¹⁴ *Supra.* pp. 179, 198, 200-201.

¹⁵ See plate xxii, fig. 47, which is taken from a votive table in the British Museum.

¹⁶ Or Shepunteput, as Lepsius renders the original, which is 

(See the treatise of this writer, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 302, and Tafel ii, at the end of the work.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, and compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 173.

¹⁸ Herod. ii, 154.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 30. Mr. Grote supposed that the "camps" of the Greeks and Carians near Bubastis superseded the Pelusiac garrison (*History of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 497, ed. of 1862). But this is nowhere stated.

²⁰ The latest writer on this period (Dr. Wiedemann) pronounces the entire story of the revolt and desertion of the warriors to be "unhistorical" (*Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 137). But this would seem to be an excess of scepticism. The narrative, in its general outline, is accepted as true by Wilkinson, Grote, Lenormant, Birch, Trevor, and others. I see no reason to doubt it.

²¹ Herod. ii, 30.

²² *Ibid.* He makes the number of the deserters 240,000.

²³ Diod. Sic. i, 67. He says they exceeded 200,000.

²⁴ This is the only place within the limits of Ethiopia where the course of the Nile is from west to east. (See Herod. ii, 31.)

²⁵ Pomp. Mel. iii, 10; Plin. *H. N.* vi, 35, § 191; Steph. Byz. ad voc. *Αὐτόμολοι*. Strabo, however, gives them the name of Sembritæ (xvii, 1, § 2).

²⁶ Herod. ii, 28.

²⁷ Dumb, not by nature, but by command; being forbidden to utter a word in presence of the children.

²⁸ Herod. ii, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 154.

³⁰ There is some question as to whether Psamatik I., or Amasis, first threw Egypt open to the foreigner. I

agree with Mr. Grote that "the establishment of the Greek factories and merchants at Naucratis may be rather considered as dating in the reign of Psammetichus" (*History of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 496).

³¹ Herod. ii, 179.

³² Strab. xvii, p. 801.

³³ Herod. ii, 178.

³⁴ Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, traded in wine between Lesbos and Naucratis (Strab. xvii, p. 807). On the large quantity imported, see Herod. iii, 6.

³⁵ Herod. ii, 135.

³⁶ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 504-6.

³⁷ Herod. ii, 157.

³⁸ The latest date assigned to Psammetichus by modern writers is B.C. 610 (Weidemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 121). Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 277, 1st ed.) makes the date of his last year B.C. 612. Others (as Lenormant) carry it back to B.C. 618. If this view is correct, three years only would have elapsed between his establishment of himself as king of all Egypt and his first attack on Ashdod. If the date of Brugsch be preferred, the interval would have been one of nine years.

³⁹ Ashdod, אֲשְׁדֹד, is probably derived from a cognate root with the Arable *shedeed*, "strong." Compare Hebrew אֲשֵׁר.

⁴⁰ The ten years' sieges of Troy and Veil have been rejected as of impossible duration (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. i, p. 248; Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 468, E. T.); but the far longer and more incredible siege of Azotus has met with ready acceptance (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 498; Lenormant, *M. nuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 470). Wiedemann, however, suggests a doubt (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 131) which is certainly well-founded.

⁴¹ The Egyptian wars, like those of the Orientals generally, consisted, for the most part, of a series of spring or summer campaigns, begun and ended in the course of a few months, and continued year after year till the enemy was exhausted, and submitted.

⁴² Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, l. s. c.

⁴³ Compare *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, pp. 508-16.

⁴⁴ Herod. i, 104.

⁴⁵ The description in Ezek. xxxviii, may have a general bearing on the struggle between good and evil (see *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. vi, p. 157); but its more striking features are probably derived from the Scythic invasion with which the prophet was contemporary. Gog is made to say: "I will go up to the land of *unwalled villages*; I will go to them that are at rest, and

that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls and having neither bars nor gates, to take a spoil and to take a prey, to turn thine hand upon the desolate places that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, that dwell in the midst of the land" (verses 11, 12).

⁴⁶ Judg. i, 18, xiv, 19; Xanth. Lyd. Fr. 25; Herod. i, 105.

⁴⁷ Compare Justin, ii, 3, § 14, with Herod. l.s.c.; and, for the nature of the malady which came on the Scythians at Ascalon, see Hippocrat. *De Aere, Aqua, et Locis*, vi, 108.

⁴⁸ It is suspected that they made a settlement at this time in the Jordan valley, occupying Beth-shan, which from them took its later name of Scythopolis (Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 214, c).

⁴⁹ Herod. ii, 153. Three courts had been made, and three gateways built on three sides of the temple previously (ib. 101, 121, § 1, and 136). The south side alone remained without a separate approach.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* For a representation of the court see the frontispiece to vol. i of Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*.

⁵¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 175-6.

⁵² Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 127.

⁵³ Wiedemann, l.s.c.

⁵⁴ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iv, p. 169.

⁵⁵ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 175; Wiedemann, l.s.c. Among the works of Psammetichus at Heliopolis was the "elegant obelisk of red granite" which now adorns the piazza of the Monte Citorio at Rome (Valéry, *Travels in Italy*, p. 564). This monument was transported to Rome by Augustus, and set up there originally in the Campus Martius, where it formed the gnomon of a gigantic sundial (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi, 14).

⁵⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 177.

⁵⁷ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 304, and Tafel ii, at the end of the work.

⁵⁸ Wiedemann speaks of another son, Horus, of whom there is a statue in the museum of the Louvre (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 145).

⁵⁹ Lepsius, l.s.c. Dr. Wiedemann suspects that Psammetichus himself took his daughter, Nitocris, as a secondary wife, in order to strengthen his title to the throne (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 143-4); but his ground for this, that she is called "royal wife," as well as "royal daughter," on a tomb (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 270 b) where the only king mentioned by name is Psammetichus does not seem to me sufficient to establish such an improbability.

⁶⁰ Psammetichus cannot have been less than seventy at his death, since he must have been fourteen or fifteen at least when he was associated by his father (supra, p. 241). Probably he was

as much as seventy-four or seventy-five. His eldest son would most likely have been fifty by that time.

⁶¹ The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty had constantly been supported in their Syrian invasions by fleets. (See above, pp. 127, 135, etc.) Cambyses took care to be accompanied by one when he attacked Egypt (Herod. iii, 1, 13). It was the loss of his fleet in the battle of the Nile that forced Napoleon I. to abandon the idea of holding Egypt and Syria.

⁶² Herodotus makes the canal attempt anterior to the construction of the fleets (ii, 159). But probability is against this. I agree with Wiedemann, who says: "Seine erste Sorge, nachdem er den Thron der Pharaonen bestiegen hatte, war . . . eine (Flotte zu gründen" *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 147).

⁶³ Herod. l.s.c.

⁶⁴ See above, vol. i, p. 250.

⁶⁵ *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 176, 1st ed.

⁶⁶ Thucyd. i, 13.

⁶⁷ Herod. ii, 154.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 159.

⁶⁹ So Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 147. I have long been of the same opinion.

⁷⁰ Supra, pp. 161 and 171.

⁷¹ Herod. ii, 158.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ It is not likely that the idea embodied in the supposed oracle would have presented itself to the mind of any Egyptian until the attempt of Neco was carried to a successful issue by Darius.

⁷⁴ Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 207, note 7, 2d ed.

⁷⁵ Herod. l.s.c.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 8.

⁷⁷ So Herodotus (iv, 42). The fact of the circumnavigation has been much disputed; but it is accepted by Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 499), Junker (*Forschungen aus der Geschichte des Alterthumes*, No. 3), Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 149), Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 178), and others.

⁷⁸ Neco's accession is placed by the best authorities between B.C. 612 and 610. His attack on Syria seems to have been certainly in B.C. 608.

⁷⁹ Herod. ii, 159.

⁸⁰ That the land force consisted to a large extent of the Greek and Carian mercenaries, especially the former, is indicated by the fact that Neco sent the armor in which he fought at Megiddo to be hung up as a thank-offering in the Grecian temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus—the first offering which any Egyptian monarch had made to a Greek shrine. (See Herod. l.s.c., and compare Strab. xvii, p. 634.)

⁸¹ The ordinary coast route proceeded northwards as far as Dor, when it bent inland to avoid the *detour* round the base of Carmel, and crossed the spur

joining Carmel to the Samaritan highland. Here Megiddo was situated. On the mistake of Herodotus in substituting Magdolon for Megiddo, see the author's note in his *Herodotus*, (vol. ii, p. 208, note¹, 2d ed.)

⁸² 2 Kings xxiii, 15-19; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 6-9.

⁸³ 2 Kings xxii, 29.

⁸⁴ 2 Chron. xxxv, 21.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* The Egyptian kings generally ascribed their wars to divine direction. Sometimes visions were seen, as by Menepthah (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv, pp. 43-4); sometimes the king claimed that God spoke to him by an internal voice. (See the "Inscription of Pianchi" in vol. ii of the above-cited work, p. 91, § 69, ad fin.)

⁸⁶ See 2 Chron. xiv, 12; xvi, 8.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* xxxv, 24.

⁸⁸ This is evident both from 2 Kings xxiv, 7, where we hear of Nebuchadnezzar retaking "from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt," and also from Berosus (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 11, § 2), where we find an account of this re-conquest.

⁸⁹ This appears from the three months' reign of Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii, 31), who was made king when Josiah died of his wound, and deposed on the return of Neco from Carchemish.

⁹⁰ 2 Kings xxiii, 33 and 34.

⁹¹ Jehoahaz, the people's choice, was Josiah's second son, Ellakim, Neco's choice, his eldest. (See 2 Kings xxiii, 31 and 36; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 2 and 5.)

⁹² 2 Kings xxiii, 35.

⁹³ *Ibid.* xxiv, 1.

⁹⁴ Nebuchadnezzar was distinctly regarded as "king of Babylon" at this time by the Jews (2 Kings xxiv, 1; Jer. xlvi, 2; Dan. i, 1). That his father was still alive appears from Berosus (l.s.c.).

⁹⁵ Jerem. l.s.c.: "The army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish."

⁹⁶ Jer. xlvi, verse 8, with the comment of Dean Payne Smith in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. v, p. 532.

⁹⁷ Jerem. xlvi, 9. Mr. Stuart Poole has suggested that the "Ludim" of this passage may represent the Greek and Carian mercenaries (*Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 150); but the Ludim are elsewhere always an African people (Gen. x, 13; 1 Chron i, 11; Is. lxvi, 19; Ezek. xxx, 5).

⁹⁸ Jer. xlvi, 15.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* verse 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* verse 16.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* verse 17.

¹⁰² Dan. i, 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, 7. It was at this time that Daniel and his companions were carried off, to be eunuchs in the royal palace at Babylon.

¹⁰³ Berosus ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* l.s.c.

¹⁰⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* x, 6, § 2; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, sub. voc. JE-

HOIAKIM. The instigation of Neco is glanced at in 2 Kings xxiv, 7.

¹⁰⁵ 2 Kings xxiv, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Before Nebuchadnezzar's seventh year (Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* i, 21), which was B.C. 598.

¹⁰⁷ Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Compare 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6, with Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* l.s.c. Both sieges seem to have commenced in B.C. 598.

¹⁰⁹ Josephus, l.s.c. Compare Ezek. xxix, 18, where the severe "service" which Nebuchadnezzar served against Tyre is mentioned.

¹¹⁰ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 155.

¹¹¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 180.

¹¹² *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 273 a, b.

¹¹³ Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aegypt.* p. 154.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 156.

¹¹⁵ Birch, l.s.c.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Compare Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 153.

¹¹⁷ *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, Tafel ii, at the end of the work.

¹¹⁸ Wiedemann, l.s.c. Compare Birch, l.s.c.

¹¹⁹ Herod. ii, 159. Manetho called him Psammuthis (ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 75, c.)

¹²⁰ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xlvii, No. 644.

¹²¹ The Apis and other stelæ show that the six years of Manetho (l.s.c.) and Herodotus (ii, 161) must be cut down to five years and a half (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 117-19).

¹²² Psamatik II. probably reigned from B.C. 596 to B.C. 591 or 590. Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre lasted from B.C. 598 to B.C. 585.

¹²³ Herod. ii, 161.

¹²⁴ See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 158.

¹²⁵ See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 44; and compare Böckh, *Corp. Inscript. Gr.* No. 5126; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. vi, pls. 98, 99, etc.

¹²⁶ Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 45. The indentification is barely possible, since the King Amasis outlived the expedition by at least sixty-three years.

¹²⁷ See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 157, note 2.

¹²⁸ Wiedemann, l.s.c.

¹²⁹ See Mariette, *Fouilles en Egypte*, pl. 16 bis, b; *Abydos*, pl. 2 b; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 274 d.

¹³⁰ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 159.

¹³¹ Obelisks were almost always set up in pairs. The obelisk of Psamatik II. still stands in Rome, and is known as the "Obeliscus Campensis" (Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aegypt.* p. 160).

¹³² *Ibid.* pp. 160-1.

¹³³ *Ibid.* l.s.c.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 161: "Eine schöne, reich mit Inschriften geschmückte Statue."

¹³⁵ See Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 304, and Taf. ii. at the end of the work.

¹³⁶ The Ankhnes-Ranofrehet of Lepsius (*ibid.*, p. 305), called Anchiens-Ranefers-ab by Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 196).

¹³⁷ Herod. ii, 161.

¹³⁸ Manetho *apud* Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i, 20, p. 105; Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 225, c; p. 227, b. The same, or nearly the same, form was used by the LXX.

¹³⁹ See above, p. 257.

¹⁴⁰ Ezek. xvii, 15: "He (Zedekiah) rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt that they might give him horses and much people."

¹⁴¹ 2 Kings xxv, 1; Jer. lii, 4.

¹⁴² Jer. xxxvii, 5: "Then Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt; and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem."

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* xvii, 1. I agree with Rashi, and the author of the *Seder Olam*, that the capture of Gaza by Apries was probably on this occasion.

¹⁴⁴ See verse 5 of the same chapter, where Gaza and Ascalon are coupled together.

¹⁴⁵ Dean Payne Smith says (*Speaker's Commentary*, vol. v, p. 503) that the more literal interpretation of Jer. xxxvii, 7 would be that he retired without fighting; and so P. Smith, *Ancient History*, vol. i, pp. 186, 234; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 308; and others. But the words of Jeremiah really leave the question an open one.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x, 7, § 3.

¹⁴⁷ 2 Kings xxv, 2-21; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 17-20.

¹⁴⁸ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii, p. 54, 2d ed.

¹⁴⁹ We cannot suppose Nebuchadnezzar to have been less than twenty-four or twenty-five when he undertook the war against Neco in B.C. 605. If he was born in B.C. 630, he would have reached the age of forty-five in B.C. 585. That is an age at which repose becomes very dear to orientals.

¹⁵⁰ Berossus. It is true that we have only fragments of this writer's work, so that the argument *à silentio* loses some of its force.

¹⁵¹ Some historians place the Phœnician war of Apries immediately before the last siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (P. Smith, *Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 134; Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 163-4); but they appear to forget that exactly at this time Tyre was being besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably in alliance with Egypt, certainly advancing Egyptian interests.

¹⁵² Herod. ii, 161.

¹⁵³ Diod. Sic. i, 68.

¹⁵⁴ Herod. ii, 169.

¹⁵⁵ Ezek. xxix, 3, 9.

¹⁵⁶ Jeremiah had prophesied (ab. B.C.

585): "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life" (Jer. xlv, 30).

¹⁵⁷ Herod. ii, 161-9. Diodorus (l.s.c.) simply repeats Herodotus, and cannot be regarded as a separate witness.

¹⁵⁸ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x, 9, § 7.

¹⁵⁹ The sole reign of Apries terminated B.C. 571; but he lived probably six years longer, sharing the royal palace with Amasis, and being by some regarded as still king (B.C. 571-565). See Herod ii, 169; Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 167.

¹⁶⁰ Wiedemann in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* for 1878, pp. 2-6, and 87-9. Compare his *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 168-9.

¹⁶¹ *Supra*, p. 257.

¹⁶² Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x, 6. I cannot see that his account of the execution of Jehoiakim by Nebuchadnezzar is inconsistent with Scripture.

¹⁶³ Herod. ii, 169.

¹⁶⁴ One single fragment of a statue of Apries is all that remains to us. It is now in the British Museum (No. 600).

¹⁶⁵ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 171 and 175.

¹⁶⁶ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 274 h, i.

¹⁶⁷ Valéry's *Italy*, p. 549.

¹⁶⁸ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁹ Valéry, l.s.c.

¹⁷⁰ See Wiedemann's careful enumeration in his *Gesch. Aegypt.* p. 171-5.

¹⁷¹ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 274 k.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* pl. 274 m.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* pl. 274 l.

¹⁷⁴ Champollion, *Notices Descriptives*, p. 616.

¹⁷⁵ *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pl. 274 f.

¹⁷⁶ *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* pp. 171-2.

¹⁷⁷ Herod. ii, 172. Plato (*Tim.* p. 21, E) makes him a native of Sais itself.

¹⁷⁸ See above note ¹²⁶.

¹⁷⁹ Herod. ii, 174.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 172-3.

¹⁸¹ Commencing about B.C. 561, at the death of Nebuchadnezzar.

¹⁸² Herod. ii, 177. Theocritus, writing under the Ptolemies, exaggerates still more, making the number of cities in Egypt 33,333 (*Idyll.* xvii, 81-4). One pardons, however, anything to a poet.

¹⁸³ Herod. l.s.c.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 178.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 181. The dealings of Amasis with Cyréné spoken of by Plutarch (*De virtut. Mulier.* ii, p. 260) and Polyænus (*Strateg.* viii, 41) come to us with too little authority to be regarded as authentic against the silence of Herodotus.

¹⁸⁶ Herod. ii, 154.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 180.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 182.

¹⁸⁹ See above, pp. 135-137.

¹⁹⁰ Herod. ii, 182 ad fin. Compare Diod. Sic. i, 68.

¹⁹¹ Such evidence as exists is rather the other way. By a cuneiform inscription recently brought from Babylon it appears that "the people of the Lower Sea," or Mediterranean—i.e., the Syrians and Phœnicians—remained subject to Nabonidus, king of Babylon, up to the last year of his war with Cyrus, which was B.C. 538. In that year they revolted, and probably reclaimed their independence. (See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vii, p. 143.)

¹⁹² As Dr. Wiedemann does (*Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* pp. 179-80): "Er zog in Asien gegen Syrien zu Felde, machte sich zum Herrn der phönizischen Städte," etc.

¹⁹³ Herod. i, 77.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* i, 80-81. The account of Herodotus is that Croesus first called in the help of his allies on his return to Sardis from Pteria; that he summoned them then to appear in the fifth month; that his envoys had scarcely taken their departure, when the army of Cyrus appeared before Sardis, gave the Lydians a second defeat, and took the city within a fortnight. No Egyptians are mentioned, and it is plain that they could not have arrived in the time.

¹⁹⁵ Xen. *Cyrop.* vi, 2, § 10; vii, 1, §§ 30-45. The completely unhistoric character of the *Cyropædia* has been sufficiently exposed by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 415; vol. iii, p. 157).

¹⁹⁶ Herod. iii, 1-2.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* i, 201-14; Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* §§ 6-8.

¹⁹⁸ *Behist. Inscr.* col. i, par. 10. Compare Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* § 10.

¹⁹⁹ Herod. iii, 10; Manetho, ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 75, c. Diodorus (ii, 68) gave him forty-five years, counting in probably the six months of Psamatik III.

²⁰⁰ Herod. ii, 175. On the present condition of Saïs, and the site of the temple of Neith, see Wilkinson's plan at the end of the vol. ii of the author's *Herodotus*.

²⁰¹ Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 182) estimates the weight at "about 500 tons."

²⁰² See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 263, note 3, 3d ed.

²⁰³ Herod. ii, 176.

²⁰⁴ Strab. xvii, 1, § 31.

²⁰⁵ Herod. i.s.c. The height of these was only twenty feet.

²⁰⁶ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* p. 188.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 187.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 188.

²⁰⁹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, i.s.c.; *Denkmäler*. pt. iii, pi. 275 a-d.

²¹⁰ Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, etc., p. 194.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 198-9.

²¹² Herod. ii, 182.

²¹³ See above, p. 262.

²¹⁴ In the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 271, note 9, 3d ed.

²¹⁵ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv, 3, vii, 56.

²¹⁶ Wiedemann adds another, whom he calls Cha-teb-ti-art-bet, and of whom he finds evidence in Mariette's *Mouvements Divers*, pls. 95, 96, and in Brugsch's *Recueil*, pl. vii, No. 2. Birch says: "Aahmes married at least three, and apparently four, wives during his lifetime" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 183). Mariette calls this fourth wife Kheteb-nit-ar-bet.

²¹⁷ Supra, p. 262.

²¹⁸ Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 309; Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, etc., p. 196.

²¹⁹ See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii, pls. 273 e-h, 274 a, b, c, o.

²²⁰ Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, etc., p. 197.

²²¹ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 183.

²²² Herod. ii, 169.

²²³ *Ibid.* iii, 16.

²²⁴ The remains of Saïs are altogether scanty and insignificant; and the site of the Temple and the royal sepulchres can only be guessed. (See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 255, note 9.)

²²⁵ Herod. iii, 14; Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 75, d.

²²⁶ Herod. iii, 10.

²²⁷ Ctes. *Exc. Persic.* § 9.

²²⁸ They had perhaps been employed against Tyre (Herod. ii, 161), and had certainly served against Cyréné (ib. iv, 159). They had also, according to Herodotus (ii, 169), on one occasion engaged the Greek and Carian mercenaries, and defeated them. But their services had not often been required, and during the long reign of Amasis they had probably never crossed swords with an adversary.

²²⁹ Egypt had no strong positions, the Nile valley being never less than two miles in width, till considerably above Thebes, and the tracts on either side being through want of water indefensible. Thus the fate of Egypt has been almost always decided by a single battle.

²³⁰ Under Artaxerxes Longimanus Memphis (or at least its citadel) stood a siege of considerably more than a year, even though communication with the sea was cut off. (See Diod. Sic. xi, 74-7.)

²³¹ Herod. ii, 1; i, iii, 19, 44.

²³² *Ibid.* iii, 13.

²³³ *Ibid.* iii, 14.

²³⁴ Herodotus believed that it was the intention of Cambyses, on quitting Egypt, to leave Psamatik as tributary king. But it is very questionable whether he would have done so. Cyrus did not so treat either Croesus or Nabonidus.

²³⁵ On the doubtfulness of all Egyptian history before Seneferu, see above, p. 31-2.

²³⁶ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 185; Lœnormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 475.

²²⁷ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv, pp. 451-5, 457-90, 498-9, 534-8, 1st ed.

²²⁸ Lenormant, *Manuel*, vol. i, p. 469; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 283, 1st ed.

²²⁹ See Herod. ii, 153, 169, 175, 176, and, for the obelisks, see Palmer's *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. i, "Introduction," p. lxxiv.

²³⁰ On the other hand, some are unpleasing. The "columnar slab, which, raised to about four feet, linked column to column, and kept the view of the sacred shrine from the eyes of the profane vulgar" (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 177), may have been proper under the circumstances of the time, but cannot be pronounced satisfactory artistically.

²³¹ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 283, 1st ed.

²³² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 282.

²³³ Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* p. 128.

²³⁴ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l.s.c.

²³⁵ The photographs of M. Mariette, on the other hand, leave nothing to be desired. (See his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 35.)

²³⁶ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 282, 1st ed.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 17.

²³⁹ Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 469.

²⁴⁰ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 283-4, 1st ed.

²⁴¹ See the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. iii, pp. 425-9.

²⁴² Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 284, 1st ed.

²⁴³ See Mariette, *Sévérum de Memphis*, p. 28; and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 285-8, 1st ed.

²⁴⁴ Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 176. Diodorus says (i, 84) that the cost was sometimes a hundred talents, or 24,000*l.*

²⁴⁵ Mariette (*Choix de Monuments*, p. 9), speaking of these sarcophagi, says: "Tous sont de granit poli et luisant."

²⁴⁶ Herod. ii, 35; Soph. *Æd. Col.* 339-41.

²⁴⁷ Herod. l.s.c.

²⁴⁸ "Les rois Saïtes avaient cru vivifier l'Égypte et rendre un peu de jeune sang à la vieille monarchie fondée par Ménès, en permettant au grand courant d'idées libérales, dont la Grèce se faisait déjà l'instigatrice, de se répandre dans son sein. Sans le savoir, ils avaient par là introduit sur les bords du Nil un nouvel élément de décadence. Exclusivement constituée pour la durée, pour conserver ses traditions en bravant les siècles, la civilisation égyptienne ne pouvait se maintenir qu'en demeurant immobile. Du jour où elle se trouva en contact avec l'esprit de progrès, personnifié dans la race et dans la civilisation grecque, elle devait forcément périr. Elle ne pouvait se lancer dans une voie nouvelle, qui était la négation de son génie, ni continuer son existence immuable" (Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 475).

APPENDIX.

¹ See his work, *Theologische Schriften der alten Aegypter nach dem Turiner Papyrus zum ersten Male übersetzt*, Gotha, 1855.

² Lepsius has arranged the fragments in his *Königsbuch der alten Aegypter*, zweite Abtheilung, Berlin, 1858.

³ Wilkinson's work on the Turin papyrus is of the most elaborate character. He not only represents in *fac-simile* the face of the MS., containing the names and length of reigns of the kings, but gives the back also, which contains writing on an entirely different subject, but of great value towards determining the true position of many of the fragments. Another *fac-simile* edition, which I have not seen, was published by Pleyte and Rossi in 1869-76.

⁴ Chabas, *Recherches*, pp. 35-50; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 139-42; Eisenlohr in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii, p. 47. M. Lenormant agrees, so far as the Danaans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Tuscans are concerned (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 440).

⁵ Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 39.

⁶ Herod. i, 170, v, 106, etc.; Scylax, *Peripl.* § 7; Strabo, v, 2, § 5, etc.

⁷ Mr. Bunbury in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (vol. ii, p. 907) gives Σαρδῶες as the only Greek ethnic form. But Σαρδόνιοι is found in Herodotus (vii, 165).

⁸ This objection holds good also in the cases of the Sharuten, Tulusha, and Uashash.

⁹ Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 47.

¹⁰ Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* i, 30.

¹¹ As Niebuhr argued (*History of Rome*, vol. i, p. 66, E. T.) on the authority of the grammarian Festus (ad. voc. *Oscum*).

¹² As they expressed Gozan by Qazautana, Megiddo by Maketu, Gaza by Qazata, Migdol by Maktal, etc.

¹³ So Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i, p. 438.

¹⁴ These are well pointed out by M. Chabas (*Recherches*, pp. 40-7).

¹⁵ Herod. vii, 20. Compare v, 13.

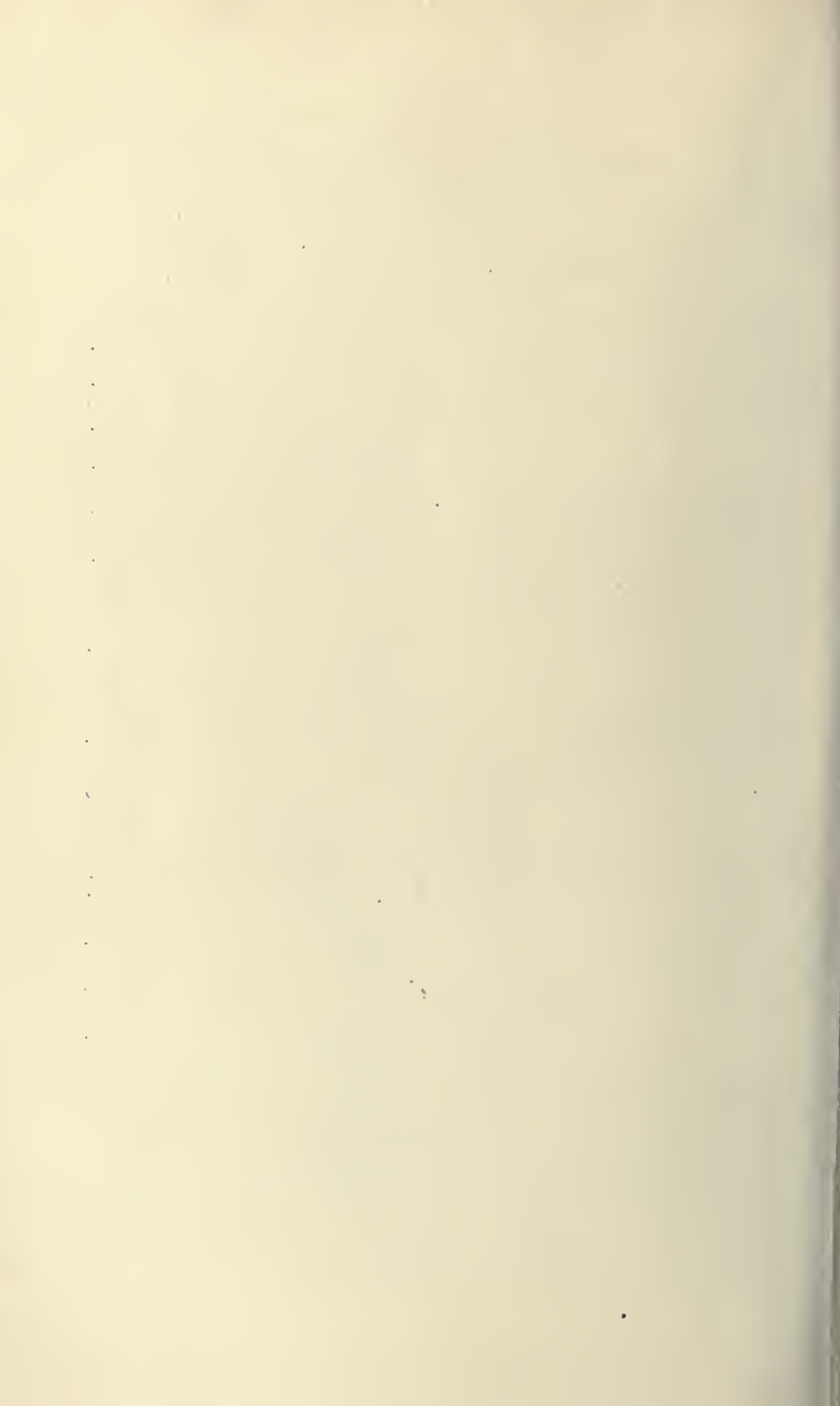
¹⁶ *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 147, 1st ed.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 140.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 151.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 122-5,



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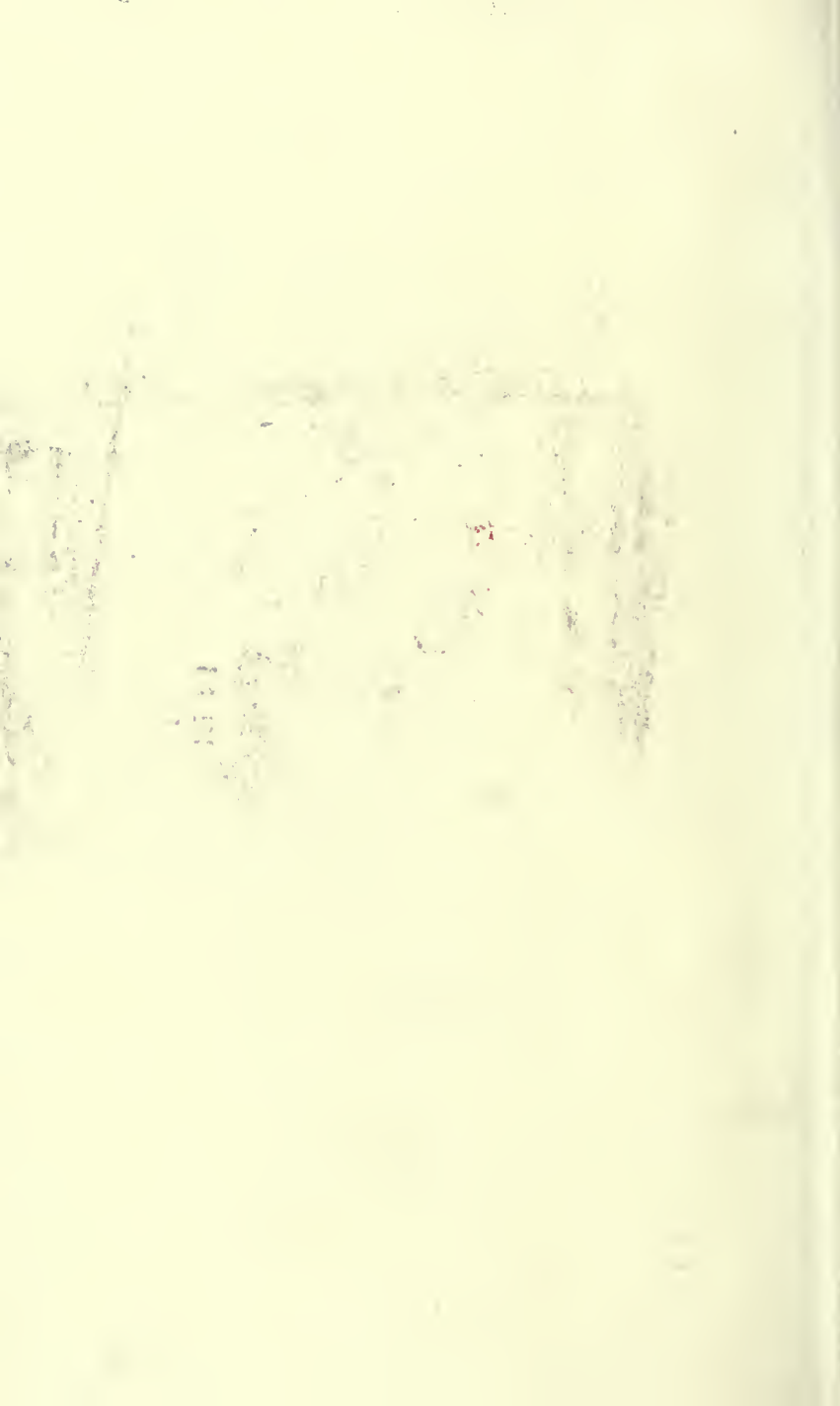
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