Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, including their private life, government, laws, art, manufactures, religions, and early history; derived from a comparison of the paintings, sculptures, and monuments still existng, with the accounts of ancient authors. Illustrated by drawings of those subjects / By J.G. Wilkinson.

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SUPPOSED APPEARANCE OF THE COURT WHERE APIS WAS KEPT WHEN EXHIBITED IN PUBLIC.

Herodot. 2. 153

London, J. Murray, Albemarle St. 1857.

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MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS,

INCLUDING

THEIR PRIVATE LIFE,
GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ARTS, MANUFACTURES,
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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 J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. M.R.S.L. &c.

AUTHOR OF "A GENERAL VIEW OF EGYPT, AND
TOPOGRAPHY OF THEBES," &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO

HIS GRACE

HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.

&c. &c.

My Lord Duke,

In dedicating to your Grace the accompanying Work, I am anxious to show how fully I appreciate the encouragement you have always given to science and literature, as well as the interest you take in Egyptian researches; and to offer a testimony of my respect, and of the gratitude I feel for much personal kindness and attention.

I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your Grace's

very obedient humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

London,
September 1. 1836.

PREFACE.

In order to form an accurate opinion of the manners of an ancient people, it is of paramount importance to inquire into their origin and history, and to trace the progress of those steps which gradually led to their improvement and civilisation. To judge impartially of their character, we must examine the comparative state of other neighbouring and contemporary nations, and measure it by the standard of the era in which they lived. We should also bear in mind the general habits of that portion of the globe whence they derived their origin, or which they inhabited, and, in contemplating the customs of an Eastern people, avoid as much as possible the invidious comparison of European and Oriental manners. Many of those laws or customs which are wise and beneficial to society in one part of the world, are deemed superfluous, and even injurious, in another; and the same system, which by some is looked upon as indispensable for their welfare and happiness, would

be rejected by others, as incompatible with the feelings of an independent spirit.

The necessity of discrimination on this point must, therefore, be evident to every one, who considers the subject with a view to truth and impartiality; and, in order to enable the reader to form a just opinion of the character of the Egyptians, I commence the present work with a brief account of the general history and early advancement of that ancient state. But if, as must necessarily be the case, this account is deficient and unsatisfactory, I plead as my excuse the scanty means of information afforded either by the writers of antiquity, or by monumental record; and trust that the reader will indulgently consider the difficulties which present themselves in so intricate a question.

If, too, in the date assigned for the accession of Menes, and the era of the 18th dynasty, as well as some other points of chronology, I differ from the learned Professor Rosellini, it should be remembered that many doubts and discrepancies occur both in chronology and the details of events, even in what is considered the *known* history of other nations.

It would doubtless be satisfactory both to the reader and themselves, if all writers on the subject of hieroglyphics, and of ancient Egypt, were agreed, and if all their investigations were attended with the same results; but, since a diversity

of opinion on a difficult question has a tendency to elicit truth, and finally to establish accurate and impartial evidence, we may cease to regret that it prevails at the commencement of these inquiries. And, indeed, it is highly satisfactory to find that the researches of Dr. Young, Champollion, Rosellini, Major Felix, and my own, have, in most instances, led to similar conclusions.

Professor Rosellini is a man of erudition and a gentleman, and one whose enthusiastic endeavours, stimulated by great perseverance, are tempered by judgment, and that modesty which is the characteristic of real merit. To be engaged in the same pursuits with him must, therefore, be highly satisfactory, from the persuasion that, however we may differ on some questions, our opposite opinions will be maintained with those feelings which ought to actuate men who labour in the same field, and for the same object.

Egyptian history, and the manners of one of the most ancient nations, cannot but be interesting to every one; and so intimately connected are they with the scriptural accounts of the Israelites, and the events of succeeding ages relative to Judæa, that the name of Egypt need only be mentioned to recall the early impressions we have received from the study of the Bible.

Another striking result derived from the examination of Egyptian history, is the conviction, that, at the most remote period into which we have

been able to penetrate, civilised communities already existed, and society possessed all the features of later ages. We have been enabled, with a sufficient degree of precision, to fix the bondage of the Israelites and the arrival of Joseph; and though these events took place at an age when nations are generally supposed to have been in their infancy, and in a state of barbarism, yet we perceive that the Egyptians had then arrived at as perfect a degree of civilisation as at any subsequent period of their history. They had the same arts, the same manners and customs, the same style of architecture, and were in the same advanced state of refinement, as in the reign of Remeses II.; and no very remarkable changes took place, even in ever varying taste, between the accession of the first Osirtasen and the death of that conqueror, who was the last monarch of the 18th dynasty. What high antiquity does this assign to civilisation! The most remote point, to which we can see, opens with a nation possessing all the arts of civilised life already matured; and though penetrating so far into the early history of the world, we find that the infancy of the Egyptian state is placed considerably beyond our reach. And, if Egypt presents no other attractions, the certainty of its being the oldest state, of which we have any positive and tangible records, must awaken feelings of interest, to which no contemplative mind can remain indifferent.

It is to be regretted that the partial details, relating to the reigns of the early Pharaohs, given by Herodotus and Diodorus, do not sufficiently agree with the more authentic information derived from the monuments, so as to be embodied with this last, as a continuous history; but, in order not to omit the accounts of those two writers, I have introduced them separately; which, though in some measure it breaks in upon the thread of the history, does not perplex the reader by the examination of controverted points, and he is enabled to form his own opinion respecting their statements, and the information derived from other sources.

I cannot conclude without expressing the obligations I owe to the valuable assistance afforded me by Lord Prudhoe, Mr. W. Hamilton, and Sir William Gell. But, while it is a pleasure to offer my acknowledgments for their kindness, it is melancholy to be obliged to accompany them with feelings of deep regret at the death of so excellent a friend as Sir W. Gell. In him the literary world has sustained a great loss: but friendship and gratitude combine to increase my sorrow; and I can never forget that, for all the satisfaction I have derived from the prosecution of researches to which he first directed my attention, — however unimportant their results, — I am indebted to his kindness and instruction. To many has he lent his powerful assistance in those studies, whose advancement his

"classic" talents so ably promoted: no distinction of nation ever prevented his generous mind from aiding others in investigating subjects of which he possessed such an extensive knowledge, and no deficiency of good feeling and liberality checked his exertions, or damped his zeal, in furthering the object of those who followed the same pursuits.

" Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit."

No. 208. Sort of harp and tambourine from Dendera.

INTRODUCTION.

It was originally intended that this work should not exceed two volumes; until finding the materials accumulate much beyond my expectations, I was under the necessity of extending it to three; and have, even now, been obliged to omit many subjects, and to defer the mention of them to a future occasion.

This will, I trust, plead my excuse for not describing the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians, the agriculture of the country, and some details, that could not have been comprised within the limits of these volumes, unless treated in an imperfect and brief manner, which their importance would not sanction.

The first chapter contains remarks on the early state of Egypt, with the lists of kings given by Manetho, Herodotus, Diodorus, and other authors; and a conjecture is offered on the origin of the Shepherd Kings. I suppose them to have come from Assyria, and to have invaded and taken possession of Lower Egypt; and suggest, that this event

happened about the period of Semiramis's reign. Some objection, however, may be offered to this conjecture, especially on the plea of the invaders having been a pastoral people, while the Assyrians were an agricultural nation, with all the institutions and customs of a civilisation, already far advanced, in the time even of Semiramis. We might, therefore, look for them among the wandering hordes of Asia; and rather suppose them to have been a Scythian tribe, who, at that early epoch, already commenced the casual inroads, which they are known to have made in the same direction at subsequent periods.

The decision of this question I leave to the learned reader; all that can be positively asserted on the point is, that they have left no traces of their occupation of the country in the existing monuments, and the notion of their having been the founders of the pyramids is devoid of every shadow of probability.

The second chapter comprises the history of the country from the accession of the first king Menes, to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander; in which, after showing the great obscurity which prevails in the early part of Egyptian history, previous to the reign of Osirtasen I., I have drawn up an account of the monarchs, who ruled the country, from the existing monuments, and the authority of ancient writers; and, at the same time, introduced separately that part of the same period,

given by Herodotus and Diodorus, which cannot be made to accord with the monuments.

In the third chapter, after some remarks on the nature of the country, its population, and some of its productions, I show that the people were divided into four great classes, with numerous subdivisions, according to the peculiar occupations of each; in which a strong resemblance may be traced to the castes of India.

The king, his duties, the respect paid him by his subjects, their regard for his memory; the priests and their peculiar habits; the military class; the army; the weapons they used in battle; and their mode of warfare are then noticed; and the enemies with whom they fought, their prisoners and slaves, conclude this chapter, and the first volume.

The fourth chapter treats of the husbandmen, with other members of the second caste; the laws and government of Egypt in early times, and under the Romans. In the next, the houses, villas, gardens, vineyards, and the process of making wine and beer are described. The sixth contains an account of the furniture of their rooms, the entertainment of guests, their musical instruments, and dances; and, in the last chapter of the second volume, their vases, the preparation and serving of dinner, their games, exercises, and amusements, in the house and out of doors, are described.

The eighth chapter contains the chase of wild animals, fowling, and fishing.

The ninth treats of the arts of the Egyptians; the early use of glass, and those manufactures, in which the sculptures and ancient writers show them to have excelled; the mode of engraving and sculpturing hard stones; their fine linen and other stuffs; the papyrus, and manufacture of paper; potteries; boats and ships employed in war, and on the Nile; and the use of tin and other metals.

In chapter the tenth, the style of art at various epochs, the early use of the arch, the mechanical skill of the Egyptians, some inventions of an early period, their dresses, the study of medicine, and numerous customs are introduced; and the Appendix, containing an account of the principal objects of antiquity deserving a visit in the Valley of the Nile, terminate the third volume.

The Appendix is preceded by a wood-cut, giving a topographical survey of the pyramids, and the tombs in their immediate vicinity, constructed by me in 1826; with the names of two Ethiopian kings; one of whom, Ergamenes, is mentioned by Diodorus as a cotemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

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LIST AND EXPLANATION

OF THE

PLATES, WOOD-CUTS, AND VIGNETTES OF VOL. I.

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CHAP. I.

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1. Vignette A. View of the Pyramids, during the inundation, from near the fork of the Delta. On the hill, in the right-hand corner of the vignette, is a ruined pyramid of very ancient date, but not noticed by any ancient author. *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 336.

23. Wood-cut, No. 1. A dagger from Mr. Salt's collection, referred to in p. 321. The handle is covered with silver,

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studded with nails of the same metal, the pommel being of bone.

39. Female shooting at three targets: referred to at the end of chap. v. Vol. II.

CHAP. II.

40. Vignette B. Peasants rescuing cattle and goats from the inundation, a scene witnessed by me in the Delta, and very similar to a painting at Beni Hassan representing the same subject.

44. Wood-cut, No. 3. Men playing at draughts and *mora*. This will be more fully described in chap. vii.

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289. Wood-cut, No. 12. Egyptian on horseback; the only instance in the sculptures.

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No. 32. Arrows of this kind found in the tombs.

310. No. 33. Metal heads of arrows found in the tombs.

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314. Wood-cut, No. 34. Javelins and javelin head.
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315. No. 35. Heads of small javelins in the Alnwick Museum, and a javelin represented at Thebes.

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325. No. 42. Battle axes. *Fig.* 1. in Mr. Salt's collection. *Figs.* 3, 4, 5, 6. from the paintings.

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331. No. 46. Quilted helmets, from the paintings.

333. Plate 3. Arms and armour. *Figs.* 1. and 2. Quivers. *Fig.* 3. A knife. *Figs.* 4 and 5. Falchions. *Figs.* 3, 4, and 5. appear to be of steel from their colour; they are of the early time of Remeses III., or B. C. 1230. *Fig.* 6. Coat of armour. *Figs.* 7, 8, and 9. Other coats of armour, perhaps quilted. *Fig.* 10. Probably another kind of covering for the body.

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338. No. 49. The son of Remeses the Great conversing with his charioteer, his insignia of office being suspended behind him. *Vide* p. 72. Vol. I.

339. No. 50. Whips.

340. No. 51. Whip suspended to the hand of the archer.

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343. Wood-cut, No. 52. Making the pole and other parts of a chariot, showing the pole to be of wood.

345. No. 53. { *Figs.* 1, 2. Chariots drawn in perspective.
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346. { No. 53 *a*. A war chariot with bow cases and complete furniture.
No. 53 *b*. A chariot of the Rot-ñ-no, an Asiatic people.

349. No. 54. Bending and preparing the woodwork of a chariot.

350. No. 55. Cutting leather, and binding a chariot. The knife *c*, held by *fig.* 2., is precisely similar to that used by us for cutting leather. *a*, a stand. *b*, the body of the car. *d*, a stand and board for cutting upon. *e*, stand over which they bent the leather. *g*, soles of a pair of sandals, and *l*, an entire skin, the usual emblems of the trade. *i*, *k*, *o*, quiver and bow-cases.

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357. No. 58. Car and bow, in the collection at Florence, supposed to be of a Scythian people; from Professor Rosellini's work.

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362. No. 61. Assault of a fort. The testudo and scaling ladder. *Figs.* 1, 2, 3, and 4. are four of the sons of king Remeses the Great, each commanding a testudo, *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*. 5. One of the Shairetana allies of the Egyptians climbing up the rock by means of a short spike of metal, forced into the fissures of the stone. 6. Another of the same nation, with the round shield. 7, 8, 9. Egyptian light infantry and archers. 10. Two of the royal princes scaling the walls: one is apparently thrown down, and the ladder is falling, alluding, perhaps, to some accident

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which really occurred. 11, 12. Heralds sent out of the fort to treat with the Egyptians. *i*, *k*, *m*, towers of the fort. *l*, the keep on which is hoisted the standard, *n*, pierced with arrows, the sign of their defeat.

365. Wood-cut, No. 62. Some of the people of Asia, with whom the Egyptians were at war. *Fig.* 1. The Shairetana. *Fig.* 2. The Tokkari. *Fig.* 3. The Sha . . . . the rest of the name being lost. These three were at one time allies of the Egyptians. *Fig.* 4. The Rebo. *a* appears to be tattooed or branded; the custom of branding themselves was said to have been common to the Assyrians. *Fig.* 5. The Pount. *Fig.* 6. The Shari. *Fig.* 7. The Rot-ṉ-no with their women, *e*.

367. No. 63. Persian head-dress resembling that of the Tokkari.

368. No. 64. Persepolitan figures. *Fig.* 1. The head-dresses of this and of *fig.* 7. are very similar to that of the Tokkari. *Fig.* 2. has a round shield like many Asiatic tribes represented in the Egyptian sculptures. *Fig.* 4. The kelt, similar to those frequently seen in the sculptures of Thebes. *Fig.* 6. Dress with sleeves: the cap like that of the Shari and others.

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369. No. 65. Carts of the Tokkari, which followed their army, and in which they are seen carrying off the women and children, at the moment of their defeat. Carts or waggons in like manner attended the Scythian and Tartar armies.

377. No. 66. Prisoners of Tirhaka, represented at Thebes, probably after the defeat of Sennacherib.

379. No. 67. The Toersha and Mashoash, other Asiatic tribes at war with the Egyptians.

382. No. 68. Phalanx of the Sheta, probably Scythians, drawn up as a corps de reserve on the opposite bank, to oppose the army of Remeses the Great. The town is surrounded by a double fosse, over which bridges, *figs.* 2 and 3. are thrown: the earliest indication of their use, dating about 1350 B. C.

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385. Wood-cut, No. 69. Other enemies of the Egyptians. *Fig.* 1. The Koofa. *Figs.* 2, 3, 4, 5. The two tribes of the Sheta, or Scythians, distinguished by the forms of their shields. *Fig.* 6. The Asmaor, perhaps of Samaria. *Fig.* 7. Lemanon, probably Mount Lebanon. *Fig.* 8. Kanana, probably Canaan. These eight are Asiatic people. *Fig.* 9. Blacks of the interior of Africa. *Fig.* 10. The Toreses, and *fig.* 11. the Tareao, African tribes. The name of *fig.* 12. is lost, and *fig.* 13. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, are Cush or Ethiopians. *a* is clad in a skin, like *fig.* 12. and *c*, *d* are chiefs, as the hieroglyphics, *p*, above them, state.

391. No. 70. A body of archers acting in line.

394. No. 71. A guard mounted at the gates of an encampment. *a a*, are representations of shields, indicative of a battled wall. *b b*, a wicker gateway.

403. No. 72. Men and women of the Rot-n̄-no, an Asiatic people, sent to Egypt, probably as slaves.

404. No. 73. Black slaves with their women and children.

406. No. 73*a*. Arms of the Egyptians, from the collections of Mr. Salt and S. D'Athanasi, and from Thebes. The man on horseback in *fig.* 1*a*. or 2. is the only instance of it in early times: that of the wood-cut, No. 12. being of Roman date. *Fig.* 3. A dagger, probably of Roman time. The handle of *fig.* 7., which is all bronze, was probably inlaid. They are referred to in pp. 313, 314. 316. 319. 321. 323.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Introduction, page 10. line 18. for "terminate," read "terminates."

Page 12. line 3. for "Herodotus," read "Aristotle;" and line 7. for "Aristotle" read "Herodotus;" and transpose notes † and ‡; and for "Herod. ii. 16." read "Herod. ii. 15."

29. line 2. for "the whole of the above-mentioned kings is 192," read "the number of the above-mentioned kings is 200."

92. Note 3. after "root of emerald," add "or glass." Notes 4. and 6. for "Plin. xxxvi. 19." read "Plin. xxxvi. 13."

93. line 14. for "Nomes of Egypt," read "Nomes of central Egypt." line 20. for "the lake Mœris," read "the lake, or rather canal, Mœris."

96. note 3. for "Sosostris. Intulerit," read "Sesostris intulerit."

117. line 2. for "τερίρρυτον," read "περίρρυτον."

128. note 3. for "spectatio," read "spectatior," in a few Copies.

226. line 12. for "eastern coast," read "western coast."

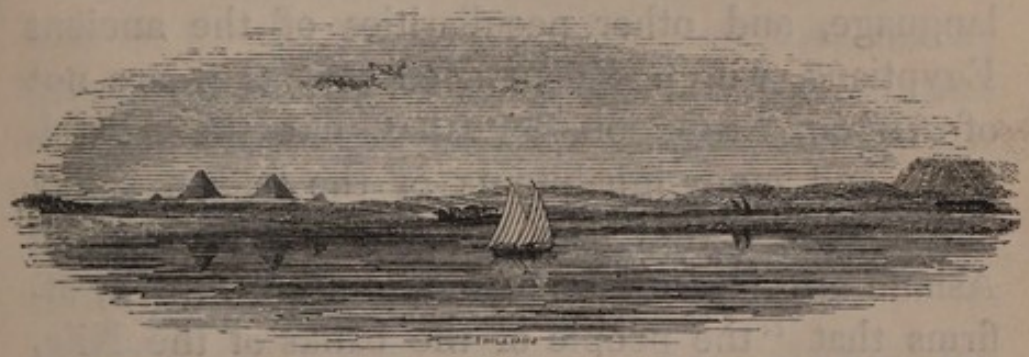
298. line 6. for "quilted a headpiece," read "a quilted headpiece."

350. note §, for "end of Chap. V." read "beginning of Chap. VII."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.



VIGNETTE A. The Pyramids, during the Inundation, from near the Fork of the Delta.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Egyptians. — Slow Increase of the Delta. — The Ægyptus of Homer. — Ethiopia sometimes put for the Thebaïd. — Early State of Society. — The Hunter, Shepherd, and Agriculturist. — Hierarchy of Egypt. — Menes the first King. — Neither Osiris nor any other Deity ever supposed by the Egyptians to have lived on Earth. — Period elapsed from Menes to the Persian Invasion. — Oldest Monuments of Egypt. — The Pyramids. — Osirtasen Contemporary of Joseph. — The Pastor Kings not the Jews. — Early Advancement of Egypt, from the Monuments and Scripture History. — Nothing certain before Osirtasen I.

THE oldest and most authentic record of the primeval state of the world is unquestionably the Scripture history; and, though the origin of its early inhabitants is only traced in a general and comprehensive manner, we have sufficient data for conjecture on some interesting points.

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I am fully aware of the profound metaphysical import of the first book of Moses, but the allusions to real events are no less obvious and important; and it is to these alone that I shall have occasion to advert in the present inquiry.

Every one who considers the features, the language, and other peculiarities of the ancient Egyptians, will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction, but that, like the Abyssinians and many inhabitants of the known valley of the Nile*, they bear the evident stamp of an Asiatic origin; and Juba, according to Pliny†, affirms that "the people of the banks of the Nile, from Syene to Meroe, were not Ethiopians‡, but Arabs." And if feature and other external appearances are insufficient to establish this fact, the formation of the skull, which is decidedly of the Caucasian variety, must remove all doubt of their valley having been peopled from the East: and some may even consider it directly alluded to in the book of Genesis §, where Ham, the son of Noah, and his immediate descendants, are said to have inhabited the lands of Ethiopia, Egypt‖, Libya, and Canaan. The name of Ham¶ is, in fact, the same as that of Egypt, Khem, or Cham; and Moses may have pointed out the eastern origin of the Egyptians

* That is, the Neel-el-Azrek, 'the Blue,' or more properly 'the Black Nile,' in contradistinction to the Neel-el-Abiad, 'the White (River) Nile.' Azrek is commonly used to signify black as well as blue.

† Plin. lib. vi. 34. ‡ That is, *Blacks*. § Gen. x. 1—6.

‖ Mizraim, or Mizrim, a plural word applied to Egypt (Gen. l. 11. *et passim*), is the Hebrew mode of expressing the 'two regions of Egypt' (so commonly met with in the hieroglyphics), or the 'two Misr,' a name still used by the Arabs, who call all Egypt, as well as Cairo, Musr or Misr. Thummim or Thmim is in like manner 'the *two* truths.'

¶ Ham is also put for Egypt, as in Psalm lxxviii. 51. and other parts of Scripture.

by introducing him as a son of Noah. But it is more reasonable to suppose that a colony of Asiatics settled in Egypt at a subsequent period, and that to this cause we ought to attribute the marked distinction between the head of the Egyptians and the Blacks. Conjecture, however, is unable to fix the time when the event took place; and though it may be ascribed to an era when parts of the earth were already thickly peopled, yet probability suggests that it occurred when nations were in their infancy, and at a period far beyond the reach of history.

There has always been a striking resemblance between the Egyptians and Asiatics, both as to their manners, customs, language, and religion; and some authors have considered the valley they inhabited to belong to Asia rather than to Africa*: others, again, have divided the country into two parts, the east and west banks of the Nile, assigning the former to Asia, the latter to Africa, and taking the river as the boundary line of the two continents. In manner, language, and many other respects, Egypt was certainly more Asiatic than African; and though there is no appearance of the Hindoo and Egyptian religions having been borrowed from one another, which many might be induced to conclude from their great analogy in some points, yet it is not improbable that those two nations may have proceeded from the same original stock, and have migrated southwards from their parent country in central Asia.

* Plin. v. 9.

It has been the opinion of many that colonisation and civilisation descended the Nile from Ethiopia, and that the parents of Egyptian science came from the land of Cush. But this notion appears from modern investigation to be totally at variance with fact; and the specimens of art that remain in Ethiopia are not only inferior in conception to those of the Egyptian school, but are deficient in that character which evinces originality. Indeed, I question if the name Ethiopians was exclusively applied to the inhabitants of the country lying beyond Syene; and there is abundant reason to believe, as I shall presently show, that Ethiopia, when mentioned in the sacred history and by many profane authors, in conjunction with Egypt, frequently signified the Thebaïd, the school of learning and the parent of Egyptian science.

Ethiopia, though a vague name, was applied to that country, lying beyond the cataracts, which in the Scriptures, and in the Egyptian language, is called Cush; and black people*, designated as natives of "the foreign land of Cush," are generally represented on the Egyptian monuments, either as captives, or as the bearers of tribute to the Pharaohs.

That *civilisation* advanced northwards from the Thebaid to Lower Egypt is highly probable; and the custom of giving precedence to the title "Upper Country," in the hieroglyphic legends,

* Plutarch says Egypt was called Chemi (χημι) from the blackness (χαμε) of its soil. May not Ethiopia, 'the *black* country,' have been a translation of Chemi?

may be adduced as an argument in favour of this opinion. But the period at which this civilisation commenced is not within the limits of history; and neither this nor its gradual descent northwards are subjects on which we can speculate with certainty or satisfaction. And, indeed, if we listen to Herodotus, and other writers who maintain that the Delta is of recent date, we are led to the necessity of allowing an immeasurable time for the total formation of that space, which to judge from the very little accumulation of its soil, and the small distance it has encroached on the sea, since the erection of the ancient cities within it, would require numerous ages, and throw back its origin far beyond the Deluge, or even the Mosaic era of the Creation.

Tanis, now San, and in Hebrew Zan or Tzan (Zoan), at a very remote period of Egyptian history was already founded upon a plain or "field*," at some distance from the sea shore; and the vestiges of its ruins are still traced within a few miles of the coast.† The lapse of 3190 years, from the days of the great Remeses, has neither made any sensible alteration in the circumjacent levels, nor protruded the land to any distance beyond it into the sea; and if in such a length of time the alluvial deposit of the Nile has been unable to work a

* Psalm lxxviii. 12. and 43. 'In the field of Zoan,' בשרה צען.

† That is, of the lake Ménzaleh. Thenesus (Thennêsi) stood *in* that lake, or marsh, and consequently much nearer the sea. Again, Canopus, and many other towns and buildings of which vestiges remain, were, as at present, immediately on the sea shore, in the time of the Ptolemies and Pharaohs, upwards of 2000 years ago.

sensible change, how can it for a moment be supposed that a period of a thousand years, which elapsed between the Deluge and the early part of that king's reign, would suffice for the formation of the *whole* Delta? Remarks which apply with still greater force to Pelusium, Taposiris, and Canopus, which actually stood upon the sea shore: for, as the learned Bochart justly observes, since the Egyptians themselves reported the Tanitic Mouth, and the towns of Busiris, Taphosiris, Butus, and Pelusium, to have existed even in the early time of Osiris and Horus, they must have known them not to be of recent date; and Homer allows Menelaus to have come to Canopus.* And that Tanis was already built in the age of Remeses the Great, we have evidence from the sculptured monuments now existing in its ruins, in addition to the positive authority of Scripture, Moses himself assuring us that it was founded long before the Exodus, seven years after the town of Hebron.†

It is, then, evident that neither was the period elapsed between the Deluge and the building of Tanis sufficient to form the Delta, nor the constant accumulation of the alluvial deposit of the Nile capable of making so perceptible a change in the extent of that district, as to authorise us to suppose the upper parts of the country peopled and civilised, while the Delta was a marsh; how

* Bochart's Sacra, lib. iv. c. 24.

† Numbers, xiii. 22. 'Hebron was built seven years before Zoan.' It already existed in the days of Abraham. 'And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba: the same is Hebron.' Gen. xxiii. 2. conf. Josh. xv. 13. and Judg. i. 10.

much less then can we suppose Ethiopia to have been already inhabited by the ancestors of the future colonisers of Egypt, while that part of the valley lying below the cataracts of Syene was undergoing its formation?

Much consequence has been attached to an expression of Homer, that "the distance from the Isle of Pharos to Αιγυπτος was as much as a vessel with a fair wind could perform in one day;" and this is constantly adduced as a decisive proof of the great accumulation of alluvial soil in the Delta*, and of its rapid advances into the Mediterranean, since the era of the Trojan war. But a very imperfect acquaintance with the situation of the Isle of Pharos, and the nature of the ground on which Alexandria is built, ought to have prevented so erroneous a conclusion; and if we readily account for the misconstruction of the Αιγυπτου προπαροιθε† of the poet, we are surprised at the notion which extends the river and its alluvial deposit *over the space between* the Canopic mouth and the Pharos, hitherto unwashed by the fertilising waters of the rising Nile. And if a certain deposit does take place *in the harbour* of Alexandria, it is very trifling, and by no means capable of having united Pharos to the shore, which was done artificially by means of the Heptastadium, whose increased breadth, owing to many subsequent additions, now forms the base of the chief part of the modern city. Ancient

* Plutarch de Iside. s. 40.

† Odyss. Δ. 355. By the harbour and fresh water at the I. of Pharos, Homer evidently alludes to the site of the modern Alexandria, close to the island.

Alexandria, the successor of the town of Racôtis stood on the *rock* of the Libyan desert, which is still beyond the reach and above the level of the inundation; and the distance from the line of the coast to Pharos is the same as in the days of Homer. The error respecting its having been a day's journey from Egypt originated in the misinterpretation of the word Αιγυπτος, which is used by the poet to designate both the Nile and Egypt; and that the river was so called in ancient times is testified by the authority of Diodorus, who states that Nileus, one of the early monarchs* of the country, transferred his name to the stream, "which previously bore that of Ægyptus."† Arrian‡ again justly observes, that "the river, now called by the Egyptians and others Nile, is shown by Homer to have been named Ægyptus, when he relates§ that Menelaus anchored his fleet at the mouth of the Ægyptus;" and the bare inspection of the verse to which he alludes suffices to prove his remark to be correct. It is, then, to the Nile, not to the coast of Egypt, that Homer alludes: and thus the argument derived from his authority must cease to be brought forward in support of the great encroachments of the Delta, and

* Diodorus places him as the predecessor of Chembres, who erected the great pyramid.

† Manetho says Egypt took its name from Sethosis, who was also called Ægyptus, and was brother of Armaïs. Josephus contra Ap. lib. i. c. 15. Aulus Gellius tells us Egypt was formerly named Aeria. (xiv. 6.)

‡ Arr. Exped. Alex. lib. v. and lib. vi.

§ Odyss. Δ. 477. and Ξ. 257.: —

'Πεμπταιοι δ' Αιγυπτον ευρρειτην ικομεσθα,
Στησα δ' εν Αιγυπτῳ ποταμῳ νεας αμφιελισσας:'

of the constant advance of the land into the receding sea.

To any person who has examined the levels of the alluvial deposit of the Nile in various parts of its course, as from the first cataract to its mouth at Rosetta*, it is well known that the perpendicular stratum of soil, if I may so call it, decreases in thickness as it approaches the sea; and thus at Elephantine the land has been raised about nine feet in 1700 years, at Thebes about seven, and so on, gradually diminishing to the mouth. There, indeed, the deposit is lessened in a very remarkable degree, much more than in the same decreasing ratio, in consequence of the greater extent of the land, east and west, over which the inundation spreads; so that, in a section representing the accumulated soil and the level of the low Nile, the angle of inclination would be much smaller from the fork of the Delta to the sea, than from the Thebaid to the Delta. And this is satisfactorily proved by the increase of the banks and the surface of the country at Elephantine, Thebes, Heliopolis, the vicinity of old Cairo, and other places, where the positions of ancient monuments attest the former levels of the land's surface, and enable us to ascertain the increase within a known period. Around the base of the obelisk at Heliopolis, erected by Osirtasen I. about 1700 years before our era, the alluvial soil has accumulated to the height of five feet ten

* The banks during the low Nile are upwards of 30 feet high in parts of Nubia, in middle Egypt 20, and decrease as they are nearer the mouth.

inches*; and, comparing this with Elephantine, we shall find that a monument placed there at the same period would have been buried to the depth of about nineteen feet. Heliopolis stood to the south of the Delta; and the diminution northwards, for every mile, in an expanse of increasing breadth, must have been proportionably greater as it approached the sea, till at the shore it became almost imperceptible, even after the lapse of many ages.

Having endeavoured to show that no argument can be derived from the appearance of the Delta, to favour the supposition of this district having been formed at a period when the upper part of the country was already inhabited, it is necessary to observe that I limit my remarks exclusively to the Nile, whose nature is very different from that of most rivers, and particularly those whose deltas have been created and rapidly increased by materials brought down by their waters, and deposited at their mouths. These, consisting of trees and other vegetable productions, have tended to form here and there a nucleus for the construction of islands, afterwards connected with the mainland, and consolidated by alluvial deposit and fresh materials constantly adhering to them; but this peculiarity is totally unknown at the mouth of the Egyptian Nile.

It is not my present intention to enter into any speculation upon the formation of the alluvial land

* In my Egypt and Thebes (p. 313.) I have said 'between seven and eight feet.' This was from information I received at Cairo, and, suspecting it to be erroneous, I sent to have it ascertained, and found it to be as stated above.

of Egypt, and its Delta; and much less shall I attempt to fix the time required for such an event. This would be irrelevant and presumptuous, even if we were not limited to the period elapsed between the Deluge and the age of those early Pharaohs, in whose time all the country, as it now exists, was densely peopled. Nor would any one be permitted to assert the priority of a *nation* from the apparent antiquity of the soil which clothes the rocks of the country. But of this we may be asssured, that the formation of Egypt and its extensive Delta are beyond the reach of our inquiry, and of a date long anterior to the epoch at which that country or Ethiopia were inhabited.

With regard to the word Ethiopia, used by ancient authors, we have many reasons for supposing it was sometimes intended to designate, or was confounded with, the Thebaïd or Upper Egypt. The expression of Pliny, "Ethiopia was evidently renowned and powerful, even to the time of the Trojan war, . . . and extended its empire over Syria*," though he is speaking of Ethiopia Proper, can only have been borrowed from a tradition relating to the Thebaïd, since the Diospolite monarchs ruled and received tribute from Ethiopia, and actually did extend their dominion over Syria; which the Ethiopians could not have done without first obtaining possession of Egypt, and that, too, at a period when the Pharaohs were in the zenith of their power. Nor is the assertion of the prophet Nahum, that Ethiopia and Egypt were the

* Plin. vi. 35.

strength of Nó, less remarkable; Nó, or, as the Hebrew gives it, Na-Amûn, being the name of Thebes.* According to Herodotus†, "the Thebaïd was formerly called Egypt;" the rest of the country being deemed of minor importance, and the Thebaïd bearing this name *par excellence:* and Aristotle says, that "Egypt in ancient times was called Thebes."‡ Whence it may be supposed that Lower Egypt was conquered by, or annexed to, the Thebaïd, or, as it was then styled, Egypt; and, if this be true, we can have no hesitation in ascribing to it the precedence of the upper country.

The question respecting the comparative antiquity and civilisation of the Egyptians and Ethiopians has now become obsolete. I do not, therefore, detain the reader by any mention of the numerous arguments to be adduced from the monuments of both countries, to decide the priority of the Egyptians, which even those ancient writers, whose authority some have supposed to militate against that opinion, do not fail to prove: Diodorus§ allowing

* Nahum, iii. 8, 9. This passage is very interesting. 'Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the waters, that had the waters round about it; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength: Put and Lubin were thy helpers.' The word יארים *Iarim*, 'the rivers,' is the Hebrew plural of the Egyptian word IAPO, 'river,' applied to the Nile. The word sea is, in the Hebrew, water or waters, and does not apply exclusively to the sea. 'Populous No' should be No or Na-Amûn, taken from the Egyptian HI N AMOYN, or AMOYN-HI, 'the abode of Amûn,' or Diospolis.

† Herod. ii. 16.

‡ Aristot. Meteorol. lib. i. 14.—"*Αρχαιον ἡ Αιγυπτος Θηβαι καλουμεναι.*"

§ Diod. i. 50.

that "the Thebans consider themselves the oldest of men, and affirm that philosophy and astrology were invented by them," in no way acknowledging the Ethiopians as their predecessors: and Herodotus* distinctly stating that the manners of the Egyptian troops who deserted from Psamaticus had a very sensible effect in civilising the Ethiopians.

Of the state of Egypt at the epoch when the arrival of Joseph, or the Exodus of the Israelites, took place, some little information may be obtained from the Bible, and from the monuments that remain, both of which bespeak a people already far advanced in the arts and customs of civilised life. And though we must remain ignorant of their origin, and of the form of government at the commencement of Egyptian history, we may venture to explain, from reason and probability, some of the causes of their early and rapid progress.

The wants of man in the infant stage of society are simple and easily satisfied, and he desires little more than what suffices for his maintenance and self-preservation. The rudest state is that of the hunter; and the produce of the chase affords him all that he requires for food and raiment. His arms, or some ingenious contrivance for seizing his prey, are almost the sole objects for which any effort of the mind is roused; and, contented with that land in which he chances to have been born, he seldom quits it in search of a more eligible spot.

The shepherd, on the contrary, is frequently a

* Herod. ii. 30.

wanderer, and the choice of his temporary abode depends on the abundance of food or superiority of pasture it affords to his flocks. This, and the means required for his own subsistence, are his chief care; and he seeks not to improve his condition, or to advance beyond the state in which his forefathers have lived. Like the hunter, he makes no progress in civilisation; and we observe, that, though surrounded by opulent and industrious nations, the Arab, to the present day, despises customs which he feels not the inclination to adopt.

Accidental circumstances generally have a tendency to form the different states of society; and that country which, from its nature, was adapted to the chase, would be inhospitable to the shepherd, and totally unsuited to the pursuits of the agriculturist. This last is the state most capable of improvement. In it, civilisation is encouraged, the industry of each individual is beneficial to the whole community, and the facility of providing for their wants enables a great number of persons to employ themselves in other occupations. And, since the mere tillage of the soil may be performed by a small portion of the population, the surplus is led to devise some method of profiting by their spare time and labour; and the energies of the mind are called forth, both to create and to supply numerous artificial wants. Mechanism, the division of lands, the rights of property, the exchange of commodities, and many other steps towards the improvement of society,

are the result of this mode of living; and various institutions, unknown to the hunter and the shepherd, succeed each other in proportion to the advancement of the rising state. It is, then, evident, that those countries, where argiculture is the chief occupation of the people, must make rapid progress in civilisation, and, consequently, rise to opulence and power; and we may reasonably suppose Egypt was one of the first to benefit by the advantages of its fruitful soil.*

Assyria is another notable instance of the same fact; and its fertility was unquestionably the cause of its early improvement and prosperity.

But the primeval history of states, especially at so remote an epoch, must necessarily be a matter of pure conjecture, since they are beyond the reach of authentic records; and if those nations themselves had handed down to us what they deemed their real annals, we should find them so complicated and improbable, that it would be out of our power to separate truth from fiction. Such is the character of the uncertain fragments of Manetho, preserved by later writers; and even the early history of the Greeks is so encumbered with allegory, and a mysterious system of mythology, that it is difficult to distinguish between real events and religious fable: a mode of uniting history and metaphysical theory not peculiar to the Greeks, but adopted by other, perhaps by all, nations of

* The exchange of commodities with other nations not only tends to benefit each in a commercial, but in a moral, point of view; and it is probable that Egypt trafficked with the Tyrians, as well as with the people of Arabia, at a very remote period.

antiquity; and, wherever we have been able to examine the basis on which it was constructed, a striking similarity is observable in its general outline.

Whether Egypt was originally governed by an hierarchy or a monarchy, is still a question; yet, from the circumstance of the earliest names enclosed in ovals being preceded by the title priest instead of king, we might infer the possibility of a priestly form of government; and the account of Manetho, and other writers who mention the rule of the gods, would seem to sanction, or even require, such a construction. The succession of the different gods to the sovereignty of the country would then be explained by that of the respective colleges of priests; though the duration of their reigns is totally inconsistent with truth or probability. It is true that infant states are more usually governed by some individual, pre-eminent for his abilities either as a statesman or a warrior, than by a body of persons with equal authority; but, as the former opinion appears to be less at variance with what history has imparted to us, it is more reasonable to conclude that, like Judæa before the time of Saul, Egypt was ruled by an hierarchy, until the accession of its first king, Menes.

Any attempt to fix the precise era of this political change must be fruitless and unsatisfactory: if, however, it is beyond our reach, there are positive grounds for the conviction, that no Egyptian deity was ever supposed to have lived on earth*; and the

* Vide Herod. ii. 143. The priests also assured him that no deity had ever lived on earth (ii. 142.); and Plutarch (de Isid. v. 21.) observes that the inhabitants of the Thebaïd entertained the same opinions.

story of Osiris's rule in this world is purely allegorical, and intimately connected with the most profound and curious mystery of their religion. And so great was their respect for the important secret, and for the name of Osiris, that Herodotus* scrupled to mention him; and Plutarch† says the Egyptian priests talked with great reserve even of his well-known character as ruler of the dead.

The Egyptians justly ridiculed the Greeks for pretending to derive their origin from deities. They showed Hecatæus and Herodotus a series of three hundred and forty-five high priests, each of whom, they observed, was "a man, son of a man," but in no instance the descendant of a god: thus censuring the folly of Hecatæus, who claimed a deity as his sixteenth ancestor. Such is the meaning of the expression in Herodotus‡, "a piromis, son of a piromis:" and it is singular that the historian should not have understood the signification of the word rômi (man, or pirômi, the man), as the sense alone suffices to point it out; and his translation proves how ignorant he was of the language of the country in which he travelled. Indeed, the information of Herodotus was frequently of a very imperfect kind, owing sometimes to an excess of credulity, of which the humorous Egyptians gladly took advantage in a Greek, and sometimes to a want of scrutiny, as may be seen in the account he gives of the sources of the Nile.§

* Herod. ii. 86. et alibi.
† Plut. de Is. s. 79.
‡ Herod. ii. 143.
§ Herodot. ii. 28.

The kings of Egypt are arranged by Manetho in twenty-six dynasties, from the time of Menes to the invasion of Cambyses, which happened B.C. 525; but whether any dependence can be placed on the names and number of the kings before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, is a matter of great doubt; and some of the authors to whom we are indebted for the fragments of his work disagree in their arrangement. Nor do the monuments render us any assistance in this portion of the early history; though the great similarity in the names and order of the monarchs, in the eighteenth and some of the succeeding dynasties, suggests the probability of the original work of Manetho having been derived from authentic sources.

One great difficulty arises from the long duration assigned to the Egyptian monarchy: the sum of years from Menes to the Persian invasion being, according to Manetho, about 4750 years, without reckoning the fourteenth dynasty; and Herodotus' account, who was assured by the priests that 330 kings succeeded that prince*, requires, on an average of fifteen years to a reign, about 4950 years for the same period. A similar objection applies to the statements of Diodorus and other writers; but, as the examination of controverted questions can offer little interest to the reader, I shall only venture a few remarks on the period previous to the arrival of Joseph.

* L. ii. s. 100. He may mean 330 kings from Menes to Amasis, though he says to Mœris; and in s. 143. he speaks of 345 kings and high priests, and in s. 142. of 341 generations before Sethos. He confounds reigns with generations.

The oldest monuments of Egypt, and probably of the world, are the pyramids to the north of Memphis; but the absence of hieroglyphics and of every trace of sculpture precludes the possibility of ascertaining the exact period of their erection, or the names of their founders. From all that can be collected on this head, it appears that Suphis and his brother Sensuphis* erected them about the year 2120 B. C.†; and the tombs in their vicinity may have been built, or cut in the rock, shortly after their completion. These present the names of very ancient kings, whom we are still unable to refer to any certain epoch, or to place in the series of dynasties; but whether they were cotemporary with the immediate predecessors of Osirtasen‡, or ruled the whole of Egypt, is a question that I do not as yet pretend to answer.

Previous to the accession of the first Osirtasen, who probably lived about 1740 B. C. and was therefore cotemporary with Joseph, we have little to guide us upon the monuments of Egypt; but we may safely conjecture, from the state of those erected during his reign, that the Egyptians were already far

* Sensuphis signifies the brother of Suphis, agreeing with the relationship mentioned by Herodotus between Cheops and Cephren. They were succeeded by Moscheris or Mencheres, the Mycerinus of the Greek historian. Suphis, according to Manetho, was the second king in the fourth dynasty of Memphites.

† This is following Eratosthenes, who places Suphis or Saophis the fourth before Apappus, whom I suppose to have been the cotemporary of Abraham, B. C. 1920. For if Jacob's arrival, B. C. 1706, is referred to the reign of Apappus, the antiquity of these monarchs is unnecessarily increased, and the additional 214 years augment our perplexities on the subject.

‡ If we may believe Josephus, Manetho speaks of kings of the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt uniting in a common cause; and thereby shows the existence of cotemporary dynasties.

advanced in the arts of civilised life, and had arrived nearly at the same state in which they continued during what may be styled the Augustan era of the eighteenth dynasty. This is further confirmed by the scriptural sketch of Egyptian manners in the time of Joseph; but we have nothing to lead to any conclusion respecting the exact duration of the previous reigns, the organisation and progress of the political state of the country, or the period from which its civilisation dates its commencement.

Nor can any thing satisfactory be derived from the imperfect history * of the shepherd kings given by Manetho, or at least by his copyists: and his account of their aggressions is not sufficiently clear to enable us to determine whether he alludes to the Assyrians, Phœnicians, or Arabs.† That they were not Jews is evident; though, as I have already observed in a former work, the Exodus of the Israelites may possibly, through the inattention of some authors, have been confounded with the expulsion of the Pastor tribes: and their abomination of shepherds necessarily originating in serious injuries received from them, as it already existed in the time of Joseph, proves their hostile invasions to have happened before that period.

About the epoch of the Jewish captivity, Egypt must have been engaged in a war with some powerful enemies, since the reason of the oppres-

* Many histories of Egypt were written at different periods, by native as well as foreign authors, which have unfortunately been lost. Conf. Cicero. de Republ. iii. 8. 'Illâ incorruptâ gente Ægyptiorum, quæ plurimorum et sæculorum et eventorum memoriam literis continet.'

† Herodotus calls Sennacherib 'king of Arabia and Assyria.' (lib. ii. 141.)

sion exercised against the unresisting Hebrews is stated to have been the fear of their uniting with them *; and, indeed, it appears from the sculptures of Beni Hassan, that the Egyptians already, as early as the reign of Osirtasen, had extended their arms into Asia, had thence brought many captives to Egypt, and had perhaps enrolled some of the conquered people in their army, as was frequently the case at a later period. This war with foreign nations is another strong argument against the opinion of Josephus that the Jews were the Shepherds, and the pretended power of his countrymen at so early an epoch is inconsistent with reason and probability. The Jews, even in the most flourishing state, when in firm possession of the promised land, and united under one king, never did arrive at the degree of power which he has ascribed to them in Egypt; and the whole is at variance with Scripture history.

There is great difficulty in assigning a date to the irruption of those invaders, and their occupation of Lower Egypt. The forty-three Pastor or Shepherd kings, placed by Manetho as cotemporaries of the same number of Theban princes, who composed the seventeenth dynasty, ill agree with the monuments that remain; since Osirtasen I., who must have been one of the cotemporary Egyptian monarchs, ruled the lower as well as the

* Exodus i. 10. 'Lest . . . . when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us.' According to Manetho, the Egyptians had obtained possession of Libyia long before this epoch, since he speaks of the Libyans revolting from the first king of the *third* dynasty. Vide *infrà*, p. 26.

upper country. What may have happened before his accession, I do not pretend to decide; but the pyramids, and the tombs in their vicinity, which I conceive to have been much anterior to his reign, are evidently Egyptian; and as this circumstance requires a long period of tranquillity and freedom from aggression, previous to the reign of Osirtasen, the seventeenth dynasty of shepherds is rendered still more doubtful. It is, however, remarkable, that no buildings of a date prior to the reign of Osirtasen I., excepting the pyramids, some tombs and grottos, now exist in Upper or Lower Egypt: and hence these questions naturally arise: — Did Osirtasen expel the invaders from Lower Egypt, and afterwards erect the edifices to which the obelisks at Heliopolis and in the Fyoom once belonged? and if so, why have we not pointed allusions to those battles and welcome victories in the tombs of Beni Hassan? Or are we to attribute the absence of monuments before the reign of Osirtasen to their great antiquity and consequent dilapidation? The last is more probable, since those bearing the name of Osirtasen only consist of a few broken columns at Karnak and the two obelisks above mentioned; the grottos of Beni Hassan being hewn in the imperishable rock: and, indeed, without them his name would have been almost as little known as those of other kings who preceded him. Nor could the loss of the early monuments have been the result of the irruption of the Pastors; since we do not even find any remaining at Thebes, which is beyond the point whither the invaders ap-

pear to have penetrated, and, consequently, out of the reach of destruction.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the irruption of the Pastors was anterior to the erection of any building now extant in Egypt, and long before the accession of the seventeenth dynasty*; but, until some further light is thrown on the subject, either by the monuments or some equally authentic source, it will be better to commence our history of Egypt with the reign of that monarch whose records exist, and from whom we can establish a regular succession. I shall, however, first introduce the names and order of the sovereigns mentioned by Herodotus, Diodorus, Manetho, and Eratosthenes, with a few remarks on the probable origin of the shepherd kings; and then proceed, in the next chapter, to a comparison of the names occurring on the monuments, with the catalogues of the priest of Sebennytus, and other ancient authors.

And in order to present a comparative view of the succession from Menes to the invasion of Cambyses, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, I shall arrange the names given by those historians separately in opposite columns.

* The old chronicle gives four Memphites to the seventeenth dynasty, and eight Tanites to the sixteenth, which I have followed in preference to the forty-three of Manetho.

No. 1. Egyptian Dagger, length 11½ inches. *Salt's Collection.*

Egyptian Kings, according to Herodotus.	*According to Diodorus.* *
Menes.	Menes, or Menas.
330 Sovereigns. 18 Ethiopians and Queen Nitocris. (The Nitocris of Manetho is placed in the 6th Dynasty, and after Suphis the founder of the great pyramid.)	Then 2 of his descendants. Then 52 Kings. } During a period of more than 1,400 years.
	Busiris.
	Then 8 of his descendants; the last of whom bore the same name as the first †, and was said to have founded Thebes. His 8th descendant, who bore the name of his father, Uchoreus, reputed to be the founder of Memphis.
	Then 12 generations of Kings.
Mœris, built the Labyrinth and excavated the lake Mæris.	Myris, dug the lake above Memphis.
	Seven generations of Kings.
Sesostris, the great conqueror.	Sesoôsis I. the great conqueror.
Pheron, his son.	Sesoôsis II.
	Many kings succeeded him.
	Amasis, who was conquered by Actisanes.
	Actisanes the Ethiopian.
	Mendes, or Marrhus, an Egyptian, who built the labyrinth as a tomb for himself.
	An interregnum for 5 generations.
A Memphite, whose name according to the Greeks is Proteus.	Cetna, or Cetes, who is Proteus.
Rhampsinitus.	Rhemphis.
	Seven Kings of no note, from one of whom, Nileus, the river was called Nilus, having formerly borne name of Ægyptus.
Cheops, built the great pyramid and reigned 50 years.	The eighth was Chembes, or Chemmis, the Memphite. He reigned 50 years and built the great pyramid.
Cephren, his brother, built the 2d pyramid and reigned 56 years.	Cephren, his brother, reigned 56 years; others say he was his son, and call him Chabryïs.
Mycerinus, son of Cheops, left a pyramid.	Mycerinus, or Cherinus, son of the founder of the great pyramid. He began a third, and died before it was finished.
Asychis.	Tnephachthus, the Technatis of Plutarch.
Anysis, who was blind. The Egyptian crown passed to an Ethiopian line.	Bocchoris the Wise, his son.
Sabaco, the Ethiopian, retired after 50 years.	After a long time, Sabacôn the Ethiopian.
Anysis restored.	An interregnum of 2 years.
Sethos (Se-phtha) the priest of Vulcan (Phtha or Pthah) cotemporary of Sennacherib and Tirhaka.	

341 Generations, (or Kings,) "equal to 11,340 (or 5115) years" Herod. ii. 142.

* It is singular that Diodorus does not introduce the name of Osymandyas in this list of kings, though he mentions him as a Theban monarch in his description of that city.

† Some suppose him to have been Busiris II.

Egyptian Kings, according to Herodotus.	*According to Diodorus.*
The 12 Kings reigned over Egypt, divided into 12 parts * (or nomes.)	Twelve chiefs (nomarchs) 18 years.
Psammitichus, one of the 12, 54 years.	Psammetichus the Saïte, one of them, 54 years.
Necos, his son, reigned 11 years.	After 4 generations, came
Psammis, his son, 6 years.	Apries, who reigned 22 years.
Apries, his son, 25 years.	Amasis, 55 years.
Amasis, having usurped the throne, 44 years.	
Psammenitus, his son, reigned 6 months.	

The Dynasties of Egyptian Monarchs, according to Manetho (on the authority of Africanus and Eusebius), are as follow:—

1*st Dynasty of* 8 *Kings, either Thinites or Thebans.* Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Menes, the Thinite, succeeded the Demigods, killed by a hippopotamus	62	Called a Theban by Eratosthenes, and apparently so according to the monuments. Eusebius mentions 7 or 17 sons of Menes.
2. Athôthis, his son, built the palace at Memphis, and wrote the anatomical books, being a physician - -	57	
3. Cencenes (Kenkenes), his son -	31	
4. Venephes (Enephes or Venephres), his son, raised the pyramids near the town of Cochone (Cochoma or Choe). A great plague in Egypt during his reign - -	23	
5. Usaphædus (Saphaidos or Usaphaes), his son - - - -	20	
6. Miebidus (Niebes or Niebais), his son - - - -	26	
7. Semempses (Semenpses or Mempses), his son. A terrible pestilence raged in Egypt - - -	18	
8. Biênaches (Ubienthes or Vibethis), his son - - -	26	According to Africanus 253, Eusebius 252; the sum being really 263.
Total - -	253	

* The same division of Egypt into 12 provinces, or beyliks, was retained to the time of the Memlooks.

2d Dynasty of 9 *Thinite Kings.*

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	Observations.
1. Boethus the first (or Bôchus). In his reign the earth opened at Bubastis, and many were killed - -	38	
2. Cæechos (Chous or Cechous), under him the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were appointed to be gods - - - -	39	This introduction of the worship of sacred animals is remarkable.
3. Binôthris (or Biophis), under whom it was enacted that women might hold the reins of government -	47	
4. Tlas	17	According to Eusebius, these three, and their four successors, did nothing worthy of commemoration, and he omits their names.
5. Sethenes	41	
6. Chæres	17	
6. Nephercheres (the seventh successor of Biophis, according to Eusebius). Fabulists reported the Nile to have flowed with honey during eleven days - - - -	25	
8. Sesôchris, who was 5 cubits (7 ft. 6 in.) in height, and 3 in breadth; or, according to Eusebius, 3 palms -	48	
9. Cheneres (or Keneres). Name omitted by Eusebius - -	30	
Altogether - -	302	Eusebius gives 297 years.

3d Dynasty, of 9 *Memphite Kings.*

1. Necheróphes (Echerophes or Necherôchis). In his reign *the Libyans revolted* from the Egyptians; but alarmed by an unexpected increase of the moon submitted - -	28	
2. Tosorthrus (or Sesorthus), called Asclepius by the Egyptians, from his medical skill. He introduced the mode of building with *hewn stone*, and patronised *literature* - -	29	

Name.	Duration of Reign.		*Observations.*
		yrs.	
3. Tyris	Eusebius mentions *six* others after Sesorthus, who were not famed for any memorable exploit: and he omits their names.	7	
4. Mesôchris		17	
5. Sôÿphis (Sôuphis or Zôuphis)		16	
6. Tosertasis		19	This name reminds us of Osirtasen.
7. Aches		42	
8. Sephuris		30	
9. Cerpheres		26	
Altogether		214	Eusebius gives the total 197 years.
4th Dynasty, of 8 *Memphite Kings of a different branch.*			
1. Sôris		29	Eusebius omits the name of Soris, and considers Suphis the 3d of this Dynasty.
2. Suphis. Built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus says was constructed by Cheops. He was arrogant towards the gods, and wrote the *sacred book*, which is regarded by the Egyptians as a very precious work *		63	
3. Suphis (the 2d)	The names of these are omitted by Eusebius.	66	
4. Mencheres		63	
5. Rhatœses		25	
6. Bicheris		22	
7. Sebercheres		7	
8. Thampthis		9	
Altogether		284	According to Eusebius 448 years.
5th Dynasty, of 9 *Elephantine Kings.*			
1. Usercheres	Eusebius reckons 31 Elephantine kings, but omits all their names, and introduces Othius and Phiops into this Dynasty.	28	
2. Sephres		13	
3. Nephercheres (or Nerchepheres)		20	
4. Sisires (Sisichis or Sisiris)		7	
5. Cheres (or Echeres)		20	
6. Rathures (or Rathuris)		44	
7. Mencheres (or Mercheres)		9	
8. Tancheres (or Tacheres)		44	
9. Obnus (Unus or Onnus)		33	
Altogether		248	The sum is 218.

* This is very contradictory.

6th Dynasty, of 6 *Memphite Kings.*

Name.	Duration of Reign.	*Observations.*
	yrs.	
1. Othôes (Othius or Thôês) killed by his guards - - -	30	Omitted by Eusebius.
2. Phius - - - -	53	
3. Methusuphis - - -	7	
4. Phiops (or Aphiops), who began to reign at the age of 6 years, and reigned until he completed his 100th year - - -	94	As Eusebius calls Phiops the 4th King, he evidently intends to place him in the Sixth Dynasty. Is he not the same as Apophis?
5. Menthesuphis - - -	1	
6. Nitôcris.* The handsomest woman of her time, of a florid complexion and flaxen hair, built the third pyramid	12	Nitocris, or Minerva victrix (potens?).
Total - -	203	Should be 197.

7th Dynasty, of 70 *Memphite Kings, who reigned* 70 *days; or, according to Eusebius,* 5 *Kings, who reigned* 75 *days or years.*

8th Dynasty, of 27 *Memphite Kings, who reigned* 156 *years. Eusebius gives* 5 *Kings and* 106 *years.*

9th Dynasty, of 19 *Heracleopolite Kings, who reigned* 409 *years; or, according to Eusebius,* 4, *who ruled* 100 *years.*

1. The first was Achthoes (Achthros, Ochthovis, or Ochitois). More cruel than all his predecessors; and, having perpetrated many crimes in Egypt, he was seized with madness, and afterwards killed by a crocodile.

10th Dynasty, of 19 *Heracleopolite Kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*

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* This name is either Neit-gori, or Neit-acri. The Queen of Psamaticus 3d was also called Neit-acri.

11th Dynasty, of 16 Diospolite Kings, who reigned 43 years.		*Observations.*
Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	
Of these, Ammenemes reigned - -	16	According to Eusebius these 16 years are not included in the total of 43.
[The whole of the above-mentioned kings is 192, who reigned during the space of 2300 years, and 70 days.* This terminates Manetho's first book.]		
SECOND BOOK OF MANETHO.		
12th Dynasty, of 7 Diospolite Kings.		
1. Sesonchosis (Geson-Goses, or Sesonchoris), son of Ammanemes -	46	
2. Ammanemes (or Ammenemes), slain by his eunuchs - -	38	
3. Sesôstris conquered all Asia in nine years, and Europe as far as Thrace, every where erecting monuments of his conquest over those nations. Among the people who had acted bravely, he set up memorials of a phallic nature; but among the degenerate, female emblems engraved on stelæ. He is considered by the Egyptians to be the first after Osiris. His stature was 4 cubits, 3 palms, and 2 digits (about 6 feet 10 inches)	48	
4. Lachares (Labaris, Lamaris, or Lambares), built the labyrinth in the Arsinoite nome as a tomb for himself -	8	If this is the Mœris of Herodotus, he is perhaps correct in making him the immediate successor of Sesostris.
5. Ammeres (or Ameres) -	8	
6. Ammenemes -	8	
7. Scemiophris - (Skemiophris), his sister -	4	
Eusebius omits the names of these three, and says the successors of Lambaris reigned 42 years.		
Altogether - -	160	According to Eusebius 245.

* The total of the sums given by Africanus is only 2287 years 70 days; or, corrected, 2261 years 70 days. Eusebius has omitted two of these sums; but, assuming them the same as those of Africanus, his total of years would be 2059 and 75 days.

13th Dynasty, of 60 *Diospolite Kings, who reigned* 453 *years.*

14th Dynasty, of 76 *Xoite Kings, who reigned* 134 *years. Eusebius says* 484; *another reading gives* 184.

15th Dynasty, of the Shepherds. According to Eusebius of Diospolitans, who reigned 250 *years.*

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.
These were 6 foreign Phœnician Kings, who took Memphis.	
1. The first was Saïtes, from whom the Saïte* nome borrowed its name. The Shepherds founded a city in the Sethroïte nome, from whence they invaded and conquered all Egypt - - - -	19
2. Bêôn (Bnôn, Anôn, or Byon) - -	44
3. Pachnan (or Apachnas) - -	61
4. Staan - - - -	50
5. Archles (or Anchles) - -	49
6. Apôphis (or Aphobis) - -	61
Altogether - -	284

16th Dynasty, of 32 *Hellenic Shepherd Kings, who reigned* 518 *years. Eusebius gives* 5 *Theban Kings, who reigned* 190 *years.*

17th Dynasty, of 43 *Shepherd Kings and* 43 *Theban Diospolites. Eusebius introduces the Kings of the* 15*th Dynasty of Africanus, whom he calls Phœnician Shepherds.*

17th Dynasty of Africanus. yrs.	*17th Dynasty of Eusebius.* yrs.
The cotemporary reigns of the Shepherds and Thebans lasted - 151	1. Saites - - 19
(He omits their names.)	2. Bnôn (Anôn) - 40
	3. Archles (Aphòphis) 30
	4. Apophis (Archles) - 14
	Total - - 103

Observations.

Probably meaning Lower Egypt, which even in the time of the Romans was distinguished from the Thebaïd by the name Egyptus.

Aphoph signifies a giant.

According to Eusebius 250.

Differing from the total of the 15 Dyn. of Africanus.

* Very improbable.

18*th Dynasty.*

According to Africanus, of 16 Diospolite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 14 Diospolite Kings.*	yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Amos, in whose time Moses went out of Egypt		1. Amoses (Amosis)	25	
2. Chebros	13	2. Chebron	13	
3. Amenôphthis	24	3. Amophis (Amenôphis)	21	
4. Amersis (Amensis)	22	4. Miphris (Memphres, Mephres)	12	Amensis is omitted by Eusebius, being a Queen.
5. Misaphris (Misphris)	13	5. Misphragmuthôsis (Myspharmuthosis, or Misphragmuthôs)	26	v. Thothmes 2d in my list of Kings, agreeing with the date of the deluge of Deucalion.
6. Misphragmathosis (Misphragmuthôsis), in whose time happened the deluge of Deucalion	26			
7. Tuthmosis	9	6. Tuthmosis	9	
8. Amenôphis, supposed to be Memnon of the musical stone	31	7. Aménôphis (Amnophis). It is he who is supposed to be Memnon of the musical stone	31	
9. Horus	37	8. Orus	36, 27, or 37	
10. Acherrhes	32	9. Achencheres (Achencherses, or Achencherres)	16 or 12	In the Armenian text Achoris and Chencherres are omitted, and the Exodus follows the name of Achencheres.
11. Rathôs	6	[10. Athôris, 39, (Achoris)]	7	
12. Chebres	12	[11. Chencherres.] In his time Moses led the Jews out of Egypt	18	
13. Acherres	12	10. [12.] Acherres	8	
		11. [13.] Cherres	15	
14. Armeses	5	12. [14.] Armais, who was also called Danaus, reigned. After which he was expelled by his brother Ægyptus, and fled to Greece. He took Argos, of which he became King.	5	
15. Ramesses (Ameses or Armesis)	1	13. Ramesses (Ammeses) called also Ægyptus, [15. Remesses]	68	
16. Amenophath (or Amenoph) (262)	19	14. Amenophis (or Memôphis). [16. Menophes]	40	The real name appears to be Amunophth.
Total	263	Total	348	Or 380, 369, 378, 384, or 337.

19*th Dynasty.*

According to Africanus, of 7 Diospolite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 5 Diospolite Kings.*	yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Sethos	51	1. Sethos	55	
2. Rapsaces	61	2. Rampses (or Rapses)	66	
3. Ammenepthes	20	3. Amenephthis (or Amenôphthis)	8	
4. Rameses	60	4. Ammenemes	26	
5. Ammonemnes	5	5. Thuoris, the Polybus of Homer	7	v. Remeses 5, in my list of Kings.
6. Thuoris, called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, in whose reign Troy was taken	7			
Total	209	Total	194	

In this 2d book of Manetho are 96 Kings, who ruled 2121 years.

THIRD BOOK OF MANETHO.

20th Dynasty, of 12 *Diospolite Kings, who reigned* 135 *years, or according to Eusebius* 172 *years. Their names are omitted.*

21*st Dynasty, of* 7 *Tanite Kings.*

According to Africanus.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius.*	yrs.	
1. Smendes (Smerdes, or Smedes)	26	1. Smendis (or Amendis)	26	Scaliger omits this Dynasty, and introduces the same Kings in the 20th Dynasty.
2. Psusenes (Psuneses, or Psusennes)	46	2. Psusennus	41	Syncellus gives in the 20th Dynasty:
3. Nephelcheres	4	3. Nephercheres (Nepherchenes)	4	Nechepsos, 19 years.
4. Amenôphthis (or Amenenôphthis)	9	4. Amenophthis	9	Psammuthis, 13 years.
5. Osochôr (Osochôn)	6	5. Osochôr	6	———, 4 years.
6. Psinaches (Pinaches)	9	6. Psinnaches	9	Certus, 16 years.
7. Psusennes (Susennes)	14	7. Psosennes	35	Rhampsis, 45 years.
				Amenses, or Ammenemes, 26 years.
				Ochyras, 14 years.
Total	130	Total	130	And in one version Amenophthis is placed before Nephercheres, in the 21st Dynasty.

22d Dynasty.

According to Africanus, of 9 Bubastite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 3 Bubastite Kings.*	yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Sesonchis (Sesonchosis)	21	1. Sesonchusis (Sesonchosis)	21	
2. Osorthon (Osôrôth)	15	2. Osorthos (Osorthôn)	15	
3. 4. 5. Three names not given, of kings who reigned	25			
6. Tacelôthis (Tacellothis)	13	3. Tacellothis (Takellothis)	13	
7. 8. 9. Names omitted, reigned	42			
Total	120	Total	44	

23d Dynasty.

According to Africanus, of 4 Tanite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 3 Tanite Kings.*	yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Petoubates (Petubastes). In his time the Olympiads began	40	1. Petubastis	25	Pet-Pasht?
2. Osorchô (Osorchôn), whom the Egyptians call Hercules	8	2. Osorthon	9	
3. Psammus	10	3. Psammus	10	
4. Zêt (34 or)	31			
Total	28	Total	44	

24th Dynasty.

Bocchôris, the Saïte, in whose reign a sheep spoke!	6	Called the Wise. No mention is made of his father Tnephactus.

25th Dynasty, of 3 Ethiopian Kings.

	yrs.	*According to Eusebius.*	yrs.
1. Sabaco (Sabbacôn), who took Bocchoris and burnt him alive, reigned	8	- - -	12
2. Sebichus (Sebichôs, or Sevêchus) his son	14	- - -	12
3. Tarcus	18	Taracus	20
Total	40	Total	44

26th Dynasty, of 9 Saite Kings.

	yrs.		yrs.
1. Stephinates	7	1. Ammeres the Ethiopian	18
2. Nechepsos (Nerepsôs)	6	2. Stephinathis (Stephanathes)	7
3. Nechao I. (Nachao)	8	3. Nechepsôs	6
4. Psammeticus (Psammetichus, Psammetychus, or Psammiticus)	54	4. Nechao I.	6
5. Nechao II. Took Jerusalem, and carried Joachaz the King captive to Egypt	6	5. Psammetichus	44
6. Psammuthis	6	6. Nechao II.	6
7. Vaphris, to whom the remainder of the Jews fled when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians	19	7. Psammuthes, called also Psammatichus	17
8. Amosis		8. Vaphres	25
9. Psammecherites (Psammacherites) reigned 6 months		9. Amosis	42
Total -	150 yrs. 6 months	Total -	167

Observations.

27th Dynasty, of 8 Persian Kings.

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.
1. Cambyses reigned over Persia 5 (9?) years, and over Egypt	6
2. Darius, son of Hystaspes	36
3. Xerxes the Great	21
4. Artabanus	7 months
5. Artaxerxes	41
6. Xerxes	2 months
7. Sogdianus	7 months
8. Darius the son of Xerxes	19
Total -	124 years 4 months

Eusebius gives 120 years and four months.

28th Dynasty.

	yrs.
Amyrteus of Saïs (Amyrtæus, Amyrteôs)	6

29th Dynasty, of 4 Mendesian Kings.

	yrs.		yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Nepherites (Necherites)	6	1. Nepherites	6	
2. Achôris	13	2. Achoris	13	
3. Psammuthis	1	3. Psammuthes	1	
		4. Muthes	1	One version places Muthes after Nepherites II.
4. Nephorites (Nephorotis, or Nephorotes)	4 months	5. Nepherites (or Anepherites)	4 months	
Total	20 yrs. 4 months	Total	21 yrs. 4 months	

30th Dynasty, of 3 Sebennyte Kings.

	yrs.		yrs.
1. Nectanebes	18	- - -	10
2. Teos	2	- - -	2
3. Nectanebes (Nectanebus)	18	- - -	8
Total	38	Total	20

31st Dynasty, of Persians.

	yrs.		yrs.
1. Ochus (Artaxerxes III.) ruled Persia 20 years, and Egypt	2	1. Ochus, who in his 20th year obtained possession of Egypt, and reigned	6
2. Arses	3	2. Arses, son of Ochus	4
3. Darius	4	3. Darius, conquered by Alexander	6
Total	9	Total	16

(The whole number of years in the third book of Manetho is 1050.)*

Such is the imperfect list of Kings given by the copyists of Manetho; but though many of the Dynasties are questionable, yet from a comparison with the old Chronicle and the Canon of Theban Kings from Eratosthenes, some general conclusions may be obtained respecting their succession and the different families who enjoyed the sovereign

* *Vide* Mr. Corry's very useful collection of "Ancient Fragments."

power. From Menes to the 18th, or at least to the 16th Dynasty, there is great obscurity; and Manetho's work is unsatisfactory, both in the number of monarchs who reigned and in the names of the Dynasties. Major Felix conjectures, with great probability, that the 16th and 17th Dynasties, according to our lists derived from the monuments, are the 12th, or the 12th and 13th of Manetho. The names in the former are given, but those of the 13th are omitted. The 15th, which I suppose to have but one king, will then be the 11th of Manetho, in which too only one is introduced, and a Diospolitan, Ammenemes, a name not very unlike Menmoph; though he states there were 15 others, whose names are not mentioned. If so, the intermediate Dynasties between the 13th and 18th have been interpolated, or were contemporary in Lower Egypt.

In the Old Egyptian Chronicle, after the demigods are enumerated 15 generations of the Cynic cycle, which occupied 443 years. The

	yrs.
16th Dynasty is of Tanites, eight descents, during	190
17. Of Memphites, 14 in descent	103
18. Of Memphites, 4 in descent	348
19. Of Diospolites, 5 in descent	194
20. Of Diospolites, 8 in descent	228
21. Of Tanites, 6 in descent	121
22. Of Tanites, 3 in descent	48
23. Of Diospolites, 2 in descent	19
24. Of Saïtes, 3 in descent	44
25. Of Ethiopians, 3 in descent	44
26. Of Memphites, 7 in descent	177
27. Of Persians, 5 in descent	124
28.	
29. Of Tanites, ... in descent	39
30. A Tanite, 1 in descent	18

Total 30 Dynasties and 36,525 years, including 3984 of the reigns of Cronus and the other 12 Deities.

The Kings of Thebes, according to Eratosthenes, are —

		yrs.
1.	Menes the Theban, which is by interpretation Dionius: he reigned	62
2.	Athothes the son of Menes, by interpretation Hermogenes	59
3.	Athothes II.	32
4.	Diabies, the son of Athothes, signifying Philetærus	19
5.	Pemphos (or Semphôs), the son of Athothes, called Heraclides	18
6.	Tœgar-amachus Momchîri the Memphite, called a man redundant in his members (or Yoigaramos)	79
7.	Stœchus his son, who is Arés the Senseless	6
8.	Gosormies, called Etesipantos	30
9.	Mares his son, signifying Heliodorus	26
10.	Anoÿphis, which is "a common son,"	20
11.	Sirius, or "the Son of the Cheek," or "Abascantus"	18
12.	Chnubus Gneurus, which is Chryses the son of Chryses	22
13.	Rauosis, which is Archicrator	13
14.	Biyris	10
15.	Saophis "Comastes," or according to some "Chrematistes."	27
16.	Saophis the 2d	29
17.	Moscheres or "Heliodotus,"	31

(15–17: These three are probably the Suphis I. & II. and Mencheres of Manetho; the Cheops, Cephrenes, and Mycerinus of Herodotus.)

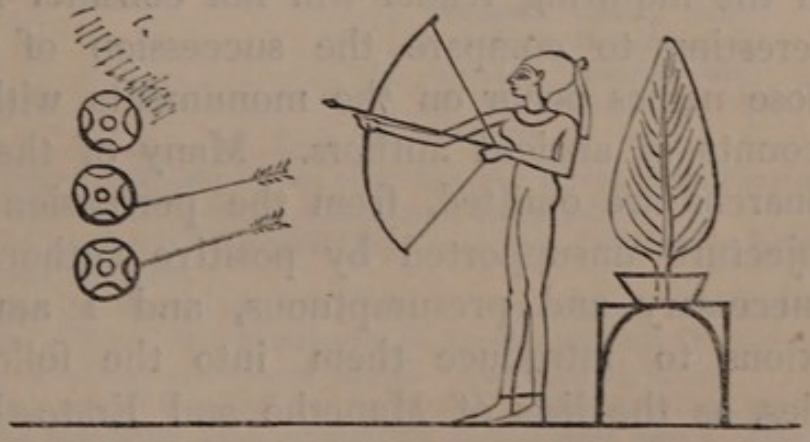
18.	Musthis	33
19.	Pammus (Pammes or Pamnus) Archondes	35
20.	Apappus or "Maximus" (αφωφ "the giant"), one hour less than	100
21.	Achescus Ocaras (Εχεσκος ο καιας)	1
22.	Nitocris or "Athena Nicephora" (Minerva Victrix, or potens?), instead of her husband	6
23.	Myrtæus "Ammonodotus" (Amuntæus? more probably)	22
24.	Thyosimares (Ouosimares) "the robust," who is called "the Sun"	12
25.	Thinillus (Thyrillus or Sethinilus), which signifies the augmentor of his country's strength	8
26.	Semphucrates, which is Hercules Harpocrates	18
27.	Chuther Taurus (Chusthertaurus) the tyrant	7
28.	Meures Philoscorus (Meres philosophus; more probably Mares or Maires), "the beloved of the Sun"	12
29.	Chomaephtha (Kahi-mai-phthah, or Tho-mai-phthah), "Cosmus Phil-hephæstus"	11
30.	Sœcuniosochus (Sykunius ochy-tyrannus, Scuniosochus, or Ancunius ochy-tyrannus) the tyrant	60
31.	Pente-athyres	16

	yrs.
32. Stamenemes II. - - - - -	23
33. Sistosichermes, "Hercules the Strong" - -	55
34. Maris (or Mares) - - - - -	43
35. Siphoas (probably Se-phthas), "Hermes *the son of Vulcan*" - - - - - -	5
36. - - - - - - -	14
37. Phruron or Nilus (φιαρο, "the river") - -	5
38. Amuthantæus - - - - -	63

On the Origin of the Shepherds, or Pastor Kings.

From the preceding extracts of Manetho, as from other passages in his work, it appears reasonable to conclude that Egypt was at one time invaded and occupied by a powerful Asiatic people, who held the country in subjection; and viceroys being appointed to govern it, these obtained the title of Pastor or Shepherd Kings. I have already shown there is authority for believing this event to have taken place in the early periods of Egyptian history, previous to the era of Osirtasen the First; and the monuments satisfactorily prove that in the reign of this monarch and of his second successor, the Egyptians had already extended their conquests over some of the tribes of Asia, and were consequently free from any enemies within their own valley. And this war was not only carried on without much interruption to the age of Remeses the Third, but was afterwards continued at a later period until the reign of Neco. If we inquire what nation had sufficient power to obtain possession of Egypt at so remote an era, history furnishes us with no authority for supposing any other than Assyria to have been capable of making so

difficult a conquest: and the Assyrians under Semiramis are even believed by some to have extended their arms into that country. But the weakness of the successors of Ninyas prevented their keeping possession of a territory daily increasing in power; and the Egyptians were enabled to throw off the yoke, to extend in turn their conquests into the heart of Asia, and to obtain possession of the provinces lying between Egypt and the Euphrates, which had been previously annexed to the Assyrian empire, thus gratifying the ambition natural to a rising state, and retaliating the affront offered by the invader. Their first attempts were upon the neighbouring districts of Syria, and finding their efforts attended with success, they proceeded onward to the N. and E. till they had not only deprived the enemy of his conquests, but carried the war into Assyria itself; and they continued to enjoy the fruits of these victories until the arms of Babylon once more wrested the whole of the vanquished territory from the declining power of Egypt, at the close of the reign of Neco.



No. 2. Shooting at a Target. *Thebes.*

VIGNETTE B. Cattle during the Inundation in the Delta.

CHAP. II.

History of Egypt.

IN the previous chapter, I have shown the difficulty of elucidating the early period of Egyptian history, owing to the want of monumental records and the deficiency of authentic historical information: a slight difference of opinion may also exist respecting the age of Osirtasen I., and even that of the glorious princes of the 18th Dynasty: it will, however, be proper to accompany my historical notice with a chronological table of kings, and the inquiring reader will not consider it uninteresting to compare the succession of those whose names occur on the monuments with the accounts of ancient authors. Many of the first monarchs are omitted, from the persuasion that conjecture unsupported by positive authority is unnecessary and presumptuous, and I am less anxious to introduce them into the following series, as the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes have been already given.

Supposed Succession of Egyptian Kings.

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
	1st Dynasty, of 1 *Theban.*		B. C.
Menes. Minæus of Josephus -	Menai. -	First King of Egypt. According to Josephus, Menes lived *upwards* of 1300 years before Solomon, (who was born in 1032, and ascended the throne in 1015,) and founded Memphis. Antiq. viii. c. 6.	2320*
	2d to the 15*th* † *Dynasty, of Memphites?*		
Athothis, his son -	- - -	Builds the palace at Memphis ‡, and transfers the court to it. This 2d Dynasty was perhaps in consequence called Memphite.	2300
His successors uncertain.			
		Foundation of the kingdom of Assyria by Nimrod, 2204. Eratosthenes gives 569 years for the 19 kings who preceded Apappus.	
Suphis §, or Saophis -	- - -	Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon, 2089. He built the great pyramid. These three kings should be the Cheops, Cephren (*his brother*), and Mycerinus of Herodotus, whom he has strangely misplaced, making them posterior to Sesostris and Mœris. Diodorus calls Cheops Chemmis, or Chembes.	2123

* I extend the date of his ascending the throne from 2201 of my former table to 2320, on the authority of Josephus.

† The number of Manetho's Dynasties from Athothis to Menmoph is probably too great.

‡ Manetho, according to Africanus. Menes is said to have reigned 60 years. Ælian, on the authority of Apion, mentions Œnis, a son of Menes, as having been king of Egypt. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. 40.

§ The name of this Pharaoh was probably Shofo, or Khof, the *sh* and *kh* being frequently used indifferently in Egyptian names. They are easily converted into Suphis or Cheops by adding the Greek termination *s*.

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Suphis 2d, or Sen Saophis, i. e. Saophis's brother -	During part at least of this period, Egypt appears to have been divided into two distinct states, each governed by its own king.	Era of the Chinese emperor Yao, 2057. Built the second pyramid.	2083
Moscheris, or Mencheris -		Built the third pyramid.	2043
Musthis? -		- - -	2022
Pammus Archondes? -		- - -	2011
Apappus, or Aphoph -		Abraham visits Egypt, 1920.	2001
Achescus Ocaras?		- - -	1901
Nitocris - -		A queen, called Nicaule by Josephus. Antiq. viii. 6.	1900
Myrtæus? -		- - -	1890
Thyosimares? -		- - -	1880
Thinillus? -		Kingdom of Argos founded, 1856.	1866
Semphucrates -		Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1848
15th Dynasty, of 1 Diospolite King?			
(Uncertain.) -	Menmoph* -	- - -	1830
16th Dynasty of, Tanites?			
(Uncertain.)	*Vide* the list of kings in Plate I. of my Egypt and Thebes.		
Misartesen † -	Osirtasen I. -	Arrival of Joseph, 1706 -	1740
	Amun m̀-gori? I. - -	- - -	1696
	Amun-m̀-gori? II. -	- - -	1686
17th Dynasty, of Memphites?			
(Uncertain. ‡)	Osirtasen II.	- - -	1651
	Nofri-Ftep, or Osirtasen III.	Joseph died 1635 -	1636
	Amun-m-gori? III.	- - -	1621
	(Name unknown)	- - -	1580

* In the list of the ancestors of Remeses II. at the Memnonium, no king intervenes between Menes and the 18th Dynasty but Menmoph, which I suppose to be in consequence of his having been the only Theban monarch before the time of Amosis (*vide infra*, note on Amosis).

† The error in this name arose from the ω having been mistaken for μ.

‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 10.

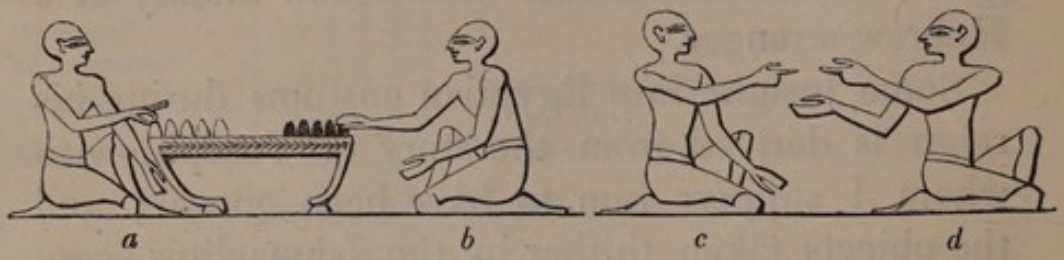
The accession of the first Osirtasen I conceive to date about the year 1740 B. C., and the length of his reign must have exceeded 43 years. If the name of this monarch was not ennobled by military exploits equal to those of the Remeses, the encouragement given to the arts of peace, and the flourishing state of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom; and his pacific character satisfactorily accords with that of the Pharaoh * who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger.

Some insight into Egyptian customs during his reign is derived from the story of Joseph, with whom I suppose him to have been coeval; and the objects taken thither by the Ishmaelites, consisting in spices, balm, and myrrh, which were intended for the purposes of luxury as well as of religion; the subsequent mention of the officers of Pharaoh's household; the state allowed to Joseph†; the portion of lands allotted to the priesthood, and other similar institutions and customs — tend to show the advanced state of society at this early epoch.

* I have frequently had occasion to notice the true reading and purport of this name: I shall, therefore, only observe, that it is written in Hebrew Phrah, פרעה, and is taken from the Egyptian word Pire or Phre (pronounced Phra), signifying the sun, and represented in hieroglyphics by the hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners. It was through the well-known system of analogies that the king obtained this title, being the chief of earthly as the sun was of heavenly bodies. But the word is not derived from or related to *ouro*, "king," as Josephus supposes (Antiq. viii. c. 6.). Phouro is like Pharaoh; but the name is Phrah in Hebrew, and Pharaoh is an unwarranted corruption. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 5. note.

† Gen. xli. 42, 43.

From the sculptures of Beni Hassan*, we learn that the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of linen, glass, cabinet work, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement; and various gymnastic exercises, the games of draughts†, ball, *mora*, and other well-known modern amusements, were common at the same period.



a *b* *c* *d*

No. 3. Games of Draughts and Mora. *Beni Hassan.*

The style of architecture was grand and chaste, and the fluted columns of Beni Hassan are of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric, which indeed seems to have derived its origin from Egypt.

It was during the reign of Osirtasen that the temple of Heliopolis was either founded or received additions, and one of the obelisks bearing his name attests the skill to which they had attained in the difficult art of sculpturing granite. Another of the same materials indicates the existence of a temple erected or embellished by this monarch

* Grottoes on the east bank of the Nile, near the Speos Artemidos.

† There are other instances of this game; one of the time of Remeses III., where the king himself is playing; the other of Psamaticus II.; both at Thebes.

in the province of Crocodilopolis, afterwards known by the names of Arsinoïte nome and el Fyoom; and the remains of a colonnade in the great temple of Karnak prove, as well as the title "lord of the upper and lower country," accompanying his name, that he was sole monarch of the Thebaid and Lower Egypt.

Of the Pharaohs in the two last Dynasties, Amun-m̀-gori II. and Osirtasen II. were the most remarkable after Osirtasen I. Independent of the encouragement given by them to the agricultural interests of the country, they consulted the welfare of those who were employed in the inhospitable desert; and the erection of a temple, and a station to command the wells and to serve for their abode in the Wadee Jasoos*, proved that they were mindful of their spiritual as well as temporal protection. The breccia quarries of the Kossayr road were already opened, and probably also the emerald mines of Gebel Zabára; and the wars with the foreigners of Pount are recorded in a tablet† at Wadee Jasoos, bearing the date of the 28th year of Amun-m̀-gori II. This last is a very important fact, as it shows that the arms of Egypt already extended into some of the very same countries afterwards noticed among the conquests of the Pharaohs, and satisfactorily establishes two facts—that the occupation of Egypt by the Shepherds could not have happened during the 17th Dynasty, and that these prisoners are not the Jews.

* Or Gasoos: the *g* in Arabic being properly always soft. This is the modern name of the valley.

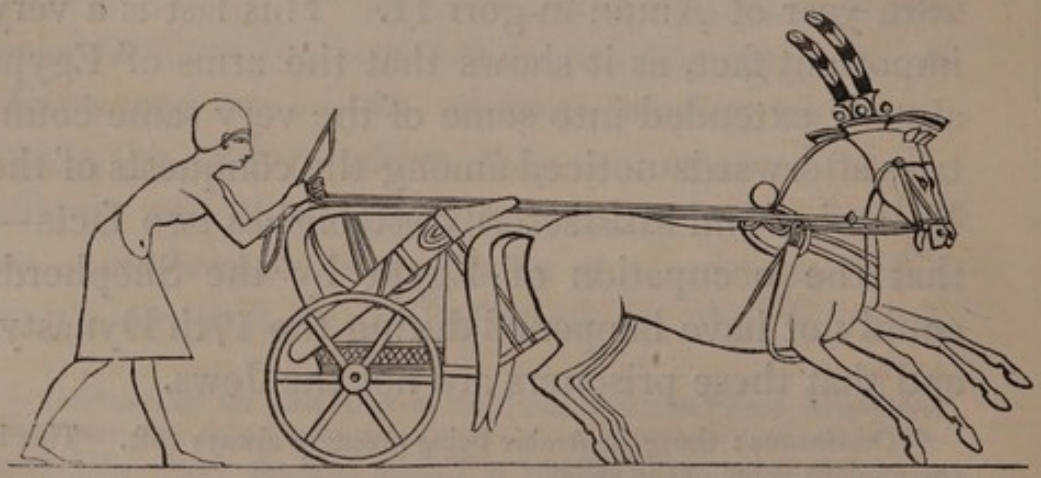
† It has now been brought to England by Mr. Burton.

It is highly probable that the port of Philoteras, or Ænnum, on the Red Sea, was already founded, since the station at Wádee Jasoos appears to have been principally intended to protect the wells which then supplied and still continue to supply that port* with water: and thus we have an additional reason for concluding the commerce with Arabia to have commenced at a very early period; and that its gums and spices found a ready market in the opulent Egypt, is sufficiently proved by the Ishmaelites or Arabs of those days bringing them for sale into the lower country.

No monument now remains of Nofri-Ftep† or Osirtasen III., though his name frequently occurs in tablets sculptured on the rocks of Upper Egypt and Mount Sinai; and we learn nothing of interest concerning these monarchs, either from sacred or profane records, till the accession of the 18th Dynasty.

* The modern town of Kossayr is a short distance to the south of Philoteras Portus, or Old Kossayr, and consequently a little farther from Wadee Jasoos.

† *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 500., note on Nofri-Ftep.



No. 4. An Attendant holding the Car. *Alabastron.*

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.*	Ascended the Throne.
18th Dynasty, of Theban or Diospolitan Kings.			
Amosis (Chebron)	(Chebron) Ames †	"There arose a new (dynasty, or) king, who knew not Joseph." Exod. i. 8. Moses born, 1571. Josephus says Pharaoh's daughter was called Thermuthis. ‡ Cecrops leads a colony from Sais §, and founds the kingdom of Athens, B.C. 1556.	B.C. 1575
Amenoph	Amunoph I.	- - -	1550
Amesses, or Amenses, his sister	Amense, his sister ‖	Included in the reign of Thothmes I.	
Mephres, Mesphris, or Mesphra-Tuthmosis	Thothmes I.	His 14th year found on the monuments.	1532
Misphra-Tummosis or Tothmosis	Thothmes II.	The reign of Amun-neitgori included in this.	1505
Thummosis, or Tothmosis	Thothmes III.	Exodus of the Israelites, 1491, 430 years after the arrival of Abraham.	1495
Amenophis	Amunoph II.	Moses died 1451.	1456
Horus	Thothmes IV.	- - -	1446
Achenchres (a queen)	Maut-ṉ Shoi (Regency)	Included in the reign of her son, Amunoph III.	
Rathotis	Amunoph III.	The supposed Memnon of the vocal statue. His brother ¶ not admitted into the list of kings.	1430
Achencheres, or Chebres	Amun-men...?	- - -	1408
Achencheres, or Acherres	Remesso, or Remeses I.	- - -	1395

* For a more detailed chronological table, *vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 510.

† I have given my reasons for considering these two the same king in my Hieroglyphical Extracts, p. 10. 12.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. ii. 9.

§ Neith or Nêt, Minerva, was the deity of Saïs, and her name seems to have led to that of the Greek goddess, and of the new city. In Egyptian it was written from right to left, ΘΗΝ, and the Greeks, by adding an A at either end, would make it ΑΘΗΝΑ; reading from left to right.

‖ *Vide* my Materia Hieroglyphica, Pl. I. of the Kings. Syncellus gives Amenses.

¶ Amun-Toonh ? probably Danaus, who lived at this time, *vide* p. 58.

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
Armais - -	Osirei ? I. -	Calculating 900 years from the time of Herodotus, Mœris should have lived at this period. The similarity of Mœris (Mai-re) and Armais is singular.	1385
Remeses Miamun	Amun-mai Remeses, Remeses II., or the Great.	The supposed Sesostris of the Greeks. The date of his 44th and 62d year found on the monuments. Manetho allows him 66.	1355
Amenophis -	Pthahmen-Thmeioftep ? his son -	- - -	1289

Amosis or Ames was the leader of the 18th Dynasty, and the period of his accession and this change in the reigning family strongly confirm the opinion of his being the "new king who knew not Joseph." And if we consider that he was from the distant province of Thebes, it is reasonable to expect that the Hebrews* would be strangers to him, and that he was likely to look upon them with the same distrust and contempt with which the Egyptians usually treated foreigners. They stigmatised them with the name of impure Gentiles†; and the ignoble occupation of shepherds was for the Jews an additional cause of reproach.‡ Indeed it is possible that the Jews, who had come into Egypt on the occasion of a famine, finding

* Or the people of Joseph; for "Joseph was dead, and all his brethren, and all that generation." Exod. i. 6. He had been dead about 60 years.

† "Nations," an expression adopted by the Jews. The hieroglyphical character refers to a hilly country in contradistinction to the plains of Egypt.

‡ "Every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Gen. xlvi. 31.—"Thy servants are shepherds, both we and also our fathers." xlvii. 3.

the great superiority of the land of Egypt both for obtaining the necessaries of life, and for feeding their flocks, may have asked and obtained a grant of land* from the Egyptian monarch, on condition of certain services being performed by them and their descendants. As long as the Memphite Dynasty continued on the throne, this grant was respected, and the only service required of them was that agreed upon in the original compact. But on the accession of the Theban family the grant being rescinded, and the service still required, they were reduced to a state of bondage; and as despotism seldom respects the rights of those it injures, additional labour was imposed upon this unresisting people.† And Pharaoh's pretended fear, lest in the event of war they might make common cause with the enemy, was a sufficient pretext with his own people for oppressing the Jews, at the same time that it had the effect of exciting their prejudices against them. Affecting therefore some alarm at their numbers, he suggested that so numerous a body might avail themselves of the absence of the Egyptian troops, and endanger the tranquillity and safety of the country‡, and

* Some of them were tillers of land as well as shepherds; for besides their labour "in mortar and in brick," they were employed "in all manner of service in the field." (Exod. i. 14.) And in Deut. x. 11., we find this expression, "Egypt . . . where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it."

† The Arabs, whenever they become settled in villages on the banks of the Nile, meet with much vexation from the Turkish authorities, and the Turks are always anxious that they should fix themselves in villages, in order to get them within their power.

‡ "Lest when there falleth out any war they join also unto our enemies and fight against us, and *so get them out of the land*." Exod. i. 10.

that prudence dictated the necessity of obviating the possibility of such an occurrence. With this view they were treated like the captives taken in war, and were forced to undergo the gratuitous labour of erecting public granaries and other buildings for the Egyptian monarch.* These were principally constructed of crude brick, and that such materials were commonly used in Egypt, we have sufficient proof from the walls and other buildings of great size and solidity found in various parts of the country, many of which are of a very early period: and the bricks themselves, both at Thebes and in the vicinity of Memphis, frequently bear the names of the monarchs who ruled Egypt during and prior to the epoch to which I am now alluding. The crude brick remains about Memphis are principally pyramids; those at Thebes consist of walls enclosing sacred monuments and tombs, and some are made with and others without straw. Many have chopped barley and wheat straw, others bean halm and stubble†; and in the tombs we find the process of making them represented among the sculptures. But it is not to be supposed that any of these bricks are the work of the Israelites, who were never occupied at Thebes; and though Josephus affirms they were engaged in building pyramids, as well as in making canals and em-

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He evidently did not fear their obtaining possession of any part of Egypt; but of their committing depredations, and then *escaping* out of the country.

* They built "treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses." Exod. i. 11.

† Exod. v. 12. Some bricks were made "with stubble instead of straw."

bankments, it is very improbable that the crude brick pyramids of Memphis, or of the Arsinoïte nome, were the work of the Hebrew captives.

Towards the latter end of Amosis' reign happened the birth of Moses. His flight must have taken place in the second year of Thothmes I., and his return to Egypt after the death* of this and the succeeding prince.

Amosis, the leader of the 18th Dynasty of Diospolitans, appears to have derived his right to the throne from his ancestor Menmoph, the last Theban prince who preceded him, and sole member of the 15th Dynasty.† Few monuments remain of his reign; but a tablet at the Trojan mountain‡, behind el Maasara, shows that the stone of those quarries was used by him for the erection of some building at Memphis or in the vicinity.§

Amosis was succeeded by Amunoph I., a prince whose name occurs in numerous parts of Thebes, and who seems to have been a great encourager of the arts of peace. He married an Ethiopian

* Exod. iv. 19. "All the men are dead which sought thy life."

† My conjecture seems strongly confirmed by the position of the names in the chamber of Amosis' and Amunoph's family, where the name of Amosis follows that of Menmoph, as of the king from whom he claimed his right to the throne, his Diospolite ancestor. Amunoph I., the monarch in whose reign the sculptures were executed, occurs in the upper line as the then existing sovereign, but succeeding to the throne in uninterrupted order, therefore not deducing his claims from any distant predecessor. *Vide* my Extracts, Plate V.

‡ The Troici lapidis Mons of Strabo and Ptolemy. It is about nine miles to the south of Cairo.

§ Some may suppose it to have been for the pyramids, but his era does not agree with the time of their erection. It is, however, from these quarries that the stone used for the outer tier, or casing, was taken, which is alluded to by Strabo and other authors.

princess, called Nofri-are, a name common to many Egyptian queens.*

Some buildings of the time of Thothmes I.† still exist, but the second of that name has left little to mark the history of his reign. Between these two monarchs appears to have intervened a queen, whom I have ventured to call Amun-neit-gori, and who has hitherto given rise to more doubts and questions than any other sovereign of this Dynasty. But whether she was only regent during the minority of Thothmes II. and III., or succeeded to the throne in right of Thothmes I., in whose honour she erected several monuments, is still uncertain, and some have doubted her being a queen.‡ Her name has been generally erased, and those of the 2d and 3d Thothmes are placed over it; but sufficient remains to prove that the small temple of Medeenet Haboo, the elegant edifice under the Qoorneh rocks, and the great obelisks of Karnak, with many other handsome monuments, were erected by her orders, and the attention paid to the military caste is testified by the subjects of the sculptures. That the invention of glass was known at this time, is satisfactorily proved by the discovery of a large bead bearing

* I was led by the similarity of name into the error of supposing her the daughter of Amosis. Materia Hieroglyphic. p. 78.

† Thothmes I., as I am assured by Lord Prudhoe, penetrated into Ethiopia as far as the Isle of Argo, where he left an inscription. The 2d Thothmes' name is found at Napata (Berkel), and the 3d probably went still farther south. Did they possess this country by right of the marriage of Amunoph I. with an Ethiopian princess?

‡ The constant use of the female sign, and the title Daughter of the Sun, seem to require it to be so, notwithstanding the dress, which is that of a king. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 92.

the name of this queen; and I shall have occasion to show that we have evidence of the use of it in the early time of the first Osirtasen. The mode of irrigation was by the *shadoof*, or pole and bucket of the present day; and it is remarkable that the modern Egyptians have a tradition that it was derived from their Pharaonic* predecessors. The manufacture of linen cloth, the arch, and other notable inventions are also represented in the sculptures of the same reign; but as I shall notice them in their proper place, it is unnecessary here to enter into any detail concerning those interesting subjects.

The reign of Thothmes III. is one of the most remarkable that occurs in the history of Egypt. He was a prince who aspired to the merit of benefiting his country by an unbounded encouragement of the arts of peace and war. But whether his military expeditions were conducted by himself in person, or whether he confided the management of the war to expert generals, we have ample testimony of the extent of his power by the tributes laid at his feet by "the chiefs of foreign countries," who present him with the riches of "Pount," of "Kufa," of "Rot-ñ-no," and of "the southern districts of western Ethiopia."†

* Ebn Pharaóon, "son of a Pharaoh," is however a great term of reproach with the modern Egyptians, and almost equivalent to "son of a Frank." But the climax is "a Jew's dog."

† From the monuments of Thebes; where deputies from those nations bear the tribute to the monarch seated on his throne. Kufa and Rot-ñ-no are two northern people, of which the latter is the more distant from Egypt. They were long at war with the Egyptians

It was in the 4th year* of his reign that I suppose the exodus of the Israelites to have taken place, and the wars he undertook and the monuments he erected must date subsequently to that event. Indeed there is no authority in the writings of Moses for supposing that Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea†; and from our finding that whereever any fact is mentioned in the Bible history we do not discover any thing on the monuments which tends to contradict it, we may conclude that these two authorities will not here be at variance with each other. And in order to show that in this instance the same agreement exists between them, and to prevent a vulgar error, perpetuated by constant repetition‡, from being brought forward to impugn the accuracy of the Jewish historian, it is a pleasing duty to examine the account given in the book of Exodus. According to it, Pharaoh led his army in pursuit of the fugitives, and overtook the Israelites "encamping by the sea, beside Pi-Hahíroth, before Baal-zephon."§ The Israelites having entered the channel of the sea, the army of Pharaoh, "his chariots and horsemen‖," pursued them, and all those who went in after them were overwhelmed by the returning waters. This how-

* We find the date of his 34th year on the monuments.

† *Vide* my Materia Hieroglyphica, Remarks, at the end of p. 4. The Arabs have a tradition that the exodus happened under King Amioos, a name very like Amosis or Thothmosis (Ames orThothmes), both which have a similar import.

‡ Among many others are the two humps of a dromedary, and the inability of a crocodile to turn round quickly, both in direct opposition to truth.

§ Exod. xiv. 9. ‖ Exod. xiv. 23.

ever is confined to the "chariots and the horsemen and all the host of Pharaoh, that came into the sea after them*," and neither here nor in the Song, which Moses sang on the occasion of their deliverance, is any mention made of the king's death†, an event of *sufficient* consequence at least to have been *noticed*, and one which would not have been omitted. The authority of a Psalm can scarcely be opposed to that of Moses, even were the death of Pharaoh positively asserted, but this cannot even be argued from the expression, he "overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea‡," since the death of a monarch is not the necessary consequence of his defeat and overthrow.

The departure of the Israelites enabled Thothmes to continue the war with the northern nations before mentioned with greater security and success, and it is not impossible that its less urgent prosecution after the time of Amun-ṁ-gori II. was owing partly to the sojourn of the Jews in Egypt.§ At all events we find evidence of its having been carried on by this monarch with more than usual vigour; and in consequence of the encouragement

* Exod. xiv. 28.

† Exod. xv. 4. "Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea: his *chosen captains* also are drowned in the Red Sea."

‡ Psalm cxxxvi. 15.

§ The failure of historical monuments of this period prevents our deciding the question. I had formerly supposed the Jews and Pastors the same people (Materia Hieroglyphic. p. 84.), and that the expulsion of the latter happened under Thothmes III. This last must have occurred long before, and I believe the two events and the two people to have been confounded by historians, or by the copyists of Manetho. The captives represented in the tombs of Thebes are not Jews, as I have observed in my Egypt and Thebes, but rather of those nations bordering on Assyria. *Vide* also *suprà*, p. 21. and 38.

given to the arts of peace, the records of his successes, sculptured on the monuments he erected, have been preserved to the present day. He founded numerous buildings in Upper and Lower Egypt, and in those parts of Ethiopia into which his arms had penetrated; he made extensive additions to the temples of Thebes; and Coptos, Memphis, Heliopolis, and other cities in different parts of the country, benefited by his zeal for architectural improvements. In many of the monuments* he founded, the style is pure and elegant; but in the reversed capitals and cornices of a columnar hall behind the granite sanctuary at Karnak, he has evinced a love of change consistent neither with elegance or utility, leaving a lasting memorial of his caprice, the more remarkable as he has elsewhere given proofs of superior taste.

After a reign of about thirty-nine years† he was succeeded‡ by his son Amunoph II., who besides some additions to the great pile of Karnak, founded the small temple of Amada in Nubia, which was completed by his son and successor Thothmes IV. The great sphinx at the pyramids also bears the sculptures of the son of Amunoph; but whether it was commenced by him or by the

* Several obelisks were cut by his order, as the two now at Alexandria, others at Rome, and one at Constantinople. More scarabæi and small objects have been found bearing the name of this king, than of any one who reigned before or after him, not excepting Remeses the Great.

† According to Eratosthenes. *Vide* note *, p. 54.

‡ The return of the Shepherds or Pastors during his reign, mentioned by Manetho, is very doubtful. They are out of place here, and we know that the Jews did not revisit Egypt.

3d Thothmes, is a question which it would be curious to ascertain. At all events, the similarity of the names may have given rise to the error of Pliny, who considers it the sepulchre of Amasis.

Amunoph III. and his elder brother Amun-Toônh succeeded to the throne on the death of the 4th Thothmes; but as they were both young, the office of regent and tutor during their minority was confided to their mother, the queen Maut-m-shoi. She is perhaps the Achencheres or Acherres of Manetho, who according to his list is introduced as a reigning queen. They appear to have ruled with equal authority and in perfect harmony, till some event caused the secession of Amun-Toonh, who left to Amunoph the undivided possession of the throne, and retired from Egypt. And so anxious was the younger brother to obliterate every recollection of his having ruled conjointly with him, that he not only prevented the mention of his name in the lists of kings, but caused it to be erased from all the monuments of Upper and Lower Egypt. That Amunoph III. was the younger brother, I am inclined to believe, from the circumstance of his prenomen being alone admitted on the buildings erected during their combined reign, while both the prenomen and nomen of Amun-Toonh are always introduced. The departure of the elder brother was the signal for changing all the second prenomens of Amunoph into a phonetic nomen, as may be observed on every monument sculptured during the early part of his reign, some of which are in the British Museum and other European collections.

The reason of his secession it is now difficult to determine; however, the similarity of his name with that of Danaus, and the time at which he lived, are strong arguments in favour of his having been the colonizer of Argos*: and the following is another remarkable coincidence. Amunoph had been already engaged in several military expeditions, and the expulsion of Danaus is also reported to have happened after the return of his brother from war; nor is it improbable that the influence acquired by a warlike prince over the army during these campaigns should suggest to an ambitious mind the facility as well as the desire of obtaining sole possession of the throne, and lead to the expulsion of his colleague; and the only point of disagreement is the name of Danaus's brother, which is not stated to have resembled Amunoph.

During the early part of their reign, stations on the road to the emerald mines were either built or repaired; and the care bestowed on their construction is proved by our finding hewn stones carved with hieroglyphics, and the name of Amun-Toonh, within their precincts.

The palace-temple of Luqsor and that behind

* Danaus left Egypt and founded Argos, of which he became king, and died B.C. 1425. I have noticed this change of the prenomen of Amunoph more fully in a paper on Lord Prudhoe's lions now at the British Museum, which bear a convincing proof of what I here advance. *Vide* also my Materia Hierog. p. 87, 88. Some say Inachus or Phoroneus led the colony from Egypt to Argos, and it is remarkable that in one of these names we trace the word ônh, which forms part of that of Amunoph's brother, and in the other that of Pharaoh. These accounts make Danaus one of the successors to the throne of Argos by right of Io.

the vocal statue* were also founded by them at Thebes, and the sculptures in a side chamber of the former seem to refer to the birth and early education of the young princes. Many other buildings were erected in different parts of the country† during this reign; extensive additions were made to the temple of Karnak, and the name and monuments of Amunoph III. are found in Ethiopia, and even at the distant city of Napata.‡ The conquests of the Egyptians in Ethiopia and Asia were also continued by this monarch, and some of the enemies § with whom they fought under Thothmes III. again appear in the sculptures of Amunoph.

It was about the same period, B. C. 1406, that some suppose the use of iron‖ to have been first discovered in Greece; but whether it was already known in Egypt or no, is a question hitherto unanswered. We are surprised at the execution of

* The vocal statue of the supposed Memnon is of Amunoph III. I have already noticed this error in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 33.; Extracts, p. 11.; and Materia Hierog. p. 88. With the Romans every thing curious or striking in Egypt was given to Memnon, as with the Arabs every large grotto is the stabl (stable of) Antar. English sailors in like manner fix upon another remarkable person.

† I do not here notice all the monuments erected by the Pharaohs. They will be found in the description of the different towns of ancient Egypt given in my Egypt and Thebes.

‡ I suppose Gebel Berkel to mark the site of Napata. From this place were brought Lord Prudhoe's beautiful lions. They were sculptured at the early part of his reign, and immediately before the secession of his brother.

§ Those of Pouônt, who are among the number of northern nations.

‖ Hesiod (in his Opera et Dies) makes the use of iron a much later discovery. In Theseus' time, who ascended the throne of Athens in 1235, iron is conjectured not to have been known, as he was found buried with a brass sword and spear. Homer generally speaks of brass arms, though he mentions iron.

hieroglyphics cut in hard granite and basaltic stone, to the depth of two inches, and naturally inquire what means were employed, what tools were used? If the art of tempering steel was unknown to them, how much more must our wonder increase! and the difficulty of imagining any mode of applying copper to this purpose adds to our perplexity.

The era of Amunoph III. was noted for the great spirit and beauty of its sculptures, which seem gradually to have improved from the reign of Osirtasen to that of Remeses the Great, though without any great change, the general character being already established even at that early period, and only undergoing certain modifications of style.

The features * of this monarch cannot fail to strike every one who examines the portraits of the Egyptian kings, having more in common with the negro than those of any other Pharaoh; but it is difficult to say whether it was accidental, or in consequence of his mother having been of Ethiopian origin.

It is singular that the sepulchres of the kings who preceded him are not met with, and that he is the first of the 18th Dynasty† whose tomb occurs at Thebes. But it is not in the same valley as

* I was wrong in saying in my Materia Hierog. that "Egyptian sculpture does not offer portraits." On a subsequent visit to Thebes, I took some pains to set this question at rest, and have become convinced (as stated in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 116.) that the representations of the kings are intended as likenesses; and I am happy to have an opportunity of acknowledging the truth of M. Champollion's observation and my own misconception on this point.

† There is another tomb in the same valley of an ancient king, who may have preceded the 18th Dynasty, as his name occurs on a block used by Remeses II. in repairs of the temple of Karnak.

those of his successors; and the next monarch whose tomb has been discovered is Remeses I., grandfather of the great conqueror of the same name. The tomb of Taia, the queen of Amunoph, is in company with many others in a valley behind the temple of Medeenet Haboo at Thebes; a circumstance which proves that they were not generally buried in the same sepulchres with the kings, though some exceptions may occasionally have been made.*

His successor has recorded his lineal descent from the 3d Thothmes on a block of stone used in the wall of a temple at Thebes in the† following manner, — "the father of his father's father, Thothmes III.;" but the monuments of his reign are few and inconsiderable, consisting chiefly of additions to the previously existing buildings.

Remeses I. has left little to elucidate the history of the era in which he lived, nor does he appear to have been conspicuous for any successes abroad, or the encouragement of the arts at home. It is probable that both he and his predecessor were pacific monarchs, and to this neglect of their foreign conquests we may ascribe the rebellion of the neighbouring provinces of Syria, which Osirei was called upon to quell in person on his accession to the throne. That the revolt of those countries is alluded to in the sculptures of Osirei I feel persuaded, from his being the only king who is

* As in the tomb No. 10. of Biban-el-Molóok at Thebes, and perhaps in No. 14.

† *Vide* Materia Hierog. Pl. I. name c. d.

represented attacking any country in the immediate vicinity of Egypt, and from the remarkable fact that some of the people through whose territory he passes are on friendly terms, and come forward to pay the stipulated tribute*, or to bring presents to the monarch. And the names of Canana† and Lemanon‡, added to the circumstance of its being at the commencement§ of his reign, tend strongly to confirm this opinion.

Osirei was the son and successor of Remeses I., and father of the second of that name. He extended his conquests to a considerable distance in the "north and south countries;" but the destruction of the upper part of the walls of Karnak has unfortunately deprived us of great part of the interesting historical bas reliefs which describe them. Among the people against whom the war was principally directed we distinguish the Rot-ñ-no, who, from their colour and dress, as

* The tributes levied on the countries conquered by the Egyptians, are not only mentioned in the sculptures of Thebes, but also by Tacitus: "Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana jubentur." An. ii. 60.

† The Pharaoh, whose daughter Solomon married, destroyed "the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, and burnt it with fire;" probably for the same reason—neglect in paying the tribute they owed—which brought the vengeance of Osirei upon them on this occasion. 1 Kings, ix. 16.

‡ The common custom of substituting *m* for *b* in Coptic, and the representation of a mountainous and woody country in which the chariots could not pass, convince me of this being intended for Mount Lebanon. In the compartment immediately below it is the "land of Canana." *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 190. 192. The modern Greeks write *mp* for *b*, as Phamprika, for Fabrica, and the sound of *m* may be detected when a person having an impediment in his speech attempts to pronounce a word commencing with *b*. Another remarkable instance of the use of *m* for *b* is met with in the name of Nimrod, which is written Nebrod in the list of Chaldee kings. *Vide* Corry's Ancient Fragments, p. 67.

§ In his first year, according to the hieroglyphics.

well as the productions of their country, appear to have lived in a colder climate than Egypt, which produced elephants and bears.* The march of the monarch is described with great spirit on the walls of Karnak. Leaving Egypt with a considerable force, he advanced into the heart of the enemy's country; attacked and routed them in the field; and following up his successes, he laid siege to their fortified cities, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. And in order to indicate the personal courage of the hero, he is represented alighting from his car, and, having laid aside his bow, engaging hand to hand with the hostile chiefs. Having established his dominion in the conquered countries he returned to Egypt, and dedicated the rich booty and numerous captives he had made to the deity of Thebes.

The subsequent part of his reign was employed in erecting the monuments which still serve to commemorate his victories, and the glory he acquired; and the splendour of Egypt at this period is sufficiently demonstrated by the magnificence and grandiose scale of the buildings, and by the sculptures that adorn his splendid tomb.†

Osirei was succeeded by his son, Remeses the Great‡, who bore the name of Amun-mai-Reme-

* From a tomb at Thebes. *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 153.

† Discovered and opened by Belzoni at Thebes.

‡ M. Champollion and Sig. Rosellini are of opinion that there intervened another king between this and Osirei, to whom they give the name of Remeses II. Lord Prudhoe, Major Felix, and myself think them to have been one and the same monarch, and that the variation in the mode of writing the name was owing to his having altered it some time after he ascended the throne. If they were two kings, they must have been brothers, and both sons of Osirei, and the reign of the first

ses, or Remeses-mi-amun*, and was reputed to be the famous Sesostris of antiquity. The origin of the confusion regarding Sesostris may perhaps be explained. He is mentioned by Manetho in the 12th Dynasty, and Herodotus learned that he preceded the builders of the pyramids: I therefore suppose that Sesostris was an ancient king famed for his exploits, and the hero of early Egyptian history; but that after Remeses had surpassed them, and become the favourite of his country, the renown and name of the former monarch were transferred to the more conspicuous hero of a later age; and it is remarkable that when Germanicus went to Egypt, the Thebans did not mention Sesostris, but Rhamses, as the king who had performed the glorious actions ascribed in olden times to their great conqueror. Nothing, however, can justify the supposition that Sesostris, or, as Diodorus calls him, Sesoosis, is the Shishak of Scripture.

The reign of Remeses was conspicuous as the Augustan era of Egypt, when the arts attained a degree of perfection which no after age succeeded in imitating†, and the arms of Egypt were ex-

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could only be of very short duration. It is to be hoped that time and future discoveries will settle the question.

* I have noticed the synonymous use of these titles, Amun-mai and Mai-amun (Mi-amun), in the names of Remeses III. and others, when written horizontally and vertically.

† The head now in the British Museum, and erroneously called of the Young Memnon, is of Remeses II. We smile at the name young applied to a statue because it was smaller than a colossus in the same temple; a distinction formerly adopted at the Louvre, where a statue was called *le jeune* Apollon, because it had not *yet* attained the size of the Belvedere.

tended by this prince considerably farther into the heart of Asia than during the most successful invasions of his predecessors. He had no sooner ascended the throne than he zealously devoted himself to military affairs; and we find that in his fourth year he had already waged a successful war against several distant nations.* His march lay along the coast of Palestine, and the record of that event is still preserved on the rocks of the Lycus near Beiróot, where his name and figure present the singular circumstance of a Pharaonic monument without the confines of Egypt. But that this nation extended its arms and dominion far beyond the valley of the Nile, is abundantly proved by the monuments and by Scripture history, and some of their northern possessions were retained by the Egyptians until Nebuchadnezer king of Babylon took from Pharaoh Neco all that belonged to him, "from the Euphrates to the river of Egypt."† From Syria their march probably extended towards the N. E.; but I do not pretend to decide the exact nations they invaded, or the names of the people over whom the victories of the great Remeses are recorded on the walls of the Memnonium.‡ M. Champollion sup-

* *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 193.

† 2 Kings, xxiv. 7. This river of Egypt is not the Nile, but the "rivulet" or "torrent of Egypt;" and is mentioned by Joshua (xv. 4.) as the boundary line, a little to the south of the modern Gaza (Ghuzzeh). נחל (nahl) is a rivulet, and not a river, as some have supposed, which is נהר (nahr), as in Arabic. Much less is nahl related to the Nile. Neco also "went up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates." 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. For the first copy of the name of Remeses on the Lycus we are indebted to Mr. Wyse.

‡ I use this name for the palace-temple of Remeses II., because it is better known than any other.

poses them the Scythians, and perhaps the hieroglyphics may admit of such a reading; but let it suffice for the present that they were a northern nation, skilful in the art of war, and possessing strong towns and a country traversed by a large river. Indeed, from their general appearance and the mode of fortifying their towns, we may conclude them to have been far above the level of a barbarous state; and the double fosses that surrounded their walls, the bridges* over them, and the mode of drawing up their phalanxes of infantry, suggest a considerable advancement in civilisation, and the art of war. Their offensive and defensive arms, consisting of spears and swords, helmets, shields†, and coats of mail, were light and effective; and two-horsed chariots, containing each three men, formed a well constituted and powerful body of troops. Some fought on horses, which they guided by a bridle, without saddles‡; but the far greater part in cars; and these instances of the use of the horse seem to be introduced to show a peculiarity of Asiatic people.

I do not find the Egyptians thus represented; and though it is probable they had cavalry as well as chariots, mention being made of it in ancient authors§, the custom of employing large bodies of

* As they are seen from above, it is not possible to ascertain how they were constructed.

† In form bearing a slight resemblance to the Theban Greek buckler.

‡ The Numidian cavalry had neither.

§ We read of the Egyptian horsemen in Isaiah, xxxvi. 9., "put thy trust in Egypt for chariots and horsemen;" and in Miriam's Song, "the horse and his rider." Exod. xv. 21. Shishak had with him 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen. 2 Chron. xii 3. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 194. note.

horsemen does not appear to have been so usual in Egypt as in some Eastern countries. *

The Egyptian cars contained but two persons †, the warrior and his charioteer; and to the great number of their chariots, and their skill in archery, may be attributed the brilliant successes of this people in a long suite of wars waged against populous nations: and it is remarkable that their mode of drawing the bow was similar to that of our ancestors, who, for the glorious victories they obtained over armies far exceeding them in numerical force, were principally indebted to their dexterity in the use of this arm.

Great light is thrown on the mode of warfare at this early period, by the sculptures of the Memnonium, where a very satisfactory representation is introduced of the scaling ladder and testudo ‡; and it is highly probable that the Egyptians, accustomed as they were to subterraneous excavations, adopted the latter as coverts while mining the besieged towns, as well as for facilitating the approach of their men. Indeed, since they are not formed of shields, but of a covering or framework supported by poles, and are unaccompanied, in this instance, by the battering-ram, we may conclude that the men posted beneath them were

* Homer's heroes are also mounted in cars. He mentions one cavalier (Iliad, vi. 684.) using two horses. The Greeks did not employ much cavalry till after the Persian war.

† The Indian chariots, according to Megasthenes, contained each two persons, besides the charioteer. *Vide infrà*, on the Castes, in Chap. iii.

‡ It was already in use 400 years before this period, in the reign of Osirtasen I., as well as a sort of battering ram. The Aries, or Ram, is said by Vitruvius to have been invented by the Carthaginians at the siege of Gades. lib. x. 19.

so employed, especially as they appear, in no ostensible manner, to be connected with the fight.* In some instances, however, they served as a cover to those who directed the ram† against the walls, and were then very similar in use and principle to the testudo arietaria of the Romans.

The wars and successes of the great Remeses are again recorded on the walls of Karnak, and in the temples of Nubia; and the number of nations he subdued, and the extent of his arms in the north and south, are the subjects of many historical pictures. The Egyptians had already formed alliances with some of the nations they subdued, and the auxiliary troops enrolled in their army assisted in extending the conquests of the Pharaohs. Their principal allies, at this period, were the Shairetana, a maritime people, and the same who afterwards continued to assist the Egyptians in the time of Remeses III. Other alliances were also formed by the last-mentioned monarch, many distant tribes were subdued by him, and the reigns of Osirei and the second and third Remeses appear to have been the most remarkable for the extent of foreign conquest.

According to Herodotus, Sesostris‡, whom I as-

* The wooden horse is, perhaps, the first hint of a mine in ancient history. Remeses II. lived about 150 years before the taking of Troy.

† Their ram was a long pike armed with a metal point, by which they loosened the stones of the wall: the terebra of the Romans, and the τρυπανον of the Greeks.

‡ Sesostris, or Sesoosis, according to Diodorus, during his father's reign, had led an expedition into Arabia, as well as Libya; and we may, perhaps, trace some indication of this fact in the sculptures of Karnak, where the son of Osirei returns from the war with his father. Diod. i. 53. Can Ses-Osirei, or Se-Osirei, the "son of Osirei," bear any relation to the name of Sesostris?

sume to be the same as Remeses II., fitted out long vessels* on the Red Sea, and was the first who went beyond the straits into the Indian Ocean. Diodorus says they amounted to no less a number than 400, and the historian supposes him to have been the first monarch who built ships of war; though merchant vessels, as I have before observed, were probably used by the Egyptians at a much earlier period. And we may reasonably conclude the fleet to have been connected with the Indian trade, as well as the canal he cut from the Nile to what is now called the Gulf of Sooéz.†

This canal commenced about twelve miles to the N.E. of the modern town of Belbays, called by the Romans Bubastis Agria, and after following a direction nearly E. for about thirty-three miles, it turned to the S.S.E., and continued about sixty-three more in that line to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf. Several monarchs are reputed to have been the authors of this grand and useful undertaking; some writers attributing it to Sesostris, others to Neco, and its completion to Darius and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Pliny, indeed, supposes it never to have been finished, and states, that after it had reached the bitter springs (lakes), the canal was abandoned from fear of the greater height of the Red Sea‡: but it is evident that it

* Or ships of war.

† Strabo, Pliny, and Aristotle attribute its commencement to Sesostris.

‡ Plin. vi. c. 29. s. 33., and Aristot. Meteorol. lib. i. c. 14. Diodorus says that Darius was prevented from completing it, owing to the greater height of the Red Sea; but that the 2d Ptolemy obviated this objection by means of sluices. (i. 33.) *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 320, 321.

was completed, and there is reason to believe even as early as the reign of the second Remeses; nor is it improbable that the captives he had taken in war assisted in the construction * of this noble work. But the vicinity of the sands, amidst which it was excavated, necessarily prevented it from remaining in a proper condition without constant attention; and we can easily conceive that, in the time of Neco and of the Ptolemies, it was found necessary to re-open it, before it could be again applied to the use for which it was intended. †

Herodotus says‡, it was commenced by Neco, who lived about the year 610 before our era; that it was four days' journey in length, and broad enough to admit two triremes abreast; and that it began a little above Bubastis, and entered the sea near the town of Patumos (Pa or Pi-Thom); and since Diodorus§ says its mouth was close to the port of Arsinoe‖, this last may have succeeded to the old town mentioned by Herodotus. Some have reckoned its length at upwards of 1000 stadia; its breadth at 100 cubits, or, according to Pliny¶, 100 feet, and its depth forty; and he reckons thirty-seven Roman miles from its western entrance to the bitter lakes. Six-score thousand Egyptians were said to have perished in the undertaking **: but this is very

* Herodotus (ii. 108.) says that Sesostris employed his prisoners to cut the canals of Egypt.

† It is evident that it entered the sea very near the modern town of Sooez.

‡ Herodot. ii. 158.

§ Diod. i. 33.

‖ Strabo calls it "Arsinoe, or, as some style it, Cleopatris." lib. xvii.

¶ Plin. vi. s. 33.

** Diodor. loc. cit.

incredible; nor can we even believe that the lives of the captives taken in war, who were probably employed in the more arduous parts of this as of other similar works, were so inhumanly and unnecessarily thrown away. At the mouth of the canal were sluices, by which it was opened or closed according to circumstances; and thus, at one period of the year, the admission of the sea water into the canal was regulated, as the Nile water was prevented, during the inundation, from discharging itself too rapidly from the canal into the sea. Though filled with sand, its direction is still easily traced, as well from the appearance of its channel, as from the mounds and vestiges of ancient towns upon its banks, in one of which I found a monument bearing the sculptures and name of Remeses II.—the more satisfactory, as being a strong proof of its having existed at least as early as the reign of that monarch. After the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, it was again neglected, and suffered to go to decay; but on the revival of trade with India, this line of communication from the Red Sea to the Nile was once more proposed, the canal was re-opened by the Caliphs, and it continued to be used and kept in repair till the commerce of Alexandria was ruined by the discovery of the passage round the Cape.

Herodotus also tells us that Sesostris was the only king who ruled in Ethiopia*, but his assertion is contradicted by the monuments which still exist there.

The family of Remeses II., by his two wives,

* This may refer to the original Sesostris, above mentioned. There is, perhaps, some analogy between this name and that of Osirtasen.

was numerous, consisting of twenty-three sons and three daughters, whose names* and figures are introduced in the Memnonium.

The duties of children were always more severe in the East than among any European people, and to the present day a son is not expected to sit in the presence of his father without express permission. Those of the Egyptian princes were equally austere. One of their offices was "fan-bearer on the left of the king," and they were also obliged to carry the monarch in his palanquin or chair of state. As fanbearers, they attended him while seated on his throne, or in processions to the temples; and in this capacity they followed his chariot on foot as he celebrated his triumphant return from battle.† Nor did they lay aside their insignia of office in time of war; and sometimes in the heat of battle, whether mounted in cars or engaged on foot, they carried them in their hand or slung behind them: and, as a distinguishing mark of princely rank, they wore a badge depending from the side of the head, perhaps intended to cover and enclose the lock of hair, which, among the Egyptians, was the sign of extreme youth, and the usual emblem of the god Harpocrates.

The reign of Remeses the Great was long and prosperous; nor does the period of sixty-six years appear too much, when we consider the extent of his conquests, and the many grand monuments he erected in every part of Egypt,

* The names of the daughters are omitted. The families in the East are frequently mentioned by ancient authors as being very numerous. Artaxerxes had 153 children; Rehoboam begat 28 sons and 60 daughters.

† *Vide* Plate I.

after his victorious return. Indeed, the number I have stated is derived from the authority of Manetho; and in the monuments, we have already met with the date of his 62d year. The extensive additions to the great temples of Karnak and Luqsor, where two beautiful obelisks of red granite, bearing his name, proclaim the wonderful skill of the Egyptians in sculpturing* those hard materials: the elegant palace-temple of the Memnonium, and many other edifices at Thebes and Abydus: the temples hewn in the hard grit-stone rock of Aboosimbel: those erected at Dayr, Sabooa, and Gerf Hossayn in Nubia: the obelisks at Tanis, and vestiges of ruins there and in other parts of the Delta, — bear ample testimony to the length of time required for their execution: and from these we may infer a proportionate number founded or enlarged by him at Memphis †, and other of the principal cities, whose sites are now unknown or concealed by mounds.

Besides his military exploits, another very remarkable event is said ‡ to have distinguished his reign; the partition of the lands among the peasants §, who were required to pay a fixed tax to the government, according to the extent of the property they obtained. But that this division could have been the origin of land surveying, as Herodotus sup-

* Many of the hieroglyphics are two inches deep. One of the obelisks has been removed to Paris; the other is said to be ceded to the city of Marseilles.

† At Memphis, a Colossus, and fragments of several statues, bearing his name, are still met with.

‡ *Vide infrà*, Chap. iii. under "Different Lawgivers."

§ Herodot. ii. 109.

poses, is contrary to probability, and the evidence of the Bible as well as of the sculptures, both which show the rights and limits of landed property to have been long since well defined; and the necessity of ascertaining the quantity of land irrigated by the Nile, or changed by the effect of the inundation, must have led a people already highly civilised before the accession of this prince, to the practice of geometry at least some centuries previous to his era. The Bible informs us, that a Pharaoh, the contemporary of Joseph, bought all the land (except that of the priests) from the Egyptian landholders: the partition of land, mentioned by the historian, could not therefore have been the first instance of such a system in the country; and he may either allude to a new regulation made subsequently to the time of Joseph, or to the very change that took place by his advice. In this case, the tax imposed refers to the fifth part * annually paid to the government by the Egyptian peasant, which continued to be the law of the country long after the time of Joseph †; and hence some may derive an argument in favour of the idea before suggested, that the *original* Sesostris (so often confounded with Remeses II.) was Osirtasen I.‡, the Pharaoh in whose reign Joseph arrived in Egypt. §

* Gen. xlvii. 24.

† Gen. xlvii. 26., "a law over the land of Egypt *unto this day*, that Pharaoh should have the *fifth* part, except the land of the priests, which became not Pharaoh's."

‡ Osirtasen's living posterior to the erection of the pyramids is an objection.

§ I must, however, confess, that Herodotus's statement does not agree exactly with that mentioned in Genesis; the people then selling their lands for corn, and afterwards farming it from the king.

His thirteenth son, Pthahmen, succeeded him; and, from the kingly oval accompanying his name at the Memnonium, it is highly probable that the first prenomen he took on ascending the throne was afterwards changed to that by which he is known in the lists of the Egyptian monarchs. But his reign was not marked by any military event of consequence, nor by any particular encouragement given to the arts of peace. He may be the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus, and the Pheron of Herodotus,—a title mistaken by the latter historian for the name of the monarch, and evidently corrupted from Phra or Pharaoh. * Two obelisks are reported † to have been erected by him, at Heliopolis, in honour of the sun; but they no longer remain; and though his name appears on some of the monuments of his father and of his predecessors, those founded by him were comparatively few, at least in Upper Egypt; and the additions he made to those buildings are neither numerous nor remarkable for their magnificence.

In Pthahmen terminated the eighteenth dynasty, and a second family of Diospolitan or Theban ‡ monarchs succeeded to the dominion of Upper and Lower Egypt, and reigned eighty-nine years.

* The Arabs now call Phrah, or Pharaoh, Pharaóon.

† Pliny calls him Nuncoreus, and says that he dedicated two obelisks to the sun on the recovery of his sight. Herodotus states the same of Pheron. Plin. xvi. 16. Herodot. ii. 111.

‡ Sethos, or Pthah-men-Se-pthah, appears to have been an exception, and was, perhaps, a Memphite, or from Lower Egypt, as his name is omitted in the lists of Thebes and Abydus. It also seems to indicate a Memphite origin.

19th Dynasty, of 1 *Memphite? and* 6 *Diospolite Kings.*

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne. B.C.
Sethos	Pthah-men-Septhah	Was probably either a Memphite, or succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the Princess Taosiri	1269
Rampses	Osirei II., or Osiri-men-pthah	-	1255
Amenophthis	Osirita? Remerer? Amun-mai	-	1245
Ramesses	Remeses III. Mi-amun or Amun-mai	-	1235
Ammenemes	Remeses IV.	-	1205
Thuoris	Remeses V.	Troy taken 1184 (Arundel[n] marbles), and in the reign of a Remeses, according to Pliny	1195
——?	Remeses VI.	-	1180

Thus far I have stated my own opinions respecting the accordance of the monuments with some of the historical data furnished by Manetho; particularly about the period of his eighteenth dynasty. I have placed the arrival of Joseph in the reign of Osirtasen I.; the birth of Moses in that of Amosis, the leader of this Theban succession, whom I suppose to be the "new king who knew not Joseph;" and the Exodus of the Israelites in that of the third Thothmes. I have assigned the date of 1355 for the accession of the great Remeses, and have had the satisfaction of finding the period thus fixed for his reign fully accords with, and is confirmed by, the astronomical ceiling of the Memnonium. But as another opinion, which ascribes to these events a higher antiquity, may

also be maintained by many forcible arguments, and my object is to examine the question impartially, and to be guided by what appears most probable, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of introducing Lord Prudhoe's view of the subject, which he has done me the favour to embody in the following remarks:—"It is extremely difficult to determine the date of the Exodus in Egyptian history, from the want of sufficient data in the Bible, and from the incorrectness of names given by ancient historians; but the event is so important, that even an attempt to ascertain that date must be interesting.

"The first text bearing on the subject is *, 'Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee, the land of Egypt is before thee, in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell: in the land of Goshen let them dwell.—And Joseph† gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.' In this quotation it does not appear that the land was called Rameses when Pharaoh gave it to Jacob: his words are, give them the best of the land: the remainder of the text is in the form of a narration by Moses. But the land was called Rameses when Moses wrote, and consequently it was so called before the Exodus. It probably received its name from one of the Pharaohs; we may therefore conclude the Exodus did not take place until after the reign of a Remeses; and

* Gen. xlvii. 5, 6. † Gen. xlvii. 11.

the earliest king of that name* is distinguished among students in hieroglyphics by the title of Remeses I.

" 'Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.'† This text would agree with Remeses I., who appears to have been the first king of a new dynasty, and might well be ignorant of the benefits conferred on Egypt by Joseph. 'Therefore‡ they did set over them (the children of Israel) taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses. The last was the name of the Pharaoh; and it is remarkable, that the prefix used to designate Remeses II. was compounded of Pi 'the,' and Thme 'Justice.' And though the figure of the goddess Thme is introduced into the names of his father and of other Pharaohs, he is the first Remeses in whose prefix it occurs, and we may therefore conclude it was for this monarch that the Hebrews built the treasure-cities.

" Another instance of the name so used, is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo and Aristotle, who attribute the making of the Suez canal to Sesostris; and Herodotus says, that it entered the sea near the town of Patumos. Sesostris is now generally considered to be Remeses II., and the circumstance of his name being found on buildings near the canal, gives another Pithom built by this king.

* Private individuals bore the name long before: but it is uncertain whether there was any older king Remeses.

† Exod. i. 8. ‡ Exod. i. 11.

"Lysimachus mentions, 'that in the reign of Boccoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, being infected with leprosy, scurvy, and sundry other diseases, took shelter in the temples, where they begged for food; and that in consequence of the vast number of persons who were seized with the complaint, there became a scarcity in Egypt. Upon this, Boccoris sent persons to inquire of the oracle of Ammon, respecting the scarcity: and the God directed him to cleanse the temples of all polluted and impious men, and to cast them out into the desert, when the land would recover its fertility.' This the king did with much cruelty.

"If Boccoris could be a mistake for the Coptic name OCIPI, with the article II prefixed, it was Osiri, the father of Remeses II., who thus oppressed them. Again, the son of Remeses II. was called Pthamenoph. Josephus states, that 'the king Amenophis was desirous of beholding the Gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had done. And having communicated his desire to the priest Amenophis, the son of Papis, the priest returned for answer, that it was in his power to behold the Gods, if he would cleanse the whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons who abounded in it; upon which the king gathered them together, and sent them to work in the quarries.' Josephus relates, in continuation, that a revolt was the consequence of this measure: and after some delays and difficulties, king Amenophis marched with 300,000 Egyptians against the enemy, defeated them, and pursued them to

the bounds of Syria, having previously placed his son Sethos under the care of a faithful adherent.

"It is probable, that by Amenophis, Josephus meant Pthamenoph; and this opinion is twice confirmed: 1. by his son Sethos, the Se-ptha of the hieroglyphics, which is the only instance of a king so called in the known series of the Pharaohs; and, 2. when he describes Horus as one of his predecessors: for the grandfather of Pthamenoph succeeded to Horus, who was the only Egyptian monarch who bore that name.

"If these corrections of names be permitted, six Pharaohs, who succeeded each other in regular succession, are mentioned, either as a direct or a collateral evidence of the Exodus having taken place at this æra: 1. Horus, one of the predecessors of Amenophis: 2. Remeses I., the new king, who knew not Joseph: 3. Osiri I., or Boccoris, who oppressed the Jews: 4. Remeses II., who built Pithom and Raamses: 5. Pthamenoph, the Pharaoh of the Exodus: 6. Sethos, his son, who was placed with an attendant.

"From the many complaints of oppression in the Bible, it appears that the bondage was both severe and of some duration; these two reigns may therefore not be too long: but what, may be inquired, would be the effect in Egypt of an oppression of so numerous a population, and of their subsequent Exodus? for even if the number of '600,000 men, besides children,' had not been mentioned, it is evident, from the previous account of their increased numerical force, that the Jews were a very

large body. 1. To oppress and keep them in bondage required a powerful monarch, and a warrior; and such were in an eminent degree Osiri I. and Remeses II. 2. The labours of so great a population could not fail to be distinguished; and no Pharaohs have left finer buildings, nor in greater numbers, than these two kings. 3. A successful revolt could only take place under a feeble monarch, and such was Pthamenoph: and the loss of so great a population would inflict a blow on the prosperity of Egypt, and cause a lasting debility. Such was the state of Egypt after the reign of Remeses II., when a sudden decline of the arts and power of the country ensued; and if at the accession of Remeses III. they for a time re-appeared, and in great splendor, yet with this monarch the glory of ancient Egypt departed for ever."

From the preceding statement, it is evident that Lord Prudhoe places the Exodus in the reign of Pthahmen (or, as he writes it, Pthamenoph), the last king of the 18th Dynasty; and that consequently the dates of those monarchs are all thrown back about 200 years. The decision of this interesting question I leave to the learned reader; and shall feel great satisfaction, when the subject becomes so well understood as to enable a positive opinion to be pronounced upon it. I now return to the 19th Dynasty.

Pthahmen Septhah appears to have been the Sethos* of Manetho and other authors, and the

* So often mistaken for Sesostris. This rests on the authority of Josephus's version of Manetho: "Σεθων τον Ραμεσσην ωνομασμενον."

second part of his phonetic nomen may have been the origin of the name it so much resembles. His right to the sceptre and admission into this dynasty were probably derived from his wife Taosiri, while his Memphitic origin excluded him from the privilege of being inserted in the list of Diospolite monarchs, unless this was owing to his expulsion from the throne.* Nothing of note occurred during his reign; and whatever buildings he may have founded at Memphis, and in Lower Egypt, few bear even his name at Thebes, or in any other city of the Upper provinces. Those of his two successors are equally obscure in the history of their country, and little else remains of the monuments they erected except the avenue of Sphinxes, and the small chambers in the front area of Karnak, which the first of them added to that splendid edifice. But the name of the third Remeses is conspicuous in the annals of his country, as a conqueror, and as a zealous encourager of the arts. The war of Asia had been neglected subsequently to, and perhaps in consequence of, the decisive successes of Remeses the Great, and the usual tribute from the conquered provinces was deemed a sufficient acknowledgment of their submission. But either some remissness in its payment, or his own ambition, stimulated the new king to a renewal of hostilities, and great preparations were made at Thebes and other parts of Egypt for a formidable expedition. Large bodies of chariots, and of ar-

* It would account for his name being erased in the tomb No. 14. at Thebes, which M. Champollion supposed to be an instance of a king refused the right of burial for his bad conduct.

chers, spearmen, and other corps of infantry were collected*, and the usual route was taken to the intended seat of war.

During their previous invasions†, the Egyptians had overrun several provinces‡, in what I suppose to be the vicinity of the Caspian Sea; and in order to secure their possessions, and the fidelity of those who had entered their service as allies, they took the precaution to leave military colonies in the places where their presence was most essential, or which proved most suitable to the purpose; and proper officers were appointed to urge and accompany § the annual tribute paid to the Egyptian king. We may hence account for the readiness shown by the allies to join the Pharaohs when invading the hostile countries; and they are represented in the historical bas reliefs united with the Egyptians in the field of battle.

Some of the people attacked by the third Remeses are frequently alluded to on various monuments, as the enemies ‖ of Egypt; but others appear to be situated farther in the interior, and to

* Represented at Medeenet Haboo.

† I was wrong in saying (in my Materia Hierog. p. 91.), "it does not appear to have been the object of the Egyptians to make any permanent settlements in these countries:" I since find reason to alter that opinion; and feel persuaded that they not only left colonies, as at Colchis (according to Herodotus), but enrolled the troops of the vanquished people in their own disciplined legions, allowing them to retain their own arms and dress. *Vide* Diodorus's Account (lib. i. 28.) of the Egyptian Colonies.

‡ Diodorus (i. 71.) says, "many nations were conquered by them." *Vide* also Tacit. Ann. ii. 60.

§ According to the pictures in the tombs at Thebes.

‖ Some of the allies at Medeenet Haboo are also a new people. They may have been represented on earlier monuments, now destroyed. Medeenet Haboo has been better preserved even than the Memnonium.

have been previously unknown to, or unassailed by, the Egyptians. This last would, indeed, argue that ambition or the love of spoil were the main objects of the monarch who planned the expedition; and it was, probably, owing to some injustice on his part, that two of the nations who fought under his banners in the capacity of allies, were induced to quit their allegiance, and unite against the aggressions of the invader. These were the Shairetana and the Tokkari *; and that the costume of the latter bears a remarkable analogy to those of the vicinity of Persia, may be seen by comparing it with the figures brought from Persepolis. † But whether the conquests, or any of the captives represented in the sculptures of the tombs and temples, can be referred to the rebellion and defeat of the Bactrians, is a question which I do not intend to discuss, since it would lead to arguments uninteresting to the general reader.

It is possible that this monarch extended his conquests in one direction, even farther than his predecessor Remeses II.; but the people represented at the Memnonium, and who have been supposed by M. Champollion to be the Scythians, do not appear to have been invaded to the same extent by the third Remeses. ‡

After subduing several nations, whose troops he had defeated in the open field, in fortified towns,

* The Tokkari rebelled first, and were then joined by the Shairetana, who had been allies of the Egyptians at least from the time of Remeses II.

† *Vide infrà*, Chap. iii. Enemies of Egypt.

‡ Or perhaps gave no cause for the renewal of war; and their names may only be noticed at Medeenet Haboo, as among the nations tributary to Egypt.

and by water, he returned with immense booty* to the valley of the Nile, and distributed rewards to his troops, whose courage and superior discipline had added so much to his glory, and to the power of their native country. And the latter part of his reign† was occupied, like those of his victorious ancestors, in erecting or embellishing many of the noblest monuments of Egypt.

The sculptures of this period were elegant, as the architecture was magnificent; but a peculiar innovation, introduced into the style of the hieroglyphics, was the forerunner, though not the cause, of the decline and downfall of Egyptian art. The hieroglyphics had ceased to be executed in relief from the accession of the second Remeses; but the change made in the reign of his fifth successor, was by carving the lower side of the characters to a great depth, while the upper face inclined gradually from the surface of the wall till it reached the innermost part of the intaglio, so that the hieroglyphics could be distinguished by a person standing immediately beneath, and close to the wall on which they were sculptured. It was a style not generally imitated by his successors; and the presence of hieroglyphics of this kind may serve to fix the monuments in which they occur to the era of the third Remeses. Some attempt was made by the monarchs of the 26th Dynasty to revive the beauty

* If this king is the same as the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, his successful wars may have been one of the great sources of the immense wealth he is said to have possessed.

† Among the Turks, it was long an established rule that no mosk could be founded by a Soltán who had not defeated the infidels, the enemies of their religion, of which he was the chief.

of ancient sculpture; and so great was the care bestowed on the execution of the hieroglyphics and small figures, that a person unacquainted with the purity of the more ancient style feels inclined, at first sight, to consider them the most elegant productions of this school. But on more careful consideration, and judging with a full understanding of true Egyptian design, they will be found to derive their effect from the minuteness of their detail, rather than from the boldness or superiority of their execution.

At the close of his reign we bid adieu to the most glorious era of Egyptian history. But what was done by the labours of individuals zealous in the prosecution of the arts of peace, or what advances science and general knowledge underwent previous and subsequently to his era, still remains a secret; though it is probable, judging from similar events in other countries, that the epoch of conquest and military renown was accompanied by a proportionate development of intellectual powers.

That the Bible history makes no mention of the conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the 18th Dynasty is not surprising, when we consider the state of the newly occupied land at the epoch in question; and, as the history of the Jews only relates to themselves, or to those people with whom they were at war, we readily perceive the reason of their silence. They had not, in fact, become settled in the promised territory; they were engaged in war with neighbouring tribes; and the

passage of the Egyptian army along the sea-coast of Palestine could in no way disturb or alarm them. Nor could they have had any object in imprudently provoking the hostilities of a nation far more powerful than those petty states, whose aggressions they found so much difficulty to resist: and we observe that, at a subsequent period, the insolent interference of Josiah on a similar occasion cost him his kingdom and his life*, and had the additional effect of rendering his country tributary to Egypt.

Whether the successors of Remeses III. preferred the encouragement of the arts of peace and the improvement of the internal administration of the country, or, contented with the annual payment of that tribute which the arms of their warlike predecessors had imposed on the vanquished states, ceased to thirst for further conquest, military expeditions on the grand scale of those equipped by the two Remeses and Osirei were now abandoned; and the captives represented in their sculptures may be referred to the tributary people, rather than to those brought from any newly acquired territory.

The immediate successors of the third Remeses were his sons. They all bore the name of their father, and completed the series of the 19th Dynasty. To them succeeded five other Remeses; but the total of the 20th and 21st Dynasties is yet uncertain; nor can the arrangement of their names be ascertained with any degree of precision,

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 30. 34. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. *et seq.*, and xxxvi. 3.

owing to their having erected few buildings, at least in those cities whose monuments remain. Nor do the Dynasties of Manetho assist in the history of this period; and, indeed, the unsatisfactory form in which they have been transmitted to us, precludes the possibility of our using them, in any instance, without some confirmation or assistance from the more trustworthy records of the monuments.

Of the same epoch, little information is to be obtained either from Herodotus or Diodorus; nor can we place much confidence in the accounts given by those authors of any portion of Egyptian history. Previous to the reign of Psamaticus, the names of nearly all the sovereigns they mention are questionable, and great confusion is caused by their misplacing Sesostris, or by their ascribing events of the later reign of a Remeses to that conqueror. The cause of this error I have already endeavoured to explain, by supposing Sesostris to have been the original hero of Egypt, and the conquests of the second Remeses to have been attributed to the former monarch, whose exploits he had eclipsed; the two persons thus becoming confounded together. However, as Herodotus and Diodorus mention some amusing details of the reigns of the early Pharaohs, I shall introduce them as a collateral account of the history of the Egyptian kings.*

* The History of Egypt, written by the Authors of the Universal History, has been compiled chiefly from those two historians; I therefore avail myself occasionally of some extracts from that work, adding my own remarks on the events there detailed.

Menes, or Menas, as already stated, is allowed by universal consent to have been the first sovereign of the country; and was the reputed founder of Thebes, as well as Memphis.

Having diverted the course* of the Nile, which formerly washed the foot of the sandy mountains of the Libyan chain, he obliged it to run in the centre of the valley, nearly at an equal distance between the two parallel ridges of mountains which border it on the east and west; and built the city of Memphis in the bed of the ancient channel. This change was effected by constructing a dyke about a hundred stadia above the site of the projected city, whose lofty mounds and strong embankments turned the water to the eastward, and effectually confined the river to its new bed. The dyke was carefully kept in repair by succeeding kings; and even as late as the Persian invasion, a guard was always maintained there, to overlook the necessary repairs, and to watch over the state of its embankments. For, adds Herodotus, if the river was to break through the dyke, the whole of Memphis would run a risk of being overwhelmed with water, especially at the period of the inundation. Subsequently, however, when the increased deposit of the alluvial soil had heightened the circumjacent plains, these precautions became unnecessary; and though we may still trace the spot where the diversion of the Nile was made, owing to the great bend it

* If this is true, it shows great scientific knowledge at that early period.

takes, about fourteen miles* above the site of ancient Memphis, the lofty mounds once raised there are no longer visible. The accumulated deposit of the river has elevated the bank about Kafr-el-Iyat to a level with their summit; and a large canal runs, during the inundation, close to the villages of Saqqara and Mit-rahenny, which occupy part of the old city, without endangering their security. Nor, judging from the great height of several mounds still existing at Memphis, could that city have been overwhelmed† at any period by the rising Nile, though much damage might have been done to some of the lower portions of it, which may have stood on less elevated ground.

On the north and west of Memphis, Menes excavated a lake, which stood without the town, and communicated with the Nile by a canal; it did not, however, extend to the east, because the river itself was on that side.‡ He also erected at Memphis a large and magnificent temple to Vulcan, who was called by the Egyptians Phthah, — the demiurgos, or creative power.

Menes was the first who instructed the Egyptians in religious matters, introduced domestic magnificence and luxury, and instituted the pomp of feasts; and the change he made in the primitive simplicity of the Egyptians was, in after times, so much regretted by Tnephachtus, the father of Bocchoris surnamed "the Wise," that he ordered

* I have noticed this in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 341.

† Herodotus says, "Κινδυνη πασῃ Μεμφι κατακλυσθηναι εστι." lib. ii. 99.

‡ But apparently at some distance from it.

a curse against the memory of Menes to be engraved, and set up in the temple of the Theban Jupiter.

A great blank is left after the death of Menes, both in Herodotus and Diodorus. The former relates, that 330 sovereigns succeeded him; among whom were eighteen Ethiopians, and one queen, a native of Egypt, whose name was Nitocris. He fails to inform us if she preceded or followed the Ethiopian princes; and we are left in ignorance of the events which led to their obtaining possession of the country—whether it was from conquest, or in consequence of intermarriages with the royal family of Egypt. Nitocris was a woman of great beauty; and, if we may believe Manetho, she had a fair complexion, and flaxen hair. Her immediate predecessor was her brother, who was put to death by his subjects; but neither his name nor the cause of that event are mentioned by Herodotus. Resolved on revenging herself upon the authors of this outrage, Nitocris had no sooner ascended the throne, than she invited those she suspected of having been privy to it to a festival. A large subterraneous hall was prepared for the occasion; and though it had the appearance of being fitted up with a view to celebrate the proposed feast, it was in reality designed for a very different purpose: for when the guests were assembled, the water of the Nile was introduced by a secret canal into the apartment; and thus by their death she gratified her revenge, without giving them an opportunity of suspecting her designs. But she did

not live long to enjoy the satisfaction she had anticipated; and fearing the indignation of the people, she put an end to herself by suffocation.

No one monarch of the long suite above mentioned was distinguished by any act of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. He built the northern propylæum of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis; and excavated a lake called after him: a work of great splendour and utility, near * which he erected two pyramids, and the most wonderful of all buildings† either in Egypt or in any part of the world. This was the famous labyrinth‡; from whose model that of Crete was afterwards copied by Dædalus§; and in which, says Pliny‖, not a single piece of wood was used, being entirely constructed of stone. Herodotus attributes its foundation to the twelve kings, in the time of Psamaticus; but tradition seems to have ascribed it to Mœris; though it is possible that the son of Neco and his colleagues may have completed and enlarged it. Pliny says¶ it was first built by king Petesuccus **, or Tithoes; though others affirm

* Herodotus (ii. 149.) says the pyramids stood *in* the lake, 200 cubits above the surface of the water, and the same below it; and on each of them was a colossus of stone, seated on a throne.

† Herodot. ii. 148.

‡ Pliny (xxxvii. 19.) mentions an emerald in this building, of which a statue of the god Sarapis was made, nine cubits in height. Another stone of the same quality was sent to Egypt by a king of Babylon, four cubits long and three broad. These I suppose to have been of the smaragdite, or root of emerald, but even then their dimensions are extraordinary. His smaragdus is here evidently not the real emerald.

§ Plin. xxxvi. 19. ‖ Plin. v. 11.

¶ Plin. xxxvi. 19.

** Or Peteseuces. The commencement of his name bears an Egyptian character.

it to have been the palace of Motherus, or the sepulchre of Mœris; and received opinion maintains that it was dedicated to the Sun. Diodorus mentions Mendes, or, as some call him, Maron or Marrus, as the founder; and others have put forth the claims of Ismandes* and various other monarchs.

The entrance and some of the courts† were made of white stone resembling marble‡; and the columns with which several of the corridors were adorned, as well as many other parts of the building, were of red granite of Syene.§ It was divided into sixteen parts, according to the number of the nomes of Egypt, and contained a temple to each of the deities: and with such remarkable solidity‖ was the whole constructed, that time, says Pliny, could not destroy it, though assisted by the Heracleopolites, from whose ill-will it sustained considerable damage.

Whether the lake Mœris was really commenced by, and owed its origin to, this monarch, it is difficult to determine; but from the name still given by the Egyptians to the canal which carries the water of the Nile to the Fyoom¶ and its lake, and from traditions concerning it, I am inclined to attribute its commencement to Menes, from

* Probably, as I have elsewhere suggested, the same as Mendes and Osymandyas, in which we trace the name of the god Mandoo, from which that of the king was derived.

† Herod. ii. 148.

‡ Pliny says, "of Parian marble." The stones which I found amidst the ruins on its site are, a hard white limestone, which takes a polish almost like marble, and red granite.

§ Plin. loc. cit. ‖ Plin. loc. cit. Strabo, 17.

¶ The modern name of the Arsinoite, or Crocodilopolite, nome.

whom the modern appellation El Ménhi appears to have been borrowed. That the lake Mœris was in reality a name applied to the canal, as well as to the lake itself, we have the authority of Pliny, who asserts that "the lake Mœris * was a large canal;" and the great difficulty which has arisen on the subject is owing to the imperfect description of Herodotus, who has confounded the two: omitting to designate the canal as an artificial work, and the lake as a natural formation. It has not only perplexed many of his readers, but has even misled the learned geographer D'Anville, who, in order to account for his statement, suggested the existence of the Bathen; an hypothesis entirely disproved by an examination of its supposed site: and of all authors who have written on this lake and canal, or the position of the labyrinth, none can be consulted with greater satisfaction than Strabo †, in whose valuable work we only regret too much conciseness.

During the period which elapsed from Menes to Sesostris, no monarch of note reigned in Egypt, if we except those above mentioned, and the Mnevis and Sasyches of Diodorus ‡, who held a conspicuous place among the legislators of their country. But the exact period of their reigns is uncertain, and the historian has failed to inform us if Sasyches was the immediate successor of the for-

* "Mœridus lacus, hoc est, fossa grandis." Plin. xxxvi. 16.

† v. Strabo's account of the lake and its canal, as well as the position of the labyrinth. lib. xvii.

‡ Diodor. i. 94. The name calls to mind Susachis, or Shishak; though Diodorus places him before Sesostris (Sesoosis).

mer, and whether they both preceded or followed Mœris. Mnevis is represented to have been the first to teach the people to obey and respect the laws, and to have derived his sanction as a lawgiver from Mercury himself; a fable which, with the name of the prince, argues strongly in support of the opinion that Diodorus has confounded him with Menes, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy. Sasyches, a man of great learning, made numerous and important additions to the existing code, and introduced many minute regulations respecting the service of the Gods. He was also the reputed inventor of geometry; and ordained that astronomy should be taught, as an important branch of education.

With the exception of these few reigns, Egyptian history presents a blank from the foundation of the monarchy to the era of Sesostris: it is, however, probable that a portion of it may be filled by an event, which, though not fixed to any precise time by historians, is universally allowed to have occurred; the occupation of the country by the Shepherds. If this and the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt have been confounded by Josephus, perhaps intentionally, and by other writers accidentally, the exploits of Sesostris and of Remeses the Great have experienced the same treatment from Herodotus and others; as the following extracts from his writings cannot fail to prove, with which I continue my comparative view of Egyptian history.

"Sesostris was the first who, passing the Ara-

bian Gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants of the coasts bordering on the *Mare Erythæum* *; and proceeding still farther, he came to a sea which, from the great number of its shoals, was not navigable. On his return to Egypt, according to the authority of the priests, he levied a mighty army, and made an expedition by land, subduing all the nations he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected tablets† (*stelæ*) in their country, on which he inscribed his name, and that of his nation, and how he had conquered them by the force of his arms: but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar tablets, which he erected, was added a symbol emblematic of their pusillanimity. Continuing his progress, he passed from Asia to Europe‡, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace; there, however, I believe his army to have been stopped, since monuments of his victories only appear thus far, and none beyond that country. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left a detachment of his force as a colony in that district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their

* The Mare Erythræum, or Red Sea, was that part of the Indian Ocean without the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; and in later times was applied to the Arabian Gulf, or Sinus Arabicus.

† No doubt, similar to those about E'Souan and other places, many of which are commemorative of victories of the Pharaohs. That on the Lycus, near Beiroot, is probably one of the stelæ alluded to by Herodotus.

‡ Conf. Valer. Flac. Argon. 5. 418. . . . "ut prima Sosostris. Intulerit rex bella Getis."

laborious service, remained there of their own accord.* The Colchians, indeed, appear to be of Egyptian origin; and a strong argument in support of this conjecture, is derived from the fact of their being the only people, except the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and, I may add, the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine, who use circumcision; and these two last acknowledge that they borrowed the custom from Egypt. The Colchians have also another point of resemblance to the Egyptians: the manufacture of linen is alike in both countries, and peculiar to them; and, moreover, their manners and language are similar.

"The greater part of the stelæ erected by Sesostris in the places he conquered, are no longer to be found. I have myself seen some in Palestine of Syria, with the disgraceful emblem and inscriptions above mentioned; and in Ionia are two figures of the same king hewn in the rock, one on the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other between Sardis and Smyrna. They both represent a man, five palms in height, holding in his right hand a javelin, and in his left a bow; the rest of his armour being partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, is this inscription, in the sacred or hieroglyphic writing of Egypt—'I conquered this country by the force of my arms.'† Who or whence he is, are not specified; both being mentioned elsewhere‡; and though some

* Rather as a garrison for one of the military posts he established, in order to secure the conquered territory, and the exaction of tribute.

† Or "shoulders": conf. Claudian, Bell. Gild., 114. "Terras *humeris* pontumque subegi."

‡ Probably in the lines of hieroglyphics on the tablet accompanying the figure.

who have examined it, suppose it to be Memnon, I am persuaded they are mistaken in the name of the monarch."

There is little doubt that one of the tablets or stelæ alluded to by the historian still exists in Syria, bearing the name of Remeses II. It is at the side of the road leading to Beiroot, close to the river Lycus, now Nahr-el-Kelb; and though the hieroglyphics are much erased, sufficient remains to show by whose order it was sculptured. Near it is another, accompanied by the figure of a Persian king, and inscribed with the arrow-headed character, copies of which have been lately made by Mr. Bonomi; and thus the memorials of the passage of the Egyptian army, marching triumphant over Asiatic nations, and that of the Persians victorious over Syria and Egypt, are recorded in a similar manner at the same spot.

Diodorus mentions several princes who reigned in Egypt between Menes and Sesostris, some of whom preceded, and others followed, Mœris, or, as he calls him, Myris. Menes, according to that historian, was succeeded by two of his descendants, who in Manetho are his son Athothes and his grandson Cencenes, or, as Eratosthenes states, Athothes I. and II. Fifty-two kings, whose names are omitted, succeeded them; then Busiris, who was followed by eight of his descendants, the last of whom bore the same name as the first, and was said to have been the founder of Thebes. This honour, we have seen above, has also been claimed for Menes; but it is more probable, as I have elsewhere shown, that the city existed even

before his era, especially as he is said to have been a native of Thebes. Nor can we agree with Diodorus in ascribing the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus II., who is said to have borne the same name as his father, and was the eighth in descent from the monarch he supposes to have been the builder of Thebes. Uchoreus was followed by twelve generations of kings, after whom came Myris, who excavated the lake above Memphis, and is the Mœris of Herodotus. If we admit the authority of Diodorus, seven generations intervened between Mœris and Sesostris; but Herodotus seems to place the latter as his immediate successor.

Sesostris, or, as Diodorus calls him, Sesoosis, was reputed by some to have been the son of Amenophis; and about the period of his birth, the god Vulcan appeared to his father in a dream, informing him that his child should become lord of the whole earth. Impressed with the truth of this vision, and anxious to profit by the admonition of the deity, he ordered all the male children throughout Egypt, who were born on the same day as his son*, to be brought to him, and having appointed nurses and proper persons to take charge of them, he gave instructions that they should be educated and treated in every respect as the young prince: being persuaded that those who were his constant companions in childhood and youth would prove his most faithful adherents and affectionate fellow sol-

* Of about the same age as his son, would have been more consistent with probability. Voltaire ridicules this account very severely. Phil. de l'Hist. p. 50.

diers. They were abundantly furnished with every thing needful : as they grew up, they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and were even forbidden to taste any food till they had performed a course of 180 stadia, or nearly twenty-three Roman miles. By this severe training of the body, and by a suitable cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to execute and to command. And at length, resolving to give him and his companions an opportunity of proving themselves worthy of the pains bestowed upon their education, the monarch sent them with an army into Arabia: and as soon as they had subdued that unconquered country, they passed into Africa*, great part of which they overran.

Sesostris having ascended the throne, turned his attention to the internal administration of the country, and having divided all Egypt into thirty-six nomes, or provinces, he appointed a governor over each. He then prepared to put his military designs into execution, and to extend the conquests of Egypt into the most remote countries. With this view he collected an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots, and appointed the companions of his youth, in number upwards of 1700, to the chief command.† Leaving his brother Armais regent in his absence, he invested him with supreme power, forbidding him only the

* Libya was always considered to form part of the territories of Egypt, even to the time of the Ptolemies. Thus Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, was deputed by Alexander to preside over Egypt and Africa, as well as part of Arabia. Justin. xiii. 4.

† Diod. i. 54.

use of the diadem, and commanding him to respect and defend the queen, the royal family, and the household: and having marched into Ethiopia, and exacted from that country a tribute of gold, ebony, and ivory, he proceeded to the promontory of Dira, near the straits of the Arabian Gulf, where he erected a stela, with an inscription in the sacred character, to commemorate his successes; and advancing to the country that produces cinnamon, he raised other monuments there, which were seen many ages after his time.

The fleet of Sesostris consisted of 400 sail, and by having ships of war in the Mediterranean as well as the Arabian Gulf, he commanded the coast of Phœnicia, and made himself master of many of the Cyclades. Having vanquished numerous southern and eastern nations, he returned to Egypt; and on his arrival at Daphne of Pelusium, he was met by his brother, who, with the plea of celebrating and welcoming this joyful event, invited him to a feast. Sesostris, little suspecting his designs, repaired to the house fitted up for his reception, accompanied by his principal friends and the different members of his family. The house had been previously filled with combustibles, which, by the command of his brother, were ignited as soon as they all retired to rest. Sesostris, roused from his sleep, perceived the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and seeing no other means of escape but by placing two of his children across the parts which were burning, he came to the resolution of making this sacrifice for the pre-

servation of himself and the rest of his family. According to other accounts, his brother, having seized the throne during his absence, openly rebelled against him, and even offered violence to the queen; and they ascribe his hurried return to the anxiety he felt on receiving intelligence of his perfidy.

Sesostris was no sooner delivered from the sinister attempts of his brother, than he returned thanks to the gods for his escape, and raised six colossal marble statues before the temple of Pthah, or Vulcan, at Memphis; two of himself and the queen, which were thirty cubits in height, and four of twenty cubits, each representing one of his children. Many splendid monuments were also erected by him in different parts of Egypt, in token of his gratitude to the gods for the great victories he had obtained; and the captives he took in war were employed in transporting the immense blocks of stone used in the construction of the temple at Memphis, and in other ornamental and useful works. He also set up two splendid obelisks*, and dedicated a ship 280 cubits in length to the god of Thebes; and his statue, which was erected in the temple of Vulcan, together with those of his predecessors, in order to show the esteem in which he was held by his countrymen, had the first and most conspicuous post assigned to it, nor did any succeeding monarch obtain permission to place his own before that of Se-

* Diodorus says 120 cubits; 180 feet high! i. 57.

sostris. Darius, indeed, claimed this honour, upon the plea that his conquests had equalled those of his Egyptian precursor; but, after they had weighed his claims, the priests of Memphis declared him to have been eclipsed by Sesostris, inasmuch as he had vanquished the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. This candid remonstrance of the priests was far from displeasing the Persian monarch, who, in acknowledging the justice of his precedence, expressed a hope that, if he lived as long as Sesostris, he should be enabled to equal his exploits.

In every building erected by his captives he put up an inscription, purporting that it was the wrok of those he had taken in war, and that no native* was employed in the laborious part of the undertaking; and in every city of Egypt he dedicated a monument to the presiding deity of the place. The same captives were also employed in digging large canals, and in raising dykes and embankments, for the purposes of irrigation, the protection of the towns† and lands, and the distribution of the water of the Nile during the inundation; and though these had been previously established throughout the country by his predecessors, the superior scale on which they were now constructed, the many wise regulations he introduced relative to landed property, and the accurate surveys he ordered to be made, in order to ascertain the levels and extent

* Diod. i. 56.

† Herodotus in another place (ii. 137.) says, the towns were elevated in the reign of Sesostris when the canals were made.

of every person's estate, obtained for Sesostris the credit of having been the first to intersect the plains of Egypt with canals, and of having introduced the science of mensuration and land surveying. Herodotus supposes that Egypt, "previous to his reign, was conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horses or in carriages," and that afterwards it became disagreeable to traverse the country on horseback, and utterly impossible in chariots; but as many dykes were raised, as at present, to facilitate the communication from one town to another, and as the journey along the edge of the desert is not only more commodious, but shorter, for those who go by land from Lower to Upper Egypt, neither Sesostris nor his predecessors were guilty of the great impediments complained of by the historian. Nor is it probable that this monarch was the first to suggest the expediency of ascertaining the quantity of land irrigated by the rising Nile, or the justice of proportioning the taxes to the benefits derived from its fertilising influence; and however we may be inclined to believe that geometry may have originated in Egypt, in consequence of the necessity of ascertaining the changes which annually take place on the banks of the Nile, we cannot suppose that no means were devised for this purpose previous to his reign.

Sesostris is reported to have raised a wall on the east side of Egypt*, extending from Pelusium

* In my Egypt and Thebes (p. 368.) I have shown that Voltaire is wrong in the inference he draws from this fact.

along the edge of the desert by Heliopolis*, 1500 stadia in length, or about 187 Roman miles; and that such a wall was actually made by one of the Egyptian monarchs, we have positive proof from the vestiges which remain in different parts of the valley. It was not confined to Lower Egypt, or to the east of the Delta, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, but continued to the Ethiopian frontier at Syene; and though the increase of the alluvial deposit has almost concealed it in the low lands overflowed during the inundation by the waters of the Nile, it is traced in many of the higher parts, especially when founded upon the rocky eminences bordering the river. The modern Egyptians have several idle legends respecting this wall, some of which ascribe it to a king anxious to prevent an obnoxious stranger from intruding on the retirement of his beautiful daughter: and the name applied to it is Gisr el Agoós, or "the old man's dyke." It is of crude brick; the principal portion that remains may be seen at Gebel e'Tayr†, a little below Minyeh; and I have even traced small fragments of the same kind of building on the western side of the valley, particularly in the Fyoom.

Of the humane character of the ancient Egyptians, we have several strong proofs; but, if we may trust the authority of Diodorus‡ and Pliny§,

* Diod. (i. 57.) says *to* Heliopolis.

† I have already noticed it in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 367.

‡ Diod. i. 58.

§ Plin. xxxiii. 15. "Sesostri Ægypti rege, tam superbo, ut prodatur annis quibusque sorte reges singulos e subjectis jungere ad currum solitus, atque ita triumphare."

Sesostris tarnished his glory by an act of great oppression, compelling captive monarchs to draw his chariot as he proceeded to celebrate his triumph. And the Theban artists have not been ashamed to introduce a similar instance of cruelty in the sculptures of the temple at Medeenet Haboo, representing the triumphal return of Remeses III.*, after his conquests in the Eastern war: where three captives are tied beneath the axle of his chariot, while others bound with ropes walk by his horse's side, to be presented to the deity of the place.†

The latter days of Sesostris were embittered by the misfortune of losing his sight, which so affected him that he put a period to his existence: an act far from being considered unworthy of a pious and good man, but looked upon by his subjects, and even by the priests themselves, as becoming a hero admired by men and beloved by the gods, whose merited gifts of eternal happiness he had hastened to enjoy.

He was succeeded by his son, the Pheron of Herodotus, the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus, and the Nuncoreus of Pliny. Like his father, he was affected by a weakness of the eyes, which terminated in total blindness: but though it continued during eleven years, he at length recovered, owing more probably to some operation which the noted skill of the Egyptian surgeons had suggested, than to the ridiculous cause assigned by Herodotus. Diodorus and Pliny both agree with the historian

* And of Osirei, at Karnak. † *Vide* Plate I.

Fig 1. Fig 2. Fig 3

Remeses III returning with his Prisoners _ Thebes.

of Halicarnassus, that he dedicated two obelisks to the sun at Heliopolis, in token of gratitude for the recovery of his sight; and this I suppose to refer to the son of Remeses II., as I have observed in noticing the reign of Pthahmen.

Many ages after him, according to Diodorus, Amasis ascended the throne. He is represented to have been a cruel and despotic prince; and having oppressed his people for some time, he was deposed by Actisanes, an Ethiopian, who made war upon him, probably in consequence of the representations of his subjects, and who succeeded to the throne of Egypt. Actisanes proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him and of the choice made by the Egyptians. He behaved with great moderation and impartiality, and introduced some beneficial laws. Instead of punishing theft with death, he caused all robbers to be banished and confined in the most remote part of Egypt, on the edge of the desert bordering Syria; their noses having been previously cut off, as an eternal stigma, and as a means of recognising them in the event of their escape. And the town of Rhinocolura*, where they lived, was said to have received its name from this mutilation of the inhabitants. The spot was dreary and unproductive. On one side was the sea, on the E., W., and S. all was desert, and the torrent or dry "river of Egypt," the boundary line of the Syrian frontier, afforded no water but during the partial rains which some-

* Diod. i. 60.

times fell in winter. The wells were salt or brackish; nothing could be cultivated without excessive labour, and so destitute were they of the necessaries of life, that they gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of providing themselves with food. At one season numerous quails visited the district, which they caught in long nets made with split reeds *; but this temporary relief only acted as a contrast to their wants during the remainder of the year, when they depended principally on the fish of the neighbouring sea.

Actisanes was succeeded by Mendes, or Marrhus, the sceptre now returning to the Egyptian line. This Mendes, according to Diodorus, built the labyrinth in the Crocodilopolite nome, ascribed by Herodotus to Mœris: whence it is evident that he considers Mendes a different person from Mœris, who excavated the lake, and is called by him Myris.† Mendes, indeed, may have continued the building, as the twelve kings are supposed to have done, at a later period, and thereby have obtained the title of its founder: nor is it improbable that Mendes is the Ismandes of Strabo, who was also reputed to be the builder of the labyrinth, and the same as the Mandoof or Mandooftep of the hieroglyphics. And the circumstance of there being two towns in the vicinity still bearing the name Isment is very remarkable. Diodorus does not fix the exact epoch at which Osymandyas, whose tomb he describes at Thebes,

* The frame-work of some nets, in the Egyptian paintings, seems to be made of reeds.

† The oi and u of the Greeks had the sound of our ee.

reigned in Egypt; but, if we may be allowed to infer the identity of Ismandes and Mendes*, we are enabled to assign him a position in the series given by the historian, Ismandes being unquestionably the same as Osymandyas.

Osymandyas signalised himself both for the victories he obtained in the East, and for the monuments with which he adorned the cities of Egypt. In his reign the Bactrians, who had been subdued by Sesostris, rebelled, and threw off their allegiance to the Egyptians. Resolving to punish their defection, and recover the conquered country, he levied a formidable army and marched against them. He was victorious; he again reduced them under the dominion of Egypt, and returning triumphant to Thebes, he erected a magnificent monument, supposed by Hecatæus to have been afterwards used as his tomb, on which he commemorated his victory, and his gratitude to the god Amun, and the co-templar deities. It is thus described by Diodorus †, on the authority of that ancient author: "Ten stadia from the first sepulchres in the Theban Necropolis, where the pallacides of Jove are buried, stood the tomb of Osymandyas. Its entrance was by a propylon of variously coloured stone ‡ two plethra in length §,

* Strabo says, "If, as some suppose, Memnon is called by the Egyptians Ismandes, the labyrinth must be Memnonian, the work of the same person who erected the buildings at Abydus and Thebes, which are there styled Memnoneia." lib. xvii.

† Diodor. i. 47. *et seq.*

‡ This appears to allude to the painted sculptures usual on Egyptian buildings, or to granite.

§ The plethrum, according to some, was 100 feet, others reckon it about 92 feet, English.

and forty-five cubits in height.* Behind was a square area, surrounded internally by an avenue of columns†, each side measuring four plethra, and having a (partial) roof supported by figures of animals‡ of solid stone, sixteen cubits high, sculptured in the antique fashion. The ceiling, which was of compact masonry§ (covering the space between the outer walls and the columns), was upwards of two *orgyias* (twelve feet) in breadth, and was ornamented with stars studded on an azure ground.‖ At the upper end of this, you came to a doorway leading to a second area, with a propylon, similar in all respects to the former, but sculptured with a greater variety of subjects; and close to the entrance was a colossal group of three figures (the workmanship) of Memnon of Syene.¶ One of them was in a sitting posture, and was reputed to be the largest statue in Egypt, whose foot exceeded seven cubits in length. The other two, very inferior in size, reached only to its knees (and were attached in an upright position to the front of the throne), one on the right, the other on the left side, and represented the daughter and mother of the

* Or 67½ feet, which can only apply to the pyramidal towers.

† Literally, "after you passed through this, was a square peristyle of stone."

‡ He evidently alludes to the Osiride figures, not of animals, but of men, in the areas of Egyptian temples.

§ *Μονολιθον* signifies here, as in Strabo's description of the labyrinth, "of solid masonry," not of a single stone. The Osiride pillars, said also to have been monolithic, were no doubt built, as usual, of several blocks.

‖ These ceilings are very commonly met with in ancient Egyptian edifices.

¶ In this may have originated the idea of its being the statue of Memnon, as well as the name Memnonium attached to the building here described.

king. It was a monument remarkable as well for the excellence of its workmanship as for the dimensions and nature of the stone, in which no crack or even flaw could be found; and upon it was this inscription: 'I am Osymandyas, king of kings; if any one wishes to know what I am and where I lie, let him surpass me in some of my exploits.' Near it was a statue of his mother, twenty cubits in height, and of a single stone, bearing three crowns upon her head, which purported that she was the daughter, wife, and mother of a king.* Behind the propylon was another peripteral area, adorned with a variety of sculpture. On it was represented a war waged by the monarch in the country of the Bactrians, who had revolted from him, and against whom he led an army of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse, in four divisions, each commanded by one of his sons. On the first wall the king was seen besieging a fortress, surrounded by a river, and contending in the foremost ranks with the enemy, accompanied by a lion, which appeared to aid him in the fight. Some indeed affirm that the sculptor intended to represent a real lion, which the king had brought up, and was accustomed to take with him to battle, to intimidate his foes: but others are of opinion that it merely alludes to the courage of the monarch, of which it was deemed an appropriate emblem. On the second wall, captives were conducted without hands, or the signs

* Hieroglyphics bearing the same import are found to precede the names of queens who were similarly circumstanced, as Neitacri, the wife of Psamaticus III., and others.

of virility, purporting them to be men destitute of courage and the power of resistance: and the third wall presented various subjects and appropriate sculptures, indicating the sacrifices and triumph of the king. In the centre of the open court was an altar of very beautiful stone, admirable for its size as well as for its workmanship; and close to the end wall were two sitting statues, of a single block each, measuring twenty-seven cubits* in height. Three entrances led from the area to a hall supported throughout by columns, and built in the manner of an *odéum*, which measured on each side two plethra. Here were several wooden statues, representing persons engaged in lawsuits, and judges listening to the causes. These last were thirty in number, with the chief justice in the centre, who had many books lying near him, and wore an image of Truth, with her eyes closed, suspended from his neck: an emblematic figure, purporting that the duty of a judge was to receive nothing†, and that the chief justice should have his mind intent on truth alone. After this was a corridor filled with numerous chambers, where all kinds of food most agreeable to the

* 40 feet 6 inches. He evidently alludes to the two small colossi of the Memnonium, which stood on each side of the steps leading from the second court of that building. The head of one is in the British Museum, and was formerly called of the young Memnon. From this court, three entrances lead to the hall of assembly, agreeing well with the description of Diodorus in his account of the tomb.

† Diodorus has omitted to mention their being "without hands;" which, however, we learn from Plutarch: "The statues of judges at Thebes without hands, with their chief or president at their head, with his eyes turned downwards, signify that justice ought neither to be accessible to bribes, nor guided by favour and affection." De Isid. s. 10.

palate were introduced. The king also appeared in the sculptures, painted in elegant colours, dedicating to the deity the gold and silver he annually received from the mines throughout Egypt, which in silver alone amounted to 3200 myriads of minæ.* To these chambers succeeded the sacred library, over which was inscribed "The balsam of the soul;" and contiguous to it were figures of all the gods of Egypt, to each of whom the Monarch presented a suitable offering; in order that Osiris, and the deities who attended beneath him, might know that through life he had acted with piety towards the gods and benevolence towards men. Adjacent† to the library was a chamber elegantly fitted up with twenty couches, where the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king were placed; and here it was supposed that the body of the prince reposed. Around were several rooms, having beautiful paintings of all the sacred animals of the country, and from them an ascent‡ to the whole tomb; beyond which, and immediately over the sepulchre, was a golden planisphere, carried away in later times by Cambyses when the Persians invaded Egypt. It measured 365 cubits§ in circumference, and one in thickness, and was divided and marked at every cubit with the days of the year, the rising and setting of the stars according to their natural revolutions, and the

* The Egyptian mina was 1 lb. 5 oz. 6 dwts. English.

† Ομοτοιχον, having a common wall with the library.

‡ From the position of the Memnonium on a rising rock, you ascend towards the upper end of the building.

§ 547½ feet, or about 182 feet in diameter.

signs ascertained from them by Egyptian astrologers."*

In re-examining this description of Diodorus, I am still more inclined to the opinion I before stated of his having in view the Memnonium, or palace-temple of Remeses II. 1. The distance from the first tombs, where the pallacides of Jove were buried, agrees very satisfactorily with that from the tombs of the queens† to the Memnonium. 2. Its having the largest statue in Egypt, which is the sitting colossus of Remeses, in that building. 3. The plan of the tomb, its three entrances from the second area, and the succeeding hall of columns, agree perfectly with those of the Memnonium; and if the dimensions of the areas exceed the truth, or appear inconsistent, the objection is one which equally applies to any other Egyptian edifice. I had supposed the word πυλωνα to refer to an entrance court or propylæum; but I perceive that he alludes to the pyramidal towers of the propylon, to which he gives the length of two plethra. The area behind them was four plethra square, and we must therefore conclude the towers to be *each* two plethra, without including the intermediate gateway, which will accord very well with the proportions of an Egyptian temple. However, his measurements may be exaggerated, and

* Another astronomical ceiling is met with at the Memnonium, in the central chamber, immediately behind the grand hall, in which all the Egyptian months, and various stars, are introduced, with figures and hieroglyphic legends.

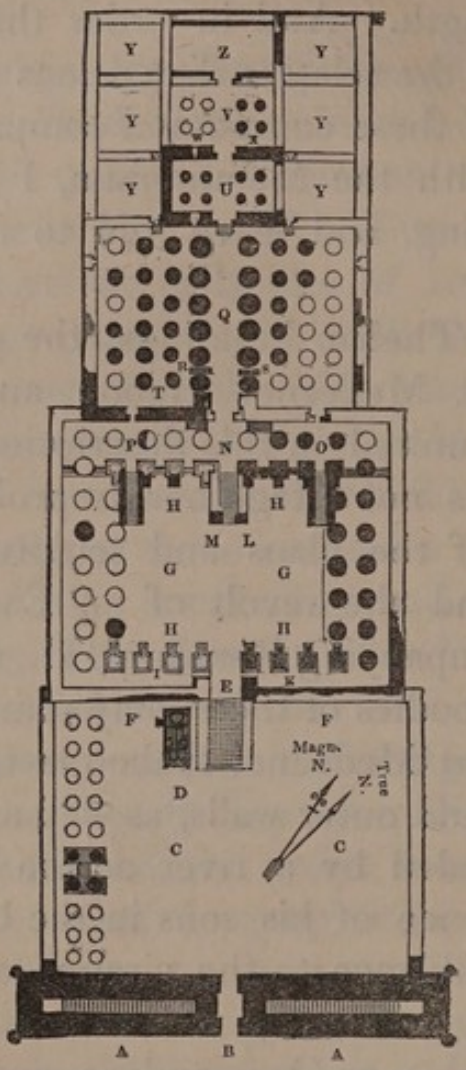
† The Egyptian princesses and queens held that office in the service of Amun or Jove. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 80.

I consider it better to leave his plethrum of indeterminate length. And in order that the reader may perceive the relative dimensions and usual arrangement of these courts, and compare Diodorus' description with the Memnonium, I insert a plan of that building, and leave him to form his own opinion.*

That two Theban buildings, the palace of Remeses III. at Medeenet Haboo and the Memnonium, are united in this description of the historian appears not altogether improbable, from a comparison of the plans and sculptures of those edifices. And the revolt of an Eastern people, the lion accompanying Remeses III., and the mutilation of the bodies of the enemy slain in the fight, which occur at Medeenet Haboo in the sculptures of the inner and outer walls, as well as the fortified town surrounded by a river at the Memnonium, and the presence of his sons in the battle, show a striking resemblance to the circumstances detailed by Diodorus.

After Mendes, or Osymandyas, ensued an interregnum, which lasted five generations, until Cetes or Cetna, a Memphite, "who in the Greek language was called Proteus," ascended the throne. The shrine of this monarch was still visible at Memphis in the time of Herodotus. It stood on the south of the temple of Vulcan, and was magnificently ornamented. The Phœnicians of Tyre, who had settled in Egypt, lived in its vicinity,

* See Woodcut in next page.



Plan of the Memnonium, showing its great resemblance to the description of the Tomb of Osymandyas, given by Diodorus : —

A, A, Towers of the Propylon, "πυλωνα . . . το μεν μηκος διπλεθρον, το δ' υψος τετταρακοντα και πεντε πηχων." B, the entrance, "την εισοδον." C, C, the Area, "διελθοντι δε αυτον ειναι λιθινον περιστυλον τετραγωνον, εκαστης πλευρας ουσης τετταρων πλεθρων." . . . "αντι των κιωνων, ζωδια . . μονολιθα," as at H, H, in the next court; the area was open in the centre and covered at the sides, "την οροφην . . επι πλατος δυειν οργυιων." . . . "εξης δε του περιστυλου τουτου παλιν ετεραν εισοδον και πυλωνα" . . "παρα δε την εισοδον (E) ανδριαντας τρεις εξ ενος λιθου . . . τουτων ενα μεν καθημενον (D) υπαρχειν μεγιστον παντων των κατ' Αιγυπτον." D, is the large sitting Colossus of Remeses the Great, close to the second entrance E. "μετα δε τον πυλωνα (F, F) περιστυλον του προτερου αξιολογωτερον (G, G) εν ω γλυφας . . . δηλουσας τον πολεμον. The battle scenes occur on these walls, and at I are traces of sculptures relating to the war; but that part, as well as J, is now in ruins. At K, the *first* wall on the right entering, the king is besieging a city sur-

when the historian visited the country, and the whole of the environs thence obtained the name of the Tyrian camp. There was also in the same spot a small temple dedicated to Venus the stranger*; and this goddess, Herodotus, with the vanity of a Greek, conjectures to be the Grecian "Helen†, who was said to have lived some time at the court of Proteus." "On inquiring," he continues,

* Probably alluded to by Horace:

"Oh quæ beatam, Diva, tenes Cyprum, et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive." — Od. lib. iii. 26. 10.

Strabo also mentions it. Lib. xvii.

† Strabo says some consider this Venus to be a Greek goddess, and others suppose the temple to be dedicated to the moon.

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rounded by a river, "κατα τον πρωτον των τοικων (K) τον βασιλεα . . πολιορκουντα τειχος υπο ποταμου τερρρυτον." On the second wall were the captives led by the king, "τα τε αιδοια και τας χειρας ουκ εχοντας," as at Medeenet Haboo; and in the centre of the area was an altar in the open air "υπαιθριον," showing this court was also hypæthral in the centre. "Κατα δε τον τελευταιον τοιχον υπαρχειν ανδριαντας καθημενους δυο," L and M,— the head of the latter of which is now in the British Museum; "παρ' οις εισοδους τρεις (N, O, P) εκ του περιστυλου, καθ' ας οικον υπαρχειν υποστυλον (Q) ωδειου τροπον κατεσκευασμενον, εκαστην πλευραν εχοντα διπλεθρον." R and S are pedestals, perhaps belonging to some of the statues he mentions. "εξης δ' υπαρχειν περιπατον οικων παντοδαπων πληρη," perhaps referring to the whole space containing the chambers U, V, Y, Z. "εξης δ'υπάρχειν την ιεραν βιβλιοθηκην" (U or V) "συνεχεις δε ταυτη των θεων απαντων εικονας, του βασιλεως, ομοιως δωροφορουντος α προσηκον ην εκαστοις," which is referred to in the sculptures of W and X. Whether his description of the parts beyond this are correct we cannot decide, as the chambers are entirely destroyed, and the general plan is scarcely to be traced; and, as it is probable Hecatæus, who is his authority, was not admitted beyond the great Hall Q, the information obtained of this part must have rested solely on report. Indeed, in this portion, he appears to have united or confounded two buildings, the temple of Remeses the Great, and that of Remeses III. at Medeenet Haboo; though with the exception of the measurement of the areas (four plethra square), his description of the first part of the Tomb of Osymandyas agrees very closely with the edifice before us; but we may be allowed to question its having been a tomb, or having been erected by that monarch.

T, Battle scene, where the testudo occurs.

"concerning her, the priests gave me the following information: — Paris (or Alexander) having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, when, meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea; and as they continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Egypt, and putting into the Canopic mouth of the Nile, landed at the Tarichæa*, near a temple of Hercules, which still exists there. If on any occasion a slave fled for refuge to this shrine, and, in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain characters, on one was permitted to molest him; and the same custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of the temple, fled thither from their master, and with a view of injuring him became suppliants to the deity. They revealed the whole affair concerning Helen, and the wrong he had done to Menelaus; and they not only related it to the priests, but also to Thonis, who was governor of that mouth of the river.

Thonis instantly despatched a courier to Memphis, with this message to the king: — "A certain Trojan is arrived here, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece. He has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a quantity of treasure. Adverse winds have forced him hither: shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and pro-

* Or the Salt-pans.

perty?" Upon this, Proteus gave an order that whoever the man was, who had thus violated the rights of hospitality, he should be arrested and brought before him. Thonis therefore sent Paris, with Helen and all his wealth, to Memphis, and detained his ships. As soon as he was admitted into the presence of the king, Proteus inquired who he was and whence he came. Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from what place he had set sail. But when he was questioned concerning Helen, and how he had obtained possession of her person, he hesitated in his answers, and endeavoured to conceal the truth, till the slaves who had deserted him explained all the circumstances of his guilt. Proteus thereupon pronounced this sentence, 'If I did not consider it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, who may have been driven on my coast by contrary winds, I would assuredly, thou worst of men, avenge the Greek whose hospitality thou hast betrayed in a most treacherous manner: thou hast seduced his wife; and not contented with this, thou hast carried her off by stealth, and still detainest her; and, as if this crime was not sufficient, thou hast robbed his house. However, as I think it right not to put a stranger to death, I suffer thee to depart; but this woman and the wealth thou hast brought I forbid thee to take: these shall remain with me till the Greek himself shall come and demand them. In three days leave my coast with thy companions, or expect to be treated as enemies.'

Helen was therefore detained by Proteus till the arrival of Menelaus, who, finding at the capture of Troy, that his wife was not in the possession of Paris, but had been left by him in Egypt, repaired to the court of the Egyptian king. On his arrival, he related the object of his journey. He was received with great hospitality, and Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him with all his treasure. He then returned to the coast, intending to set sail immediately: but the winds were contrary; and Menelaus, forgetting the gratitude he owed to his benefactors, clandestinely seized two children of the country, and offered them as a sacrifice.* This was no sooner made known to the Egyptians than they resolved on punishing the perpetrator of so great an outrage; but as he fled by sea to Africa, they were unable to overtake him, and Menelaus escaped their indignation, and the punishment his perfidy deserved."

The fable related by the Greeks of the wonderful powers of Proteus, in assuming a multiplicity of shapes, is thought by Diodorus† to be explained from a custom common to the Egyptian kings of adorning their heads with various figures and emblematic devices, intended to strike the beholders with awe; but this is neither satisfactory nor probable. The head-dresses of the kings represented in the sculptures, when offering to the

* Conf. Virg. Æn. ii. 116.

"Sanguine placastis ventos, et virgine cæsa."

† Diodor. i. 62.

gods, are numerous and varied (especially in the later times of the Ptolemies and Cæsars): yet such slight changes could never account for a similar fable among the Egyptians, who were fully acquainted with the intention of every vesture and crown of ceremony.

Rhemphis, or Rhampsinitus, succeeded Proteus. He does not appear to have been distinguished for the extent of his conquests abroad, but he surpassed all his predecessors in the immense wealth he possessed, and in his fondness for riches. Diodorus considers him of so avaricious a character that he was unwilling to employ any of the treasure he had amassed either for the service of the gods or the benefit of his subjects; but the monuments he erected at Memphis disprove this statement, and claim for him a place among the patrons of religion, and the encouragers of art. "The western vestibule of the temple of Vulcan," says Herodotus, "was added by his order, as were two colossal statues, twenty-five cubits in height, which stand in front of it. The northern statue (or that on the left entering) is called by the Egyptians summer, the other to the south winter; and though they treat the latter with no manner of respect, they reverence the former, and even worship it."

Herodotus concurs in representing Rhampsinitus as the most opulent of all the Egyptian kings who reigned before or after him; and if he does not state the amount of his wealth, which the former historian calculates at no less than 400,000

talents, he relates the great care he took in its preservation. "For this purpose he constructed a stone edifice, one side of which was attached to the wall of his palace. But the architect he employed, with a dishonest view, so disposed one of the stones of the outer wall that two or even one man might easily remove it. The building being completed, the king there deposited his treasures in supposed security. Some time afterwards, the architect finding his end approaching, sent for his two sons, and told them how their future prosperity was provided for by an artifice he had adopted in building the king's treasury. He then explained all the secret of the stone; its dimensions and position; the mode of removing it; and, if they used proper caution, the certainty of participating in the royal wealth. After the death of their father, they were not long before they availed themselves of the advice he had given them; and repairing by night to the palace, they found the stone as described, and having easily removed it, they carried away a large sum of money. When the king entered the apartment he observed a sensible diminution of the gold in the vases; but as he had no suspicions of any person, and the lock and its seals were intact, he was greatly perplexed. At length, finding the same diminution continue, the thieves constantly repeating their visits, he resolved on placing traps round the vases which contained the money. They returned as usual, and one of them on going to the spot was caught in the trap. He instantly called to his brother; and explaining his

situation, he requested him without loss of time to cut off his head, as the only means of preventing detection and preserving his own life. The advice appeared good; and having overcome his scruples, he complied, replaced the stone, and ran home, carrying with him the head of his brother.

As soon as it was light, the king entered the apartment; and seeing the body of a person without a head secured in the trap, the walls entire, and showing no place of exit or ingress, he was more astonished than ever. Still he hoped to unravel the mystery; and ordering the body to be exposed from the wall, he stationed guards on the spot, and directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of sorrow or compassion at the sight. The mother, exasperated at this treatment of her son's body, threatened the surviving brother if he did not contrive some means of removing and bringing it away, she would go herself to the king and accuse him as an accomplice in the robbery. In vain did he endeavour to excuse himself; at length, finding her determined, he had recourse to the following artifice: — He loaded some asses with skins of wine, and drove them to the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother. As soon as he approached them, he secretly drew the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when the wine gushed out, he began to beat his head and to cry vehemently, running to and fro with pretended confusion, as if uncertain to which of the asses he should go first.

The soldiers perceiving the accident, ran with vessels; but instead of assisting him, all the wine they could save they considered themselves entitled to as their own. At first he abused them in apparent anger; then, feigning to be pacified by their endeavours to console him, he led his asses aside out of the road, put the skins in order, and began to enter into conversation with them. Affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave him a skin of wine; and having accepted their invitation to stay and drink with them, he sat down, and, to reward their civility, he added another. It was not long before the wine had its effect: the soldiers became intoxicated and fell asleep, and as soon as night came on, he took down the body of his brother; and having shaved the right cheek* of the guards, in derision, he put the body into a sack on one of his asses and drove home.

When Rhampsinitus heard what had happened he was enraged beyond measure; but being resolved on discovering the robber, he is said to have had recourse to this stratagem, which to me appears very improbable. He commanded his daughter to receive every man indiscriminately, on condition he would tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; and if any one confessed the crime of which this robber had been guilty, she was to seize

* This, like the rest of the story, is very questionable. The Egyptian soldiers had no beards, and Herodotus himself allows that the Egyptians shaved, and only allowed "the hair of their head and beard to grow in mourning." ii. 36. That this last is true, is proved by the sculptures representing soldiers and other individuals.

him and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the orders of her father; and the thief guessing what was intended, prepared to thwart the artful scheme of the king. He cut off the arm of a body recently dead, which he concealed under his cloak during his visit to the princess; and when asked the same question as the rest, he replied 'that the most wicked thing he had ever done was to cut off the head of his brother who had been caught in a trap in the king's treasury,—the most artful thing, his making the guards drunk and removing the body.' She immediately endeavoured to apprehend him; but as it was dark, he held out the dead arm, and on her seizing it effected his escape. This being reported to the king, he was still more astonished at the art and audacity of the man, and issued a proclamation that if the offender would declare himself he should not only be pardoned, but rewarded handsomely. Trusting to his word, the thief presented himself before him, and Rhampsinitus, being much pleased with his address, gave him his daughter in marriage; for knowing the Egyptians to be superior in ingenuity to all other people, and finding he had surpassed even the Egyptians, he looked upon him as infinitely more clever than any other human being."

Such is the story told by Herodotus; but we must do him the justice to say he expresses his disbelief of it, as well as of the same king's visit to the lower regions, where Rhampsinitus was reported to have played at dice with the goddess Ceres, alternately winning and losing, and to have been

presented on leaving her with a napkin embroidered with gold. The period of his supposed return was celebrated by the Egyptians as a solemn festival, and continued even to the time of Herodotus: but what the real origin or import of the ceremony may have been, the historian is unable to inform us. "The ministers," he adds, "who officiate on that occasion, wear a vest woven within the space of a day; and this is put on by one of them, whose eyes are blinded, and who is conducted to a path leading to the temple of Ceres, where he is left, and whence two wolves are said to take him to the temple, distant twenty stadia from the city, bringing him back to the same spot when the ceremony is concluded. But I leave every reader to judge for himself regarding the credibility of what I here relate."

"Till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was fortunate, as well in the tranquillity and justice it enjoyed, as in the blessings of abundance. But Cheops*, his successor, abandoned himself to every kind of depravity. He closed all the temples, forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices, and ordered their labours to be confined to his own purposes. Having the project of building a pyramid, he compelled some to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains†, and to drag them to the bank of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them

* The Chemmis, Chembes, or Chemnis of Diodorus. This anachronism, of placing Cheops after the Trojan war, must be obvious to every one.

† Conf. Plin. xxxvi. 17. "Pyramis amplissima ex Arabicis lapicidinis constat;" and Strabo, lib. xvii., Των λιθων, εξ ών αι Πυραμιδες γεγονασιν .... εν τη Αραβια Τρωικον τι καλειται πετρωδες ... ορος.

from the boats and transport them to the mountain of Libya; and for this service 100,000 men* were employed, who were relieved every three months. In the operation of forming the road, by which the stones were carried, ten years were consumed; and this arduous undertaking appears scarcely inferior to the pyramid itself, which, independent of the time employed in preparing the hill where it stands, occupied twenty years." The historian then proceeds to describe the pyramids: but as I have given an account of them in a previous work†, I think it unnecessary to repeat it here, and resume my history of the successors of this monarch.

After a reign of fifty years, Cheops, who, as I have already stated, appears to have been the Suphis of Manetho, and the Chembres of Diodorus, was succeeded by Cephren his brother. He reigned fifty-six years, and erected a pyramid similar to that of his brother, but of rather less dimensions.

Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, was his successor. He was a good and religious prince; and his memory was revered by the Egyptians beyond that of all his predecessors, not only because of the equity of his decisions, but because his love of justice was so great that if complaint was made of his conduct he always showed a willingness to redress the injury. He had an only daughter,

* Plin "Trecenta LX. hominum millia annis XX. eam construxisse produntur. Tres vero factæ annis LXXVIII. et mensibus IV.

† Egypt and Thebes, p. 323.

who died some time after he ascended the throne, which was the first misfortune he experienced; and being much afflicted by her death, and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body in a heifer made of wood, richly ornamented with gold. It was not buried, but remained even to the time of Herodotus in the palace at Saïs, in a magnificent chamber, where exquisite perfumes burnt before it every day, and brilliant illuminations continued throughout the night.*

Mycerinus aafterwards met with a second calamity. The oracle of Buto sent to inform him he should live six years and die the seventh; and though he represented his piety and upright conduct, the same answer was returned, with this addition, that his early death was in consequence of his virtues.

During this period of his reign† he occupied himself in constructing a pyramid; and if we may believe Diodorus, he died before its completion. It stands near those of his father and his uncle; and though much smaller, was considered, when entire, far more elegant than the other two, being cased with red granite.‡ On the northern face he inscribed

* It is very questionable if this heifer referred to the daughter of Mycerinus; and judging from what the historian adds of the Egyptians flagellating themselves in honour of a certain god (Osiris), it would rather seem to belong to Isis, or to Athor.

† Herodotus mentions a ridiculous story of his passing the night in revelry, and endeavouring to convict the oracle of falsehood, by turning night into day, and thus doubling the number of years.

‡ Pliny says, "Tertia minor prædictis, sed multo spectatio Æthiopicis lapidibus." xxxvi. 17. Herodotus says, it was of Æthiopian stone, as far as the middle of its height.

his name; and the entrance, though still closed and undiscovered, may be looked for on this side, like those of the other two pyramids. The Greeks erroneously attributed its erection to the courtesan Rhodopis; but, as Herodotus observes, it is improbable that a monument, which cost several thousand talents, should have been erected by her, and even impossible, since she did not live at the same epoch, but during the reign of Amasis.

The immediate successor of Mycerinus is uncertain. According to Herodotus, it was Asychis, who appears to have been a Memphite. Diodorus, however, here introduces the names of Tnephachthus, and his son Bocchoris, both omitted by Herodotus, as Asychis and Anysis are in his catalogue of kings.

Tnephachthus, or as Plutarch calls him Technatis, is only known as being the father of Bocchoris, and as having led an expedition into Arabia, where he endured great privations and hardships, owing to the loss of his baggage in so inhospitable a country. And being obliged to put up with the poor and slender diet he there met with, and finding his sleep in consequence much more sound and refreshing, he felt persuaded of the ill effects resulting from a luxurious mode of living, and was resolved on his return to Thebes to record his abhorrence of the conduct of Menes, who had induced the Egyptians to abandon their frugal and simple habits: he, therefore, erected a stela, with an inscription to that purpose, in the temple of Amun at Thebes,

where his son also made considerable additions to the sacred buildings dedicated to the deity.

While examining the ruins of Karnak, I met with one tablet, which appeared at first sight to resemble a monument of this kind; but on further examination I altered my opinion, and was obliged to relinquish all hope of finding it there, or, indeed, in any other building at Thebes.

Bocchoris, his son, a Saïte by birth, succeeded him. He is represented to have been despicable in his person, but the qualities of his mind fully compensated for any imperfections of the body; and so far did he surpass all his predecessors in wisdom and prudence, that he obtained the distinctive sirname of "the Wise." He is reputed to have been one of the Egyptian lawgivers, and in this capacity to have introduced many useful regulations in the ancient code respecting debt *, and fiscal matters; though some have supposed his care of the revenue to proceed from a feeling of avarice, rather than from a desire to benefit the state. † He was said to have been taken prisoner by Sabaco the Ethiopian, and to have been burnt alive; but this assertion is destitute of probability, and there is great doubt whether Sabaco was his immediate successor, or whether, as I have already observed, several kings intervened between Bocchoris and that monarch. ‡ To enable us to solve these questions, we require more positive authority, either from the monu-

* Diodor. i. 79. *Vide infrà* on the Laws of Egypt. † Ibid., i. 94.
‡ This is also the opinion of Diodorus, i. 65.

ments, or from history, and it is equally useless to inquire if Asychis was the same as Bocchoris. I therefore proceed to notice the reigns of Asychis and Anysis, as given by Herodotus.

The former was not only an encourager of art, but a benefactor to his country by the introduction of some salutary laws respecting debt. "Finding that commercial interests suffered from an extreme want of money, he passed an ordinance that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his deceased father as a pledge: by which law the sepulchre of the debtor fell into the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged, he could neither be buried with his family in that or in any other tomb, nor was he suffered to inter any of his children."

Among the monuments erected by Asychis was a pyramid of brick, with this inscription engraved on a marble slab, "Compare me not with the stone pyramids, for I am as superior to them as Jove is to the other gods. Thus was I made: men probing with poles the bottom of a lake drew forth the mud which adhered to them, and formed it into bricks."

Four pyramids built of these materials still remain in Lower Egypt, independent of several smaller ones at Thebes, and it is probable that one of them is that alluded to by Herodotus as having been erected by Asychis. Two are close to Memphis and the modern town of Dashoor; the others stand at the entrance of the Fyoom. Near the former are two pyramids of stone; and this circumstance, and their vicinity to Memphis, in-

duce me to believe one of them to be the crude brick monument in question; for it is reasonable to suppose it would be erected near the city where the prince resided, and in the vicinity of stone pyramids, to which it forbade the spectator to compare it. In what its superiority consisted, we are unable to decide. Dr. Richardson ingeniously ascribes it to the vaulted roofs of its chambers, whose construction was the result of the novel invention of the arch. But though chambers did exist in the brick pyramids, vestiges of which I have myself seen in one of those at Dashoor, and their roofs, as he justly concludes, were vaulted, other pyramids of similar materials had long before been erected at Thebes, with roofs of the same construction, and the arch was invented and used in Upper Egypt many centuries before the accession of this monarch.

According to Herodotus, Asychis was succeeded by Anysis, a native of a town of the same name, who was blind. In his reign, Sabaco, the Ethiopian, invaded and conquered Egypt, of which he continued in possession fifty years; and during the whole of that period Anysis remained concealed in the lowlands of the Delta, at a place called the Isle of Elbo, which he is said to have formed for himself of ashes and earth, neither daring nor having the power to dispute the authority of the invader.

"Sabaco, while he ruled Egypt, refrained from punishing any crime with death; but, according to the magnitude of their offence, he condemned all criminals to raise the ground around the place to

which they belonged: in order to elevate the different towns throughout the country, and to place them above the reach of the inundation. This had been previously done during the reign of Sesostris, when the canals were made; but the mounds now added by order of the Ethiopian were much more extensive: so that every city was raised at this period, and particularly Bubastis." Manetho differs from the historian of Halicarnassus in his character of Sabaco, and in the name of the prince whose throne he usurped, since he affirms that he took Bocchoris captive and burnt him alive; nor is Herodotus's own account consistent, when he mentions his having put to death "Necos, the father of Psammitichus." * Again, Manetho limits his reign to eight or eighteen years, while Herodotus allows him fifty; and states that he relinquished the throne of Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, in consequence of a dream, in which "a person appeared advising him to assemble all the priests of Egypt, and to inflict upon them the cruel death of cutting them asunder... but, rather than perpetrate such a deed, he resolved to retire from the throne, especially as the duration of his reign over Egypt, according to the oracles, was now fulfilled; for Sabaco, while in Ethiopia, having consulted them, was informed he should reign fifty years in Egypt; and this period being accomplished, the vision so alarmed him that he voluntarily withdrew."

On the secession of Sabaco, Anysis was recalled from his place of concealment, and assumed

* This I shall presently show to have been impossible. Herod.ii. 152.

the reins of government; but for what length of time Herodotus fails to inform us. He was succeeded by Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, who, as I shall presently have occasion to observe, was cotemporary of Tirhakah, and who, in consequence of the contempt with which he treated the military class, endangered the safety of the whole of Lower Egypt, when Sennacherib king of Assyria threatened to invade it. This, and the events which occurred in the reigns of Sabaco, Psamaticus, and succeeding monarchs, will also be noticed in my account of the 25th and 26th Dynasties; and having, as I proposed, introduced a comparative view of the history of the early Egyptian princes, from Menes to Sethos, from the works of Herodotus and Diodorus, I resume my chronological inquiry, which I had carried down to the end of the 19th Dynasty*, and consequently now return to the kings who succeeded the sons of the third Remeses, and who composed the 20th, 21st, and the following Dynasties.

The 20th and 21st Dynasties, on the Authority of the Monuments, were composed of

Name from the Monuments.	Ascended the Throne. B. C.
Remeses VII.	1170
Remeses VIII.	1155
Remeses IX.	1140
Remeses X.	1125
Remeses XI.	1110
Amun-mai-Pouee?	1095
Amun-meses?	1080
reigned till about	1068

* *Vide* p. 87.

The succession is doubtful for a period of about 90 years, when a more interesting period opens to view, in the 22d Dynasty, where we recognise a great similarity between the names* of Manetho's list and those on the monuments.

The 22d Dynasty of Diospolitans.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Sesonchis - -	Sheshonk I.	Shishak of S.S., who plundered the temple of Jerusalem, B.C. 971 - -	981
Osorthon - -	Osorkon I. -	Cotemporary of Zerah, the Ethiopian King, who fought with Asa, B. C. 941 - -	945
Tacellothis -	Takelothe -		925

23d Dynasty.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
(Uncertain) -	Osorkon II.	Homer flourished about 907.	908
- - -	Sheshonk II.	- - -	890
	(Then, probably, one or more kings, occupying a space of about 50 years.)		to about 860, then a blank till the reign of Bocchoris, who ascended the throne in 812.
Tnephachthus, the father of Bocchoris, according to Diodorus, the Technatis of Plutarch, ought to be one of this Dynasty?			

* Manetho begins with Sesonchosis or Sesonchis, and Osorthon, but places three other uncertain kings between this last and Tacellothis, and with three others completes the 22d Dynasty. In the 23d, Manetho begins with Petubastes (Pet-Pasht), a name not yet met with, then Osorthon or Osorchon, and two other kings. *Vide* his catalogue, in p. 33.

Sheshonk * was supposed by the learned Sir I. Marsham, and other distinguished chronologists, to be the same as Sesostris; but this untenable hypothesis has long since been abandoned, and Sesotris has resumed his place among the monarchs of an earlier dynasty. He was the Shishak of Scripture, who, in the fifth year of Rehoboam (B. C. 971), marched against Judea with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horse, and a numerous body of infantry, composed of Lybians, Sukkiims†, and Ethiopians; took all the walled towns of Judah; and pillaged the temple of Jerusalem‡; and though no very extensive buildings remain erected by him, the sculptures he added on the walls of Karnak suffice to show that this campaign is recorded with the names of the captured places. The king, as usual, presents his prisoners to the deity of the temple, and to each figure is attached an oval, indicating the town or district he represents: one of which M. Champollion concludes to be the Yooda Melchi, or kingdom of Judah, a name whose component letters agree with the hieroglyphics, though the

* It was to this king that Jeroboam fled in 980. Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh, probably his immediate predecessor, about the year 1014. Josephus says that Egypt and Ethiopia were at that time under the same monarch; but he commits a great error in supposing that "no Egyptian king bore the title of Pharaoh after the father-in-law of Solomon," the reverse being proved by the Jewish books which he pretends to quote. Witness Pharaoh-Necho and Hophra. Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. 6.

† Some have supposed the Sukkiims to be the fabulous Troglodytes, and have placed them near the Red Sea. Others bring them from Central Egypt. Some who have seen or heard of the sepulchral grottoes hewn in the rocks at Thebes, have innocently fixed on these as the habitations of the live Troglodytes, previous to their appropriation for the dead Thebans.

‡ 2 Chron. xii. 9.

place it holds is not sufficiently marked to satisfy the scruples of a rigid sceptic.

The era of Sheshonk is the first fixed point for the establishment of chronological data; and we have been enabled, by reckoning backwards to the Exodus, and from inscriptions on the monuments, to fix the probable duration and date of each reign. From the accession of Thothmes III., about 1495 B. C., to the year 1068, twenty-three kings succeeded to the throne of Egypt, which gives about eighteen years to each reign; and the ninety years intervening at the end of the 21st Dynasty, may readily be accounted for by assigning them to sovereigns whose names are lost.

A very favourable argument in support of the dates I have given, is derived from the astronomical subject on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, erected by Remeses the Great: where the heliacal rising of Sothis is found to coincide with the beginning of Thoth, which could only have happened in the year 1322 B. C.; and this falls, according to my table, in the middle of his reign. But whatever I offer on such intricate questions is given with much deference, and I shall willingly yield to the sounder judgment of the scientific reader.

The aggressions of the Egyptian monarch in Judæa do not appear to have been repeated; and the Jewish Chronicles show that previous to the battle with Zerah, king of Ethiopia*, the land of

* This indefinite name Ethiopia, the country of burnt or black faces, always perplexes. Zerah could not have come from Ethiopia to

Judah was free from foreign invasion, "and had no war* in those years," which gave Asa an opportunity of repairing and building fortified towns, for the protection of his country. Nor do we find the successors of Sheshonk undertaking any important military expedition; and little remains on the monuments, relating to the other kings of the 22d and 23d Dynasties, except some tablets and religious subjects in the temple of Karnak.

24th Dynasty of 1 *Saïte.*

Name from Ancient Authors	Name from the Monuments.	Ascended the Throne.
		B. C.
Bocchoris (the Wise) son of Tnephachthus	Pehor, Bakhor, or Amun-se-Pehor	812

The 25th Dynasty consisted of an Ethiopian Family.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Sabaco, So of SS.	Sabakoph	Rome founded 753 B. C.	773
Sebechon, Sevechus	Shebek	Captivity of the ten tribes, 721	723
Teraces, Tearchus, Tearcon of Strabo, Tirhakah of SS.	Tehrak	Sennacherib attacks Judah	710 to 689

Bocchoris and his father Tnephachthus have been already mentioned; and if we are unable to decide whether this last should be introduced into the 23d or 24th Dynasties, the same difficulty exists in the position of Asychis and Anysis.

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the south of the Cataracts while Sheshonk or Osorkon ruled Egypt. In the Arabic version he is styled King of India, and his name in the Septuagint is written Zare. In 2 Chron. xvi. 8. mention is made of the Ethiopians with the Lubims (Lybians). The oval supposed by Mr. Salt of Zerah is of a much more ancient king.

2 Chron. xiv. 1. 6, 7.

The reign of Sabaco has also been noticed; and Herodotus, as we have seen, supposes Anysis to have been restored to the throne after the secession of the invader, and to have been succeeded by Sethos (Se-pthah), a priest of Pthah or Vulcan, who was cotemporary with Sennacherib and Tirhakah. Manetho, on the contrary, states that Sabaco usurped the throne of Bocchoris, and Diodorus introduces other monarchs between this last and the Ethiopian. That he was not the Sabaco who put Neco to death is evident, from a comparison of the eras of Psamaticus and the Ethiopian monarch; nor could the flight of Psamaticus have taken place during his reign; and, unless we suppose the son of Neco to have lived to the age of more than 120 years, he could not have fled even from the second of that name, or Shebek, the predecessor of Tirhakah.

Sabaco is generally supposed to be the So * of Scripture, who made a treaty with Hosea king of Israel †; an event which led to the taking of Samaria, and to the captivity of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and this I believe to have happened a few years before the close of his reign. Of Shebek, or Sabaco II., the name occurs only on the monuments of Thebes, and in the catalogue of Manetho. By some he has been considered the Sethos of Herodotus; but this name, which is properly Se-pthah (or the "Son of Pthah"), bears so strong a stamp of Memphitic origin that

* So, Soa, or Sua; the Σηγωρ of the Septuagint.
† 2 Kings, xvii. 4.

we cannot feel disposed to assign it to the Ethiopian monarch.

With Tirhakah we are acquainted, both from sacred and profane records; and his successful opposition to the power of Assyria is noticed in the Bible*, may be traced in Herodotus †, and is recorded on the walls of a Theban temple.‡ It is possible that in the early part of his reign Sethos shared the kingdom with him, and ruled in Lower Egypt, while the Ethiopian monarch possessed the dominion of the upper country; and this would account for the absence of the name of Sethos on the monuments of Thebes. Whether Tirhakah and Sabaco's claims to the throne of Egypt were derived from any right acquired by intermarriage with the royal family of that country, and whether their dominion was at first confined to the Thebaid, it is difficult to determine; but the respect paid by their Egyptian successors to the monuments § they erected argues the probability of their having succeeded to the throne by right, rather than by usurpation, or the force of arms.

During the reign of Tirhakah, Sennacherib king of Assyria threatened an incursion into Lower Egypt; and owing to the disaffection of the troops

* 2 Kings, xix. 9. "And when he (Sennacherib) heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, behold he is come out to fight against thee." Isaiah, xxxvii. 9. El Berkel (formerly Napata) was his Ethiopian capital, where his name and monuments are found.

† Herod. ii. 141.

‡ At Medéenet Háboo are the figure and name of this king, and the captives he took.

§ Sabaco's name is found at Abydus.

of Sethos, Memphis and all that part of the country was in danger of falling a prey to the invader. Sethos, who had been a priest of Pthah, was more solicitous, even after his elevation to the throne, for the observance of religious ceremonies than the welfare of the state; and induced by fanaticism to consider the services of the soldier unnecessary for the security of a country entrusted to the protection of the gods, "he treated that class with extreme contempt, and, among other indignities deprived them of their *aruræ*, or fields, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had allowed to each soldier. They, therefore, refused to march against the Assyrians; and in this dilemma the priest-king retired to the shrine of the god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes. He there sunk into a profound sleep; and the deity, appearing to him in a dream, promised that if he marched to meet the enemy he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. Inspired with confidence from this vision, he put himself at the head of his adherents, and advanced to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt, unaccompanied by a single soldier, his army being entirely composed of tradesmen and artisans."* Nor was it long before this assistance arrived. Tirhakah, having heard of the approach of Sennacherib, marched with a numerous army from the Thebaid, and entering Palestine, defeated the Assyrians; thus delivering Lower Egypt as well as Judæa from the arms of this powerful

* Herodot. ii. 141. It might be supposed that the sections 164—168. of the same book were intended to have been introduced here.

invader. But the ingratitude, perhaps the jealousy of the Memphites, disguised the truth from the Greek historian, and the miraculous interposition of Pthah was affirmed to have been the cause of Sennacherib's defeat. Concealing the assistance received from the army of Tirhakah, the priests assured Herodotus, that when the Assyrians or Arabians and the feeble party commanded by Sethos were encamped opposite each other, a prodigious number of rats infested the enemy's camp by night, and gnawed in pieces their quivers and bows, as well as the handles of their shields; so that in the morning, finding themselves without arms, they fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. And in order to commemorate the event, a marble statue of Sethos was erected in the temple of Pthah at Memphis, representing the king holding a rat in his hand, with this inscription — "Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods."

"From Menes to this prince," adds the historian, "was a period of 341 generations, in which there had been as many high-priests, and the same number of kings. And as three generations are equal to 100 years, the total of these may be estimated at 11,340 years." Such are the extravagant dates given by ancient writers.

That Tirhakah ruled at Napata and in the Thebaid at the same period, is sufficiently proved by the additions he made to the temples of Thebes, and by the monuments he built in Ethiopia; nor did the Egyptians efface his records, or forget the

gratitude they owed to the defender of their country. The name of Nectanebo has indeed usurped the place of Tirhakah's ovals in one or two instances among the sculptures at Thebes; but such substitutions are not uncommon, and the name of the Ethiopian has not been erased from any ill-will, so often evinced when an obnoxious monarch had ceased to reign. That he was a very potent prince, is evident from his defeat of the numerous army of Sennacherib *, as well as from the monuments he has left both in Egypt and Ethiopia, and his maintenance of the Egyptian possessions in Asia; and however Strabo may have exaggerated his power when he affirms that he extended his conquests, like Sesostris, into Europe, even as far as the Pillars of Hercules, yet his authority is of use, as it leads to the conclusion that Tirhakah, or, as he calls him, Tearcon †, ruled Lower as well as Upper Egypt, to which he, perhaps, succeeded on the death of the priest-king Sethos.

According to Herodotus, twelve kings, or rather monarchs ‡, succeeded to the dominion of all Egypt; but it is probable they did not assume the title of Pharaoh, being only governors of the twelve provinces or nomes into which the country was divided. On this occasion the historian sarcastically observes, that "as the Egyptians were not capable of existing a single instant without a king, they elected twelve," each enjoying equal

* In the Syriac and Arabic versions he is called Sanherib.
† Strabo, lib. xv.
‡ Herodotus, ii. 147.

rank and authority. "They connected themselves by intermarriages, solemnly promising to promote their common interests, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy: their principal motive in this union being to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had predicted that whoever among them should offer a libation in the temple of Vulcan from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt." For many years they continued the management of affairs in perfect amity and mutual confidence, and no administration was more eminent for justice and impartiality. An accident at length occurred to interrupt their friendship. "On a certain occasion they were called upon to offer sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan; and when the last day of the festival came, they prepared to make the accustomed libation. For this purpose the chief priest presented the golden cups used on those solemnities; but having mistaken the number, he brought only eleven. Psammitichus*, who was the last, not having a cup, took off his helmet, which was of brass, and poured from it the libation. The other princes had similar helmets, and wore them on the present occasion; so that the circumstance of this one king using his was accidental and unpremeditated; but when they observed what Psammitichus had done, and remembered the prediction of the oracle, they examined him, suspecting he had acted designedly. Finding, however, that

* This is Herodotus's mode of writing the name of Psamatik, or Psamaticus.

it was purely accidental, they did not think him worthy of death, but were satisfied with depriving him of his regal power; and, confining him to the low lands of Egypt, they forbade him to leave that district, or to hold any communication with the rest of the country."

Things continued in this state for some time; the eleven kings having taken the whole direction of affairs, and the dethroned prince still remaining in exile. Psamaticus, however, could not passively submit to this uncalled-for treatment; and feeling the strongest resentment for the injury, he determined to be revenged upon his oppressors. With this view he sent to consult the oracle of Latona at Butos, which had among the Egyptians the highest character for veracity, and received for answer that the sea should avenge his cause by producing brazen men. He was little inclined to believe that such an event could ever occur; but some time afterwards a body of Ionians and Carians, who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by stress of weather to touch at Egypt, and landed there, clad in brazen armour. Some Egyptians, alarmed at their appearance, hastened to carry the news to Psamaticus; and as they had never before seen persons so armed, they described them as brazen men*, who had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplish-

* The surprise of the Egyptians on seeing men clad in bronze or brass armour would seem to imply that they used *iron* for the same purpose. But can we trust this statement of Herodotus? Psamaticus's helmet was also of *bronze*, according to the same author

ment of the oracular prediction; and having entered into an alliance with the strangers, and engaged them by splendid promises to unite with his Egyptian adherents, he vanquished the eleven kings, and made himself master of the whole country.

Previous to this event, the twelve kings are said by Herodotus to have erected the famous labyrinth in the nome of Crocodilopolis, afterwards called Arsinoe; but since the prior claims of Mœris *, as the builder of that monument, appear to be fully established, we can only suppose that Psamaticus and his coadjutors completed a work commenced many ages previously by one of their early predecessors.

"In acknowledgment," continues the historian, "of the assistance he had received from the Ionian and Carian strangers, Psammitichus conferred upon them certain lands, termed the *camp*, which were situated opposite each other, on either bank of the river; and having fulfilled all his engagements with them, he entrusted to their care some Egyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language; and from those the present interpreters of Egypt are said to be descended. The district they inhabited was near the sea coast, a short distance below Bubastis, on the Pelusian branch of the Nile, and the same Greek settlers continued in possession of it for a considerable period; till Amasis, wishing to avail himself of their services against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis. They were the

* *Vide* p. 92.

first foreigners whom the Egyptians received among them;" and Herodotus* affirms that, even in his time, "the places they formerly occupied, the docks of their ships, and the vestiges of their houses, might still be seen." Such is his account of the temporary reign of the twelve kings, and of the accession of Psamaticus to the throne.

According to Diodorus†, the anarchy which prevailed in Egypt, during two whole years, after the rule of the Ethiopian princes, and the commotions excited by popular phrensy, suggested to the chief men of the country the expediency of assuming the reins of government, and restoring order to the state. With this view, twelve of the most influential persons were chosen to preside with regal power. Each had a peculiar province allotted to him, in which his authority was paramount; and though independent of one another, they bound themselves by oaths of mutual concord and fidelity.

During fifteen years their relations were maintained with the greatest harmony; but as Psamaticus, whose sway extended to the Mediterranean, had availed himself of the opportunities offered by the seaports within his province of establishing commercial intercourse with the Phœnicians and Greeks, and had amassed considerable wealth by these means, his colleagues, jealous of his increasing power, and fearing lest he should eventually employ it against them, resolved to prevent his supposed designs, and to dispossess him of his province.

* Herodot. ii. 154. † Diod. i. 66.

They therefore prepared to attack him, and by this step obliged Psamaticus to adopt measures which his ambition might not have contemplated. Apprised of their resolutions, and finding himself threatened by the formidable army of all the upper provinces, he sent to Arabia, Caria, and Ionia, and, having succeeded in raising a considerable body of mercenaries, he was soon in a fit state to oppose them; and, putting himself at the head of these and his native troops, he gave them battle at Momemphis, routed their combined forces, and obliging those of the princes who had escaped the slaughter to fly to Libya, became possessed of an undivided throne. This account is more consistent with reason than that of Herodotus, which Diodorus afterwards notices, and which he had the good judgment not to adopt. The fortuitous arrival of any great number of Greeks is in itself improbable; but the necessity of believing that a party of pirates, driven upon the coast by adverse winds, paralysed a country so powerful and well garrisoned as Egypt then was, and uniting with the few adherents of the exiled Psamaticus, overcame the combined forces of the eleven kings, is alarming even to the credulous.

No mention is made of the accession and dethronement of the twelve kings in the catalogue of Manetho; and some might feel inclined to doubt the veracity of the two historians, did not some traces of these events appear in the sculptures.

The titles "Pharaoh," "Souten," "king of men," and "lord of the upper and lower country," were applied to those sovereigns who had the sole direc-

tion of affairs while Egypt was an independent state: the term "Melek" denoted an inferior grade of "king," or was reserved for those who governed as tributaries or viceroys of a more powerful prince, of which Egypt afforded some examples after the Persian conquest. To the twelve kings, each possessing a limited share in the sovereignty of Egypt, the honours conferred on the sole monarchs of the country was necessarily refused, and Melek was deemed a title of sufficient consequence to precede their names: and while this accounts for Psamaticus being designated in some instances "Melek," and in others "king of the upper and lower country," we have the satisfaction of finding history confirmed by the sculptures. Psamaticus then, and his eleven coadjutors, had, during the period of their joint reign, the title of *Melek;* and all monuments on which his name, with this prefix, is met with, may be ascribed to that epoch.

Psamaticus was son of that Neco who is said by Herodotus to have been put to death by Sabaco*, and perhaps the same who occurs as the third king in the 26th Dynasty of Manetho: but there is no reason to suppose him one of the twelve kings; and if he really enjoyed the sovereign power, and ruled the whole of Upper and Lower Egypt, it is probable that his reign preceded the accession of those princes.

* *Vide suprà.*

26th Dynasty of Saïte Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Sculptures.	Observations.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Stephinathis Nechepsus Nechao I.	- - -	The Twelve Kings.	
Psammitichus Psamaticus	Psamatik I. -	Josiah defeated and slain, 610 B.C.	664
Nechao II. -	Neco -	Neco's defeat by Nebuchadnezzar, 606. A stela in the museum of Florence gives 71 years from the 3d of Neco to the 35th of Amasis.	610
Psammitichus Psammutis, or Psammis -	Psamatik II.	Captivity of Jehoiakim, 599 B.C.	600
Vaphres, or Apries	Psamatik III.	Pharaoh Hophra of S.S.; probably not the same as Psamatik III.	596
Amasis, or Amosis	Ames-Neit-se	Babylon taken by Cyrus, 538. Date of his 44th year, on the monuments.	571
Psammicherites, or Psammenitus -	- - -	- - -	525

Psamaticus had no sooner become sole master of Egypt than he turned his attention to the internal administration of the country, and the suppression of party feeling consequent upon the late events. With this view he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the priesthood and the people, by erecting many splendid monuments, and beautifying the sacred edifices in the principal cities of Upper and Lower Egypt. At Thebes he made considerable additions to the great temple of Amun, now called Karnak; and at Memphis the southern vestibule of the temple of Pthah was erected by him, and opposite to it a magnificent edifice for Apis, where

he was kept when publicly exhibited. The walls were richly decorated with sculpture, and its roof was supported by colossal figures twelve cubits in height, which served the purpose of columns, and represented the king himself in the character of Osiris, whose emblems he bore in either hand; and in order to give the reader some idea of this building, I have introduced a view of the interior, restored according to the style and proportions of similar courts in the temples of Thebes.

In the meantime, a strong feeling of jealousy was excited among the troops, in consequence of the marked favour shown by the king to the foreign auxiliaries; and though they submitted patiently for many years, at length their secret discontent was openly manifested. That Psamaticus should have been indebted for the possession of his crown to the aid and interposition of strangers, who, viewed through the unfavourable medium of strong prejudice, appeared an inferior and impure race, was in the highest degree humiliating to the Egyptian army, however disposed they might have been to acknowledge his claims and the injustice of his previous exile; and more tact was required to soothe the ruffled feelings of the soldier than of the people or the priests. The precautions necessary under these circumstances were altogether neglected by the king, who either failed to observe their growing disaffection, or totally disregarded it, "discovering on all occasions a preference of the foreigners, to the disparagement of his native troops*:" and he

* Diodorus, lib. i. lxvii.

was not only guilty of injustice towards many of them, by prolonging their usual time of garrison duty*, in the frontier towns of Marea, Daphne of Pelusium, and Elephantine, where they continued three years without being relieved, but he even deprived them of the post of honour in the Syrian war, and assigned the right wing to the Greek troops, and the left to the Egyptians.† Upon this, their indignation knew no bounds; and, quitting the camp, they, joined by other regiments which had remained in Egypt, abandoned the service of Psamaticus, and, to the number of 240,000, retired into Ethiopia. As soon as the king received intelligence of it, he endeavoured to dissuade them from their project; and having followed them himself as far as Elephantine‡, he sent forward the Greek auxiliaries, and some of his most faithful Egyptian adherents, with instructions, if possible, to prevail on them to return. It was not till after they had passed Aboccis § in Ethiopia, that these emissaries of the Egyptian monarch overtook them; and using every kind of of remonstrance and entreaty, they solemnly conjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and families: but all without effect; and one of them tauntingly observed, that, where-

* Herodot. ii. 30. † Diod. i. 67.

‡ Diodorus says he first sent to them, and then followed by water to the confines of Egypt. The inscription at Aboosimbel, written by the Greeks who accompanied him, confirms this, stating positively that "King Psamaticus went as far as Elephantine:"—"ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΑΝ ΨΑΜΑΤΙΧΟ."

§ Aboccis I suppose to have stood near Aboosimbel. They must have gone beyond this place before they overtook them.

ever they went, provided they had their arms, and proved themselves to be men, they could always obtain both wives and children.

Continuing their march into Upper Ethiopia, "they entered the service of the monarch of that country, and in return received a considerable extent of territory upon the confines, from which the Ethiopian prince ordered them to expel a tribe of people at that time in rebellion against him: and this migration of the Egyptian troops introducing the arts and manners of a refined nation, had a very sensible effect in civilising the Ethiopians." *

The exact position of the country they occupied is unknown. Herodotus places it on the Nile, at about the same distance beyond Meroe as this last is from Elephantine, or fifty days' journey†; and adds, that these Automoli (deserters) "are known by the name of Asmach, which being translated signifies 'standing on the left hand' of the king." Strabo‡ states that "they settled near Meroe, which was afterwards governed by their queen;" and calls them "Sebritæ, a name implying strangers:" but Pliny §, on the authority of Aristocreon, reckons "seventeen days from Meroe to Esar, a city‖ of the Egyptians who fled from Psammaticus, and who are reported to have lived there 300 years."

A singular connection may be observed between the names given by different writers to this people

* Herodot. ii. 30.
† This distance is unreasonable.
‡ Strabo, 16.
§ Plin. vi. 30.
‖ Strabo calls their country Tenesis.

and their country. "Esar," says Pliny, "is called by Bion Sapen, and is supposed to mean strangers;" and the neighbouring Symbari, Semberitæ, Sambri, and Sembolitis, cannot fail to recall the Sebrites of Strabo, or the great similarity of the words shemmo, "a stranger," and beri, "new," in the ancient Egyptian language. It is not less remarkable that Esar is the pure Arabic word signifying 'the left hand,' synonymous with shemal; and this last is plainly pointed out in the ασμαχ of Herodotus, where the letter χ has been accidentally changed for the λ it so much resembles. It is highly improbable that 240,000 men could have had any duty "on the left hand of the king;" a post, moreover, reserved for the sons of the monarch, or the chief persons of the country; and we may rather conclude this name to have been assumed in commemoration of the affront offered them by Psamaticus, and the cause of their desertion; or to have been given these strangers* in consequence of their coming from the left, or north, which was considered the left† of the world, and is still so called (*Shemál*) by the Arabs of the present day.

The reign of Psamaticus continued fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he employed in the siege and capture of a large town of Syria called Azotus‡; and since Diodorus tells us that the

* They had, perhaps, the two names —"strangers," and "people from the left."

† The east was the front, the west the back, of the world. Plutarch supposes the north to be the right side of the world. De Isid. s. 32.

‡ Now Ezdod, or Eshdóod. Azotus (Ashdod) was on the coast between Gaza and Joppa.

defection of his troops happened during the Syrian war, it is probable that the taking of Azotus preceded that event.

It was in his reign, and by his order, that an idle experiment, since repeated in later times, was made to discover the language of nature, or at least to ascertain the oldest nation, and the oldest tongue. The account is thus given by Herodotus.* "Before the reign of Psammitichus, the Egyptians considered themselves the most ancient of men; but this prince having taken considerable pains to investigate the truth of the matter, the result was, that they reckoned the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Psammitichus himself suggested the following method of solving the question. A shepherd was ordered to take two children just born, of humble parentage, and to pay particular attention to their early habits, and the mode of bringing them up. He was strictly enjoined never to speak in their presence, to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to allow them to suck the milk of goats, whilst he was attending to other employments. By this means the king expected to ascertain what word they would of their own accord first articulate. The experiment succeeded to his wish: the shepherd complied with every particular of his instructions; and at the end of two years, on paying his usual morning visit, and opening the door of their apartment, both the children

* Herod. ii. 2.

extended their arms towards him, in an attitude of supplication, and pronounced the word 'becos.'* It did not at first excite his attention; but, on their repeating the same expression whenever he appeared, he thought it right to mention the circumstance to his master, who ordered the children to be brought before him. When Psammitichus heard them repeat the same word, he sought to discover among what people it was used, and found it was the Phrygian name for bread; and on this account the Egyptians, after they had seriously considered the matter, were led to the conclusion that the Phrygians were of greater antiquity than themselves. That this experiment was really made, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan; but the Greeks, in order to embellish the story, relate that Psammitichus caused the children to be nursed by women whose tongues had been previously cut out."

During the whole of his reign, Psamaticus maintained a direct intercourse with the Greeks, and established commercial relations with them as well as the Phœnicians†; and so much encouragement was given to foreigners that many settled in Lower Egypt; and by means of the constant communication between Europe and Egypt, the Greeks became acquainted with a country whose history and internal administration had been previously unknown to them. And the liberal policy of this

* Or Bec; the *os* being a Greek termination. M. Larcher ingeniously supposes it to have been in imitation of the cry of the goats.

† Diodor. i. 56.

monarch continued to be followed at a subsequent period, particularly by Amasis, who reigned before, and by Nectanebo who lived after, the Persian invasion.

In the reign of Psamaticus, the Scythians* having subjugated the whole of Asia, advanced towards Egypt with the intention of invading that country. They had expelled the Cimmerians from Europe; and led by their valiant king Madyas, they over-ran the provinces to the left of Mount Caucasus on their way from the Palus Mæotis, and defeated Cyaxares, the Median monarch, who was besieging Ninus (Nineveh), the capital of Assyria. They then penetrated into Syria; and Psamaticus, alarmed at their approach, went forward to meet them, and partly by presents, and partly by entreaty, prevailed upon them to desist from their project; thus saving Egypt from the aggressions of a dangerous foe.

Psamaticus was succeeded by his son Neco II., whose wars and successes in Syria are recorded by sacred as well as profane writers. Studious of military renown and the promotion of commerce, he had no sooner ascended the throne than he applied himself to the re-organisation of the army and the equipment of a powerful fleet; and, recollecting the imprudent conduct of his father, he avoided all innovations which might tend to alienate the good will of his people, or sow the seeds of discord among his troops; and while he courted the friendship of the Greeks, and appreciated the important

* Herodot. i. 104, 105.

services he received from auxiliaries of that nation, he laid aside every appearance of partiality, treating them with proper consideration, and giving them a post next to the Egyptian troops, as his wise predecessors had done to their allies in the wars of Asia.

In the Mediterranean* he fitted out a fleet of triremes, and another in the Red Sea; and having engaged some expert Phœnician pilots and mariners, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Africa. "They were ordered to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the Pillars of Hercules (now the Straits of Gibraltar) into the North Sea, and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the Gulf, they passed into the Southern Ocean; and when autumn arrived they laid up their ships, and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest time; and, having reaped the corn†, they continued their voyage. In this manner they occupied two years; and the third having brought them by the Pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related (what to me appears incredible, however others may be disposed to believe it), that they had the sun on their right hand; and by these means was the form of Africa first known." The historian‡ then relates, on the authority of the Carthaginians, a second attempt to circumnavigate that continent, under Sataspes, the

* Herodotus calls it the North Sea. The Arabs now style it the White Sea.

† It may appear singular that they should carry grain for this purpose; but the same was done by Timûr in his march to China, who had with his army waggons laden with seed corn.

‡ Herod. iv. 42, 43.

son of Teaspes, a Persian, who, being alarmed at the length of the voyage and the dreary solitude of those regions, returned without accomplishing his task. He had been condemned to the cross by Xerxes for offering violence to the daughter of Zopyrus, the son of Megabyzus; but his mother, the sister of Darius, obtained his pardon on condition of his going round Africa. He therefore repaired to Egypt; and having there engaged a ship and crew, he sailed to the Pillars of Hercules, entered the ocean, and passed the promontory of Soloeis on the coast of Africa.* He thence continued southwards; but, after spending several months at sea, he returned to Egypt, and endeavoured to exculpate himself to the king, saying he found it impossible to proceed. Xerxes, however, rejected this excuse, and inflicted upon him the punishment to which he had been previously condemned.

That similar expeditions round Africa were performed by other people is testified by ancient authors; and that of the Carthaginians under Hanno was described in Punic by the commander himself, and afterwards translated into Greek. Pliny states† that "Hanno, a Carthaginian, circumnavigated the continent of Africa, from Gades to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, and wrote all the details of his voyage, which was undertaken at the period when Carthage was most flourishing;" and

* The promontory of Soloeis, or Soloentia, called also the Libyan headland; and supposed by some to be the Cape Cantin of modern Africa, at the western extremity of Mount Atlas.

† Plin. lib. ii. 67., and lib. v. 1.; and Arrian's Rerum Indic. ad fin.

"founded several towns on the coast," none of which remained in the reign of Vespasian. He also mentions a certain Eudoxus, a cotemporary of Cornelius Nepos and of Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who went round Africa from the Arabian Gulf to Gades: and others before him were reported to have performed the same journey for the purposes of commerce.†

The voyage of Hanno happened some time after that undertaken by order of Neco; the honour, therefore, of being the first to equip an expedition for the purpose of making this discovery belongs to the Egyptian monarch, who thereby ascertained the peninsular form of Africa, about twenty-one centuries before the Cape of Good Hope was seen by Diaz‡, or doubled by Vasco de Gama.

In mentioning the expedition sent by Neco, Herodotus makes one remark which is singular, from its confirming the truth of the statements detailed to him by the Egyptians: for it is evident they could not have passed the Cape of Good Hope without observing the phenomenon he mentions; and the assertion that the sun (when rising) was on their right hand, though so improbable to Herodotus, is highly satisfactory to his modern

* Pliny says he fled from that king, "cum Lathurum regem fugeret;" but forcibly sent by him is more probable. Plin. ii. 67.

† Plin. loc. cit. lib. ii.

‡ Bartholemew Diaz discovered it in 1487, in the reign of John II., King of Portugal, but did not land. He named it Capo Tormentoso, from the storms he experienced there; but the king afterwards changed its name to Cape of Good Hope; and Emanuel, his successor, sent Vasco de Gama, in 1497, with orders to double it and proceed to India.

readers, who are indebted to him for thus expressing his doubts, and the proofs of a fact which might otherwise have been called in question.

Previous to projecting this voyage of discovery, Neco had commenced re-opening the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which had been cut many years before by Sesostris, or Remeses the Great. The work, however, if we may believe Herodotus, was abandoned; an oracle warning the Egyptian monarch that he was labouring for the barbarian.* This may be true; but we cannot attach any credit to the statement that 120,000 Egyptians perished before he desisted from the undertaking; or, that he was the first who commenced the canal†; and not only do Pliny‡, Strabo §, and Aristotle attribute it to Sesostris, but the monuments which remain in the towns upon its banks afford a satisfactory testimony of the accuracy of those writers ‖, and of the erroneous information of Herodotus and Diodorus.

Neco also turned his attention to the Egyptian conquests in Asia; and fearing lest the growing power of the Babylonians should endanger the territories acquired by the arms of his victorious predecessors, he determined to check their pro-

* The same may be applied to the projected communication by the Euphrates.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 70. Herodotus and Diodorus mention Neco as the projector of the canal.

‡ Plin. vi. 33. "Navigabilem alveum perducere in Nilum . . . primus omnium Sesostris . . . cogitavit, mox Darius . . . deinde Ptolemæus sequens."

§ Strabo (17.) says, "The canal was commenced by Sesostris, before the Trojan war. Some suppose by Psammitichus, the son, who only began the work, and died. It was afterwards finished by Darius."

‖ Assuming him to be Remeses II.

gress, and to attack the enemy on his own frontier. With this view he collected a powerful army, and entering Palestine, followed the route along the sea-coast of Judæa, previously taken by the Egyptians under various kings, who had penetrated into Asia, intending to besiege the town of Carchemish* on the Euphrates.† But Josiah, king of Judah, offended at the passage of the Egyptian army through his territories, resolved to impede, if he was unable to prevent, their march. Neco‡ learning the approach of the Jewish monarch, and apprised of his intentions, sent messengers to engage him to desist from his uncalled-for interference, assuring him he had no hostile intentions against Judæa, but against an enemy with whom he was at war; that his expedition was undertaken by the sanction, and at the express command of God; and warning Josiah lest his imprudence should be fatal to him.§ This conciliatory message was of no avail; and Josiah having posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, prepared to oppose the Egyptians.

Megiddo was a city in the tribe of Manasseh, between forty and fifty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and within three hours of the coast, and is called by Herodotus Magdolus. In this valley the

* Called Manbeg منبج in the Arabic, and Mabog in the Syriac versions.

† 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. "Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish, by Euphrates."

‡ In the Targum, or Chaldee Paraph; and the Syriac and Arabic versions, Neco is called "the lame Pharaoh."

§ 2 Chron. xxx. 21. "But he (Necho) sent ambassadors to him, saying, what have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste. Forbear then from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not."

feeble forces of the Jewish king attacked the Egyptians; but they were routed with great slaughter, and Josiah being wounded in the neck with an arrow*, ordered his attendants to take him from the field. Escaping from the heavy showers of arrows with which their broken ranks were overwhelmed, they removed him from the chariot in which he had been wounded, and placing him in "a second one that he had," they conveyed him to Jerusalem, where he died.†

Intent upon his original project, Neco did not stop to revenge himself upon the Jews for the affront they had offered him; but continued his march to the Euphrates. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when, returning victorious from the capture of Carchemish and the defeat of the Babylonians, he learned that, though Josiah had left an elder son, Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king on the death of his father, without intimating his intention, or soliciting him to sanction his election; and, considering this neglect as a token of hostile feeling, he was highly incensed, and resolved on punishing his insolence. With this view he ordered Jehoahaz to meet him "at Riblah‡

* On the authority of the Arabic version; which also says he was killed at Megiddo, being wounded by Pharaoh with two arrows.

† 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. *et seq.* "Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah: and the king said to his servants, Have me away, for I am sore wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had: and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died."

‡ The Syriac and Arabic versions have Deblath. The Hebrew *d* and *r* are easily mistaken.

in the land of Hamath * ;" and having deposed him, and condemned the land to pay a tribute of 100 talents of silver †, and a talent of gold ‡, he carried him a prisoner to Jerusalem. On arriving there, Neco made Eliakim, the eldest son of Josiah, king, in the room of his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim ; and, taking the silver and gold which had been levied upon the Jewish people, returned to Egypt, with the captive Jehoahaz, who there terminated his short and unfortunate career.

The victories and triumphant return of Osirei, the Remeses, and many Egyptian monarchs, are represented on the walls of the Theban temples, or in other parts of Egypt and Nubia ; and the conquerors are seen to present their prisoners to the deity, to whose special favour they supposed themselves indebted for the success of their arms. We might, therefore, reasonably expect to find some indication of the victory, gained over the Babylonians and Jews, especially as the name of Neco occurs among the hieroglyphics in the great hall of Karnak : but this is the sole record of him at Thebes, and merely tends to show that he ruled both the upper and lower country. And though his ovals occur on vases, and some small objects of art, no sculptures record his victories, or the glories of his reign ; and a subject of such great interest as

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 33. Now Hamah.

† Reckoning the Hebrew silver talent at 353*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.*, this sum is 35,359*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

‡ 5075*l.* 15*s.* 7½*d.* The total being 40,435*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.*

the defeat of the Jewish king is in vain looked for on the monuments of Egypt.

The success of Neco, in his conflict with Josiah at Megiddo, and the taking of Jerusalem, are noticed by profane as well as by sacred writers. Herodotus*, who includes the Jews under the general name of Syrians, says, that he routed them at Magdolus, and afterwards took Cadytis, a large city of Syria, in Palestine, which, he adds, in his opinion, "is very little less than Sardis."† And that by Cadytis he means Jerusalem is evident, from the ancient Jewish as well as the modern Hebrew and Arabic name of that city; Kadúsha‡, "the holy," being an epithet applied by the Hebrews to Jerusalem, as el Qods or Cots is the name by which it is known to the Arabs at the present day. This title it received after the building of the Temple by Solomon.

Pleased with his successes, the Egyptian monarch dedicated the dress he wore in the campaign to the deity who was supposed to have given him the victory, whom Herodotus, with the prejudices natural to a Greek, believed to be the Apollo of Miletus.§ But Neco did not long enjoy the advantages he had obtained; and in the fourth year

* Herod. ii. 159. † Herod. iii. 5.

‡ The *sh* is easily converted into *th*, even in Eastern dialects, and still more readily is *t* substituted for *sh* by the Greeks, who had not the sound of the Hebrew and Arabic *sh*. El Qods also signifies "the holy."

§ "The vest he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ," ii. 159. Nothing can be more improbable, considering the contempt in which the Greeks and their religious notions were held by the Egyptians, than that Neco should have preferred a Greek deity to the whole Pantheon of his own gods.

after that expedition, alarmed at the increasing power of the Babylonians, and desirous to check their incursions into those provinces which had long been tributary to Egypt, and had cost his predecessors much trouble to subdue, he again marched into Syria, and advanced to the Euphrates. The Babylonians were prepared for his approach: Nebuchadnezzar opposed him with a powerful army, completely routed the Egyptians, recovered the town of Carchemish, and, pushing his conquests through Palestine, took from the Egyptian monarch all the territory belonging to the Pharaohs, from the Euphrates to the southern extremity of Syria.* Nor was it in the power of Neco to recover the provinces thus wrested from him; and he was obliged patiently to submit to these losses, and to content himself with the defence of his own frontier.†

Jerusalem now became subject to the victorious Babylonian; and some time after, being displeased with the Jewish king, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the sacred vessels from the temple, and led many noble youths, with Jehoiakim himself, prisoners to Babylon. The calamities of the Jews did not terminate here. The ensuing year Nebuchadnezzar ‡

* 2 Kings, xxiv. 7. "And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt."

† This defeat of Neco "happened in the fourth year of Jehoiakim," when "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, smote him by the river Euphrates in Carchemish." Jerem. xlvi. 2.

‡ Or Nabuchodonosor II., the son of Nabopolazzar, who had associated him in the kingdom. The Arabs call him Bokhtonúsr. The commencement of the name is the title "*Lord*," which is found in the

sent for Jehoiachin, the son of the deposed monarch, who, though only eight years of age*, had been chosen to succeed him, and appointed Zedekiah, "his father's brother," king in his stead. Ten thousand captives, among whom were the principal people of Jerusalem, 7000 fighting men, and 1000 smiths and artificers, with the treasures of the temple and the palace, were carried to Babylon; and Zedekiah became a vassal of the Chaldean monarch.

A short time previous to the captivity of Jehoiakim Neco died, and was succeeded by Psamaticus II., whom Herodotus calls Psammis. Little worthy of remark took place during his reign, except an expedition into Ethiopia, and the arrival of an embassy from the Elæans.† "These people boasted that the regulations of the Olympic games were the most just and unobjectionable that had ever been instituted; and that even the Egyptians, who were considered the wisest of men, could not invent any of a more perfect kind. On their arrival in Egypt they explained the object of their mission; the king, therefore, convoked an assembly of men reputed for their wisdom and experience, before whom the Elæans stated the rules of their games, inquiring at the same time if they could suggest any improvements. After some consultation, the Egyptians asked whether any of their fellow-citizens

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ancient Egyptian Nêb, the Indian Neeb, Nowab, and the Arab Náïb. Nusr implies "victory."

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9., differing from the account in 2 Kings, xxiv. 8.

† Herod. ii. 160. Diodorus (i. 95.) says they sent to Amasis.

were permitted to contend at the games; and upon being informed that every one, either of their own or any other Greek state, was at liberty to enter the lists, they decided that such regulations were directly at variance with every notion of justice; since it was impossible for them not to favour their fellow-citizens, to the prejudice of a candidate from another place.

"And they concluded by saying, 'If you are really anxious for impartiality, and have come to Egypt to learn our opinion, we recommend you to exclude the Elæans, and to confine the games to foreign competitors.'"

Psamaticus II. was succeeded by the third of that name; but whether he was the same as Apries remains uncertain. Of Apries, or Vaphres, we have some account in Herodotus and Diodorus, and he is styled in the Bible history Pharaoh Hophra.* His contemporary in Judæa was Zedekiah, who had been made king by Nebuchadnezzar, and who, thinking that a favourable opportunity now presented itself for throwing off the Babylonian yoke, made a treaty with the king of Egypt. But the war in which Apries was engaged with the Syrians, and afterwards with the Cyreneans, prevented his affording any great assistance to his ally; and though his "army" by entering Judæa, obliged "the Chaldeans" to raise the siege of Jerusalem†, and retire from their positions, the king of Babylon, having again advanced to that capital, succeeded

* Phrāh Hophrā, פרעה חפרע. In the Chaldee Paraph. הנירא.
† Jeremiah, xxxvii. 8. 11.

in taking it in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, rased it to the ground, and carried away the remainder of the people captives. And this momentary aid, and the inutility of placing reliance on the protection of Apries, led Ezekiel to compare the Egyptians to a broken reed*, which was to pierce the hand of him who leaned upon it.

Many other prophecies respecting the calamities consequent upon this treaty with Egypt, and the rebellion of the Jews against the Babylonians, are met with in the Bible; and Egypt itself was threatened by the arms of the victorious Nebuchadnezzar. But it is difficult to determine in what time and in what manner the last prophecy was accomplished, or to discover the extent of the calamities which happened to Egypt from the conquests of the Babylonians, though the scriptural account appears to fix those events to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. They may, however, refer to the reverses of Apries, and to the subsequent confusion which prevailed in Egypt after the rebellion of Amasis.

The commencement of the reign of Apries was prosperous, and he was considered "the most fortunate monarch who had hitherto ruled in Egypt†, next to his grandfather Psammitichus." He sent an expedition against the island of Cyprus; besieged and took Gaza‡ and the city of Sidon; engaged and vanquished the king of Tyre by sea; and, being uniformly successful, he made

* Ezek. xxix. 6, 7. † Herod. ii. 161.

‡ This is foretold by Jeremiah, xlvii. 1., "Before that Pharaoh took Gaza," or Azah; properly Ghazah, or Ghuzzeh, which is the modern name.

himself master of Phœnicia and Palestine, recovering much of the territory, and that influence in Syria which had been taken from Egypt by the victories of Nebuchadnezzar. He next sent an army against the Cyreneans of Libya; but here fortune deserted him: his troops were defeated, and, mortified by this severe and unexpected check, they attributed their disgrace to Apries himself, imagining that so disastrous a project could only have been devised by one who was desirous of their destruction. They felt persuaded that his views were to weaken the power of the military class, and thus to remove the only barrier to that ambition which aimed at nothing less than absolute dominion, and the subversion of the liberty of his subjects: and excited by these feelings, and meditating revenge for the sufferings and disgrace they had already endured, the recurrence of which could only be prevented by a timely declaration of their sentiments, they refused to acknowledge his authority; and being joined by the friends of those who had been slain, they openly raised the standard of revolt. The news of this event greatly surprised and exasperated the king; but deeming it more prudent to adopt mild and conciliatory measures, he sent Amasis, one of his ablest generals, with orders to use every endeavour to appease the tumult, and to persuade the mutineers to return to their duty.

Amasis, having arrived at the camp, addressed the soldiers in an appropriate speech; begging them to desist from their purpose, and to pay respect to

the royal authority, as they had previously done, and as was due to one who had their interest at heart. While he was speaking, an Egyptian, who stood behind him, placed a helmet on his head, proclaiming him king, and affirming, in the name of his comrades, that they were willing to acknowledge him as their master, and the ruler of Egypt. Though far from expecting such a proceeding, Amasis required little persuasion to accept the honour conferred upon him by so powerful a body; and being sensible that further attempts to recall their allegiance to Apries would be fruitless, and to sacrifice his own advantage would not benefit his sovereign, he acquiesced in the resolutions of those who had elected him as their chief, and put himself at their head.

Apries, on receiving intelligence of what had happened, despatched Patarbemis, one of the most eminent men of his court, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Having arrived at the camp, he told Amasis the purport of his mission, and the order of the king to appear before him. Amasis, who was seated on horseback, treated Patarbemis with indignity, and sent an insulting message to his master; adding, that he intended to go of his own accord, and hoped Apries would not take any trouble in looking for him, as he should soon present himself to his majesty with several companions. Patarbemis, fully comprehending his intention, from his manner of speaking, and seeing the preparations he was making, returned without loss of time to acquaint his sove-

reign with the state of affairs. No sooner had he arrived than Apries, finding he had failed to bring Amasis, without either inquiring the reason or listening to his statement, commanded his nose and ears to be cut off: an order which was immediately carried into execution. This barbarous and uncalled-for outrage, committed upon one so much esteemed by all classes, exasperated even those who had hitherto sided with Apries, and the greater part without hesitation deserted him, and went over to Amasis. Finding himself thus abandoned by the Egyptians, he collected the auxiliary troops who were about him, consisting of 30,000 Ionians and Carians, and prepared to oppose the enemy. The hostile armies met at Momemphis, Apries leading his small band of Greeks and the few Egyptians who had remained faithful to him, and Amasis at the head of the native troops. The foreigners fought bravely, but, greatly inferior in numbers, they were obliged at length to give way; and Apries, falling alive into the hands of the Egyptians, was carried prisoner to Saïs, where he was confined in the palace he had previously inhabited as king, which now belonged to his rival.

Amasis did not show himself unworthy of the success he had obtained, and the singular favour of fortune. He treated his royal prisoner with great kindness, and used all his influence to preserve his life, in opposition to the representations and wishes of the Egyptians; nor did he yield to their urgent request, till they accused him of treating them with injustice, by showing favour to one who

was their enemy. Unable, therefore, to oppose demands put forth under colour of a right, Amasis consented, with reluctance, to deliver up his captive to their resentment: and "having strangled the unfortunate Apries, they buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which was in the sacred inclosure of Minerva's temple, very near the principal edifice, on the left, entering. In this building all the princes of the Saïte house were interred, and among the number Amasis also; but his sepulchre is more remote from the principal building than those of Apries and his predecessors."

Such, according to Herodotus, was the tragical end of Apries; a monarch who, in the zenith of his glory, felt persuaded it was not in the power of a deity to dispossess him of the kingdom, or to shake the stability of his sway.* And this account of his arrogance satisfactorily accords with the Bible, where Ezekiel † speaks of the "king of Egypt" as "the great dragon that lieth in the midst of the rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself;" and his overthrow and subsequent captivity and death are foretold by Jeremiah, with remarkable precision, in the following words ‡:—"I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them that seek his life."

The slight acquaintance we are able to obtain of the state of Egypt prevents our discovering the precise mode in which the fulfilment of the other

* Herod. ii. 169.
† Ezek. xxix. 3.
‡ Jerem. xliv. 30.

predictions took place. Amun-No*, or Thebes, and Egypt, with their gods and kings, were to be punished, and Pharaoh, and all that trusted in him, to be delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, and of his servants; Egypt was to be given into the hands of the people of the north †, and afterwards to be inhabited as in the days of old.

Still more severely is it denounced in the prophecies of Ezekiel. ‡

The Deity threatens to make the land of Egypt "utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene § even unto the border of Ethiopia. || No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years. And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries. Yet .... at the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered; and I will

* Jerem. xlvi. 25. In the Hebrew version it is "Amun of No," or Na; in the Syriac, "Amun of the waters;" in the Targum, or Chaldee Paraph., "Alexandria," which was not yet founded.

† Jerem. xlvi. 24, 25, 26. ‡ Ezek. xxix. 10. *et seq.*

§ In the Septuagint and Arabic versions it is "from Migdol and Syene (E'Sooan) unto the borders of Ethiopia." The Hebrew and Syriac, as well as the Targum, have "from the tower of Syene," or, "from Migdol to Syene (סונה), and to the confines of Ethiopia" (Cush). Syene being on the borders of Ethiopia, the sense seems to require "from the towers of Syene," or, "from Migdol to Syene," (which is), on the confines of Ethiopia.

|| Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ continued to be the frontier towns of Egypt, even in the time of the Romans, though their dominions in the Pharaonic time extended beyond. "Regni claustra Philæ." Lucan, x. 313.; *vide* also Strabo and Procopius.

bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations, and it shall no more be the confidence of the house of Israel."... "And the sword shall come upon Egypt.... Ethiopia, Libya, and Lydia*, and all the mingled people †, and Chub ‡, and the men of the land that is in league shall fall with them, by the sword. .... I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon .... they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with slain.§ .... I will also destroy their idols, and cause their images to cease out of Noph ||, and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt, ... and I will make Pathros ¶ desolate, and will set fire in Zoan **, and

* In Hebrew, Cush, Phut, and Lud.

† In Hebrew ערב, *ārab*. The same word is used for the "mixed multitude" which went out with Moses at the Exodus.

‡ Hebrew, Cub. Probably the Cubii of Ptolemy, a people who lived in Mareotis.

§ Ezek. xxx. 4. *et seq.*

|| Noph was Memphis; called by the Egyptians Memfi, Mefi, Menfi, or Menbe, and Men-nofri, or Ma-nofri, "the place of good," as well as Pthah-êï, "the abode of Pthah." In Hosea (ix. 6.) it is styled Moph. The Arabs call it Ma-nouf, or Menouf. In hieroglyphics it is written Men-nofri, followed by a *pyramid*.

¶ Pathros or Pathures, in the Septuagint Φαθωρης, is Pa-athyris, "belonging to Athor," or Aphrodite. It might be supposed to refer to Aphroditopolis, or *Athribis*, or *Atarbechis;* but there is more reason to believe it to be Pathyris, or the district of western Thebes, which was afterwards made into a separate nome of that name, and so called from the same goddess.

** Tanis.

will exercise my judgments in No.* And I will pour out my fury upon Sin†, the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No.... The young men of Aven‡ and of Pibeseth§ shall fall by the sword, and these cities shall go into captivity. At Tehaphnehes‖ also the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt; and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her ... and her daughters shall go into captivity; ... and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them among the countries."¶

I shall now endeavour to show how these predictions were accomplished, and to explain the probable reason of Herodotus's silence upon the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion.

The defeat and death of Apries, before mentioned, are given on the authority of Herodotus; who represents Amasis as a rebel chief, taking advantage of the disaffection of the army to dethrone his sovereign. This information he received from the Egyptian priests; but no mention was made of the signal defeat their army experienced, or of that loss of territory in Syria which resulted from the

* No, or No Amun, Thebes, Diospolis Proper, on the east bank. It is also written Na-Amun [or Amun-na]; the Egyptian, Amun-êi, the abode of Amun. *Vide* Nahum, iii. 8. The Septuagint gives εν Διοσπολει.

† The Septuagint has "Σαις;" the Latin translation of the Hebrew, "Pelusium;" the Arabic, "San;" the Hebrew version and Targum, "Sin." Pelusium, which was the bulwark of Egypt on the N. E. frontier, is to be preferred. It is now called Tineh.

‡ Aon אן, Heliopolis, or On, as in Gen. xli. 45.

§ Bubastis, Pi-Pasht.

‖ In the Septuagint εν Ταφναις; or, as Herodotus calls it, Δαφνησι τησι Πελωσιησι. Herod. ii. 107. and 30. Daphne was a little distance from Pelusium, and higher up that branch of the Nile.

¶ Ezek. xxx. 13. *et seq.*

successes of the victorious Nebuchadnezzar. It is therefore reasonable to conclude they disguised the truth from the Greek historian; and, without mentioning the disgrace which had befallen their country, and the interposition of a foreign power, attributed the change in the succession, and the elevation of Amasis to the throne, solely to his ambition and the choice of the Egyptian soldiery. Megasthenes and Berosus affirm that Nebuchadnezzar conquered a great part of Africa, and, having invaded Egypt, took many captives, who were committed to the charge of persons appointed to conduct them after him to Babylon. But as this is said to have happened at the period of his father's death, and consequently in the reign of Neco, it cannot refer to the point in question. Josephus, however, expressly states, that the Assyrian monarch "led an army into Cœlo-Syria, of which he obtained possession, and then waged war on the Ammonites and Moabites. These being subdued, he invaded and conquered Egypt; and, having put the king of that country to death, he appointed another in his stead."* If Josephus be correct in this statement, there is reason to suppose he alludes to Apries being deposed and succeeded by Amasis; and we can readily imagine that the Assyrians, having extended their conquests to the extremity of Palestine, would, on the rumour of intestine commotions in Egypt, hasten to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them of attacking the

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. c. ix. 7.

country. And the civil war, and the fatal consequences of the disturbed state of Egypt, appear to be noticed by Isaiah * in the following prophecy: "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom; . . . and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. † And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord, and a fierce king shall rule over them."

From a comparison of all these authorities, I conclude that the civil war between Apries and Amasis did not terminate in the single conflict at Momemphis, but lasted several years; and that either Amasis solicited the aid and intervention of Nebuchadnezzar, or this prince, availing himself of the disordered state of the country, of his own accord invaded it, deposed the rightful sovereign, and placed Amasis on the throne, on condition of paying tribute to the Assyrians. The injury done to the land and cities of Egypt by this invasion, and the disgrace with which the Egyptians felt themselves overwhelmed after such an event, would justify the account given in the Bible of the fall of Egypt: and to witness many of their compatriots taken captive to Babylon, and to become tributary

* Isaiah, xix. 2. *et seq.*

† That is, consult the oracles, as Amasis is said to have done previous to his obtaining the sovereignty of Egypt. The account given by Herodotus (ii. 174.) of Amasis' early conduct, and the answers of the oracles, is ridiculous.

to an enemy* whom they held in abhorrence, would be considered by the Egyptians the greatest calamity, as though they had for ever lost their station in the scale of nations.† And this last would satisfactorily account for the title Melek, given to inferior or to tributary kings, being applied to Amasis‡ in some of the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his name.

It still remains a matter of uncertainty, whether Psamaticus III. and Apries are the same person; but the marriage of Amasis with the daughter of Psamaticus is no objection to their identity, since ambition, or many other causes, might have urged him to rise against his father-in-law, and dispossess him of the throne. That this marriage actually took place we have abundant testimonies from the sculptures of Thebes; and it goes far to disprove the statement of Herodotus, relative to the "plebeian origin" of Amasis. Athenæus attributes his previous rise to the circumstance of his having presented Apries with a beautiful chaplet of flowers on his birthday, which so delighted the king that he invited him to the feast, and admitted him among the number of his friends. Diodorus, however, who is more to be depended upon in this instance, asserts that Amasis was a person of considerable consequence, which accords with his rank as a general, and a distinguished member of the military caste, as

* Ammianus Marcellinus says, the Carthaginians also invaded Egypt; but this statement is very improbable.

† *Vide* my Materia Hierogl. p. 100.

‡ He is generally styled, like the other Pharaohs, king of the upper and lower country; a Pharaoh, and an independent sovereign.

well as with monumental record, and his marriage with the daughter of his sovereign. And the idle tales told by the priests respecting his rise and the fall of Apries seem only to have been intended to deceive Herodotus, and to conceal from him the real state of Egypt at that period.

According to the same historian, th e reign of Amasis was the epoch at which Egypt was most flourishing, both "with regard to the advantages conferred by the river on the soil, and by the soil on the inhabitants;" and that country "could boast no less than 20,000 well inhabited cities." * The former assertion, indeed, if not fully proved, gains considerable weight, from the appearance of public and private buildings raised during the reigns of this monarch and his two predecessors, from the number of splendid monuments erected by Amasis, and from the immense booty carried out of Egypt by the Persians. That private persons enjoyed unusual affluence is evident from the style and richness of their sepulchres, far exceeding in extent and ornamental detail any of those executed during the flourishing era of the 18th Dynasty: and this can only be attributed to an increase of wealth. In order, therefore, to reconcile that fact with the state of Egypt, mentioned in the prophecies, we may suppose the tributary condition to which it was reduced by the Babylonian conqueror, though severely wounding the pride of the Egyptians, and degrading them as a nation, did not affect the

* Herodot. ii. 177. Plin. v. 11.

riches of individuals, which might continue to increase through the immense resources of a fertile country, or, to repeat the words of Herodotus, through "the advantages conferred by the river on the soil, and by the soil on the inhabitants:" and the historian may refer to the latter end of Amasis' reign, when he had been freed from the humiliating necessity of paying tribute to the Babylonians, themselves at length conquered by the arms of Cyrus. It is very possible that the prophecies may *partly* relate to the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the degraded condition of Egypt, as tributary to the Babylonians; and *partly* to the final downfall of the country, when the Persians invaded it under Cambyses: for so remarkable an event would scarcely be omitted in a prophecy announcing the "desolation of Egypt;" and, if this last and the previous invasion of the Babylonians are not distinctly described, we may conclude that both are included in the general prediction.*

Nor was the military power of Egypt annihilated by the civil war between Apries and Amasis, or by the unfortunate intervention of Nebuchadnezzar; and though Amasis did not think it prudent, by refusing the tribute he had promised to pay, and by invading Syria, to provoke a powerful enemy, or to engage in a doubtful struggle with that prince, yet

* Xenophon pretends that Cyrus even invaded Egypt; but his mode of expressing himself is as vague as the circumstance is improbable. Xen. Cyropæd. preliminary section.

he was sufficiently strong to make himself feared and respected by his neighbours, and to extend his arms beyond the frontiers of Egypt. And so confident was he of his power towards the close of his reign, that he defied the mighty Persia, little expecting he would thereby entail great and real calamities upon his country.

After remedying the evils which civil commotion and the other events already alluded to had caused, at the close of his predecessor's reign, his attention was directed to the improvement of the military strength, as well as the commercial interests of Egypt; and having fitted out a formidable expedition against Cyprus, he succeeded in taking the cities of that island *, and subjecting it to his power; being the first who had made it tributary † to the Pharaohs. He also gave great encouragement to foreigners who were willing to trade with his subjects; and as an inducement to them he favoured their interests, and showed them marked indulgence upon all occasions. "Such Greeks as wished to maintain a regular communication with Egypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis: and to others, who did not require a fixed residence, being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of religious rites; and the Greeks," says Herodotus, "still possess a very spacious and celebrated temple in Egypt‡, called Hellenium. It was built at the joint

* Diodor. i. 68.
† Herodot. ii. 182.
‡ Herodot. ii. 178.

expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and of the Æolians of Mitylene. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce; and the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges are totally unfounded. The Æginetæ, however, constructed for themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

Naucratis soon became a flourishing town, in consequence of the exclusive privileges it enjoyed, being the sole emporium of the Greeks in Egypt; and not only was every merchant required to unload his cargo there, but if he came to any other than the Canopic mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to swear it was entirely accidental, and was compelled to go thither in the same vessel; or, if contrary winds prevented his making that passage, his goods were taken out and conveyed in boats of the country by inland navigation, through or round the Delta to Naucratis."

"Many other marks of favour and liberality were bestowed by Amasis on the Greeks. When the temple of Delphi was consumed by fire, he presented the Delphians with a very large contribution towards rebuilding it; and, having made an amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself, to their city. To a temple of that goddess at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corselet, deserving of admiration:" and a thorax of the same

materials was dedicated by him to the Minerva of Rhodes, which according to Pliny was of remarkably fine texture.* He also presented two figures of himself, carved in wood, to the temple of Juno at Samos; which were placed immediately behind the gates, where they remained till the time of Herodotus.†

"The kindness shown by Amasis to Samos was owing," says the historian, "to the friendship which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æaces; but he had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, and was only moved by the report of the temple of Minerva having been erected there by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Ægyptus;" and his affection for the Cyrenians, according to the same author, arose from his having married Ladice‡, a native of that country, who was afterwards sent back by Cambyses to her parents, when he conquered Egypt.

The friendship of Amasis and Polycrates commenced at the period of the war between the Lacedæmonians and the latter, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. It had been cemented by various presents on both sides, and appeared to promise a long continuance; "but the wonderful prosperity and uninterrupted successes of Polycrates excited the attention and anxiety of Amasis; and as they were observed by him invariably to increase, he was induced to write him the following letter§: —

* "CCCLXV filis singula fila constare." Plin. xix. 2.
† Herodot. ii. 182.
‡ Ibid. ii. 181.
§ Ibid. iii. 40.

" ' *Amasis to Polycrates.*

" ' To learn that a friend and ally is blessed with prosperity, cannot fail to give me the greatest satisfaction; but, knowing the invidiousness of fortune, your extraordinary success excites my apprehension. For my own part, if I might be allowed to choose for myself or those I regard, I should prefer prosperity on some occasions, and on others disappointment; and thus pass through life with an alternation of good and evil, rather than be fortunate in every undertaking. For I never remember to have heard of a man blessed with unceasing felicity, who did not end his career overwhelmed with calamities. Take, therefore, my advice, and apply this counterpoise to your prosperity: endeavour to discover some favourite object whose loss would occasion you the deepest regret; and as soon as this has been ascertained remove it from you, in such a manner that it can never be recovered. If then your good fortune still continues unchequered by adversity, I strongly recommend you to repeat the remedy I propose.' "

Polycrates, having received his letter, and deliberated on its contents, felt persuaded that Amasis had given him excellent advice, and therefore determined to follow it. Accordingly, he searched among his treasures for something whose loss would most afflict him, and at length fixed upon a signet-ring, which he was in the habit of wearing. It

was an emerald, set in gold, the work of Theodorus the Samian, beautifully engraved.* Resolved on sacrificing this precious jewel, he went on board a fifty-oared vessel, and ordered the men to pull out into the open sea; and when they were a considerable distance from land, Polycrates, taking off the ring, in the presence of his attendants, cast it into the sea, and then gave orders for their return to Samos.

The sacrifice he had made, though voluntary, afflicted him much; and returning to his palace, he gave way to an excess of grief. Five or six days after, a fisherman having caught a fish of very great size and beauty, repaired to the palace, and requesting admission into his presence, presented it to Polycrates in these words:—"Although, Sir, I live by the produce of my industry, I thought so fine a fish ought not to be exposed for sale in the public market place; and deeming it worthy of your majesty's table, I have brought it for your acceptance." Pleased with his conduct, Polycrates replied, "My good man, not only is your present, but the manner in which you have expressed yourself, highly gratifying to me; and I invite you to

* The word σφρηγις answers exactly to the Khátom of the Arabs; a ring, with an engraved stone, or entirely of gold, with a name or device cut upon it. Pliny and Solinus say the ring of Polycrates was a sardonyx; and the former adds, that in his time they showed one at Rome, in the Temple of Concord, given by Augustus, which was said to be of the Samian king. Clement of Alexandria supposes a lyre was figured upon it. The Arabs have the story of Polycrates's ring, but they omit his name, and the reason of its loss; relating that it fell into the sea by accident. Vide Plin. xxxvii. 2., and Solin. c. xxxiii. p. 63.

supper at the palace."* The fisherman, delighted with this mark of favour, returned home.

Shortly after, the servants, on opening the fish, discovered the ring, and with great eagerness and joy carried it to the king, relating in what manner it had been found. Polycrates, concluding that such a circumstance could only be the effect of Divine interposition, carefully noted down every particular, and sent it to Egypt. Amasis no sooner perused his letter, than he felt convinced it was out of the power of one mortal to deliver another from the fate which awaited him; and that Polycrates, who had been so uniformly lucky, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose, could not terminate his days in tranquillity. He therefore sent a herald to Samos, disclaiming all connection with him for the future, in order that, when any grievous calamity befell Polycrates, he might not have to bewail the misfortunes of a friend.

Such is the account given by Herodotus of Amasis's desertion of Polycrates; which took place previous to the difficulties he experienced from the disaffection of his subjects, and the intervention of the Lacedæmonians, and some time before his cruel murder by the treacherous Orætes.† Diodorus‡, however, assigns a different reason for the conduct

* It is not necessary that the fisherman should have eaten at the same table as his royal host. Herodotus uses the expression, "I invite you to supper," σε επι δειπνον καλεομεν. Many persons are invited to sup at the house of a great man in the East without sitting at table with him.

† Herodot. iii. 125. Valer. Max. calls him Orontes, vi. 9.

‡ Diod. i. 95.

of Amasis. He affirms that the Egyptian monarch was offended with the tyrannical conduct of Polycrates, and foresaw, from the feeling excited against him, both amongst his subjects and foreigners, that his fate was inevitable; and, indeed the flight of many Samians to Crete*, and numerous instances of their discontent and of his oppression, are recorded by Herodotus and many ancient writers.†

Polycrates has been represented as a great encourager of learning, and the patron of eminent men, spending great part of his time in the company of persons of talent, among whom were Anacreon and Pythagoras. And his friendship with Amasis enabled him to recommend the latter to that monarch‡, when he visited Egypt, and to obtain for him those facilities in studying the mysterious sciences and profound secrets of the Egyptians, which few foreigners were permitted to enjoy. Some§, however, deny that his journey was undertaken at the suggestion, or even with the approbation, of Polycrates; and affirm, on the contrary, that Pythagoras abandoned his native country,

* Herodot. iii. 44.

† Valer. Max. vi. 9. "Samos amara servitute (Polycratis) pressa." Plin. xxxvii. 2. "Polycrati Samio, severo insularum ac litorum tyranno." Diogenes, Porphyry, Gellius, Eusebius, Diodorus, &c.

‡ Pliny says the name of the king who reigned in Egypt when Pythagoras visited it was Senneserteus. Can this have been corrupted from Neit-se, or Se-Neit, "the Son of Neith," which was the cognomen of Amasis, Ames-Neit-se, or Ames-se-Neit? It rather resembles the name Sen-Osiri. Plin. xxxvi. 14. Another reading gives Semneserteus, perhaps mistaken for, or corrupted from, the name of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis.

§ The authors mentioned in a preceding note.

being unable to endure the tyranny of his sovereign.

Solon also visited Egypt during the reign of Amasis*; and being much pleased with the laws of the Egyptians, which, through the liberality of the king, he had every facility of studying, he introduced many of them into the code established by him at Athens.

That Amasis was a great encourager of art, we have ample testimony from the monuments which remain, as well as from the statements of ancient writers; and being a native of Saïs, or, as Herodotus affirms, of Siuph, in the Saïte nome, his attention, as is reasonable to suppose, was directed more particularly toward the embellishment of that city. With this view he erected at Saïs a magnificent propylæum in honour of Minerva; a splendid building, far excelling any other of the kind, as well in size and grandeur, as in the quality and magnitude of the stones used in its construction; and before it were placed several large colossi, with a series of immense androsphinxes, which formed the avenue or dromos leading to the main entrance. The propylæum was a large court, open in the centre, and surrounded in the inside by rows of columns, with the usual pyramidal towers in front, forming one of the approaches to the temple of Minerva, in the same manner as the propylæa attached to the temples at Thebes consti-

* Herodot. i. 30. Thales is said, by Plutarch, in his Banquet of the Seven Sages, to have been in Egypt in the reign of Amasis; and he mentions the improbable story of his showing the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramid by its shadow.

tute the entrance halls of those edifices.* Portions of the same building, which had been erected by his predecessors, requiring some repairs, Amasis collected for this purpose a quantity of stones of amazing thickness, part of which were brought from the quarries of Memphis†, and part from the cataracts of Syene. "But what, in my opinion," says Herodotus, "deserves the greatest admiration is an edifice of a single stone, brought from the city of Elephantine, a distance of about twenty days' journey.‡ Two thousand men, chosen from the class of boatmen, were employed for the space of three years in transporting it to Saïs. Its external length is twenty-one cubits, its breadth fourteen, and height eight: and in the inside it measures eighteen cubits and twenty digits in length, twelve in breadth, and five in height. It stands near the entrance of the temple; and the reason of its being left in this spot was that the architect, wearied with the tedious duration of the undertaking, had been heard to fetch a deep sigh, while they were employed in dragging it forward; upon which Amasis, who happened to be present, gave orders they should stop, and carry it no further. Some, however, affirm that one of the men while moving it with a lever

* At Karnak, in Thebes, are some instances of the avenues of sphinxes; they only differ in being criosphinxes, or surmounted with the head of a ram instead of a man.

† Herodotus means the mountains opposite Memphis, of the Troici lapidis mons, which he mentions in the same manner on another occasion, when speaking of the canal to the Red Sea. Lib. ii. s. 158.

‡ From Elephantine or E'Souan, where the granite quarries may still be seen, to Saïs, is about 700 miles by land. It must have crossed the river once at least.

was crushed to death, and that on this account they were ordered to desist.

"Amasis made many and magnificent presents to other temples, both in Upper and Lower Egypt. At Memphis, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, seventy-five feet long, before* the temple of Vulcan; and on the same basement two other colossi of Ethiopic stones, or granite, each twenty feet in height, one on either side of the principal part† of the building. There is at Saïs another statue similar to that of Memphis, and lying in the same position‡: and this prince erected the grand temple of Isis at Memphis, which deservedly claims universal admiration."

Many monuments still exist in different parts of Egypt, bearing the name of Amasis, one of which, a red granite monolith, at Tel-et-mai, resembles in form§ that described by Herodotus as having been brought from Elephantine to Saïs. Thebes and other places also present memorials of the encouragement he gave to architecture and other branches of art; and at the quarries of Syene several inscriptions indicate the removal of granite blocks for the

* Strabo says, "Before the dromos of the temple lies a colossus of a single stone; and in this dromos are held the bull-fights." Strabo, lib. xvii.

† Probably by the μεγαρον Herodotus means the temple, properly speaking, independent of the outer courts: or the isolated sanctuary in the centre of the temple, which was independent of the inner adytum, as at Luqsor, and the smaller temple of Medeenet Haboo at Thebes.

‡ They were very uncommon in Egypt.

§ I am indebted to Mr. Burton for its dimensions, which are 21 ft. 9 in. high, 13 ft. broad, and 11 ft. 7 in. deep, outside; and 19 ft. 3 in., 8 ft., and 8 ft. 3 in. inside.

construction or decoration of edifices raised by him in the valley of the Nile.

Pliny* affirms that some imagined him to have been buried in the celebrated Sphinx; but this erroneous notion arose from the similarity of the names, Amosis and Thothmosis†, and readily obtains that indulgence which cannot be extended to an assertion of Lucan, burying Amasis in the pyramids themselves.‡ To Lucan, however, accuracy was never imputed; and no one after reading his extravagant description of the cataracts at Philæ§ is surprised to find him deposit the remains of the Ptolemies in the same monuments.‖

The situation of Amasis' tomb is mentioned by Herodotus.¶ It stood, like all those of the Saïte monarchs, within the precincts of the temple of Minerva, in the chief city of that nome; which, during the reign of the princes of the 26th dynasty, had become the royal residence and nominal metropolis of Egypt; though Thebes and Memphis still retained the titles of capitals of the upper and lower countries.

* Plin. xxxvi. 17. "Amasin regem putant in eâ (sphinge) conditum."

† This is still more striking when we consider that A, or Ioh, the moon, and Thoth, are the same deity; and that Amosis, the leader of the 18th dynasty, has been called by some Tethmosis. Amosis, or Amasis, are the same; the real name being Ames. Thoth is also the first month.

‡ "Pyramidum tumulis evulsis Amasis." Lucan. Phars. ix. 155. Diodorus (i. 64.) says some attribute the second pyramid to Amasis, the first to Armæus, and the third to Inaron, as well as to Rhodope.

§ Lucan, lib. x. 315. *et seq.*

‖ "Cum Ptolemæorum manes . . . . . pyramides claudant." viii. 696.

¶ The lake mentioned by Herodotus still exists at Saïs (now Sa-el-Hagar), as well as its extensive and solid crude brick walls. Herodot. ii. 170.

Towards the latter end of the reign of this monarch, Cambyses sent to Egypt to demand his daughter in marriage, a step to which he had been prompted by a certain Egyptian, an enemy of Amasis. This man was a physician; and when Cyrus had requested of the Egyptian king the best medical advice he could procure, for a disorder in his eyes, Amasis forced him to leave his wife and family, and go into Persia. Meditating revenge for this treatment, he instigated his successor to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction at the loss of his child, or by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis detested the character of the Persian monarch; and persuaded that his treatment of her would neither be honourable nor worthy of a princess, he was unwilling to accept the overture: but fearing to give a positive refusal, he determined on sending the daughter of the late king. Her name was Neitatis, or, as Herodotus calls her, Nitetis. She was possessed of great personal attractions; and Amasis, having dressed her in the most splendid attire, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, Cambyses happening to address her as the daughter of Amasis, she explained the manner in which he had been deceived, by a man who had dethroned and put Apries her father to death, and had seized upon the throne, through the assistance of a rebellious faction: upon which Cambyses was so enraged that he resolved to make war upon the usurper, and im-

mediately prepared to lead an expedition into Egypt.*

Such is the principal cause alleged by Herodotus for his invasion of that country; but it will not bear the test of examination. Nitetis is represented to have been sent to Persia towards the close of the reign of Amasis, which, according to the historian, lasted forty-four years; and allowing her to have been born immediately before Apries was dethroned, she would have been of an age which in Egypt and Persia is no longer a recommendation, or the associate of beauty.†

But whatever may have been the real motive for this war, it is certain that Cambyses was greatly exasperated against Amasis; and Egypt, when invaded by the Persian monarch, was treated with unusual barbarity.

Temples and public buildings were destroyed; tombs were violated, and the bodies burnt‡; religion was insulted, private property pillaged or destroyed, and every thing which could tempt the avarice, or reward the labour, of the spoiler, was seized and appropriated either by the chief or his troops. Gold and silver statues and other objects

* Other reasons are given by Herodotus. (iii. 2.) That of Cambyses being born of the daughter of Apries is quite eastern, and resembles the Persian account of Alexander the Great.

† For Nitetis to be *fair* would have been agreeable to Cambyses; not so to be *forty*.

‡ It is remarkable that the officers of the French frigate Luxor, who removed the obelisk from Thebes, found the sarcophagus of the queen of Amasis in a pit at El Qoorneh, the body entirely burnt, though placed in its original repository. The tomb had been violated, probably, by the Persians, who burnt the body, and was afterwards reclosed by the Egyptians with masonry. The body had been gilded.

of value were sent to Persia; and it appears that numerous Egyptian captives were also transported to that country.

The death of Amasis, which happened six months before the arrival of the Persians, prevented Cambyses from satiating his meditated revenge on the Egyptian monarch; and judging from the savage rage which the Persian conqueror vented upon his body, it was fortunate for Amasis that he had not fallen alive into his hands, and had died unconscious of what was about to happen.

Many circumstances occurred to induce Cambyses to undertake the invasion of Egypt and the overthrow of Amasis, independent of any insult he may have offered him, or the ambition of a rising empire; one of which is thus detailed by Herodotus *: —Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, greatly distinguished by his mental as well as his military accomplishments. This person being for some reason incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Egypt, for the purpose of having a conference with Cambyses. As he possessed considerable influence, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, it was of paramount importance that his designs should be prevented. Amasis, therefore, despatched the most faithful of his eunuchs in a trireme, with orders to overtake and bring him back. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lycia; but having circumvented his guards, he effected his escape, and fled

* Herodot. iii. 4.

to Persia. Cambyses readily accepted his services, and listened to the valuable information and advice he gave respecting the affairs of Egypt, and the precautions necessary for passing the desert on the frontier. At his suggestion a treaty was made with the Arabians, to supply the Persians with guides, and abundance of water, and thus enable the army to pass a barren and inhospitable tract which would have been fatal to numbers of the invaders: "and the Arabian prince having ordered all his camels to be laden with skins, filled with water, retired into the desert, and there awaited the arrival of Cambyses and his army." *

At the death of Amasis, Psammenitus, his son, succeeded to the throne. Conscious of the great danger to which his empire was exposed, from the threatened invasion of Cambyses, he made great preparations for the defence of the frontier, and advancing with his Egyptian troops, and the Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, to Pelusium, he encamped in a plain near the mouth of the Nile. The Persians, having passed the desert, took up a position opposite the Egyptian army, and both sides prepared for battle. The Greeks, irritated with the treachery of "Phanes†, who had introduced a foreign invader into Egypt," and wishing to show their resentment against him, brought his two sons forward into a conspicuous place, and slew them over a large vase in the sight of their father. This being done, they mingled wine and water with the blood; and having all drank of it they rushed

* Herodot. iii. 9. † Ibid. iii. 11.

against the enemy. The conflict soon became general throughout the whole line, and the battle was for a long time obstinately disputed; till at length, a considerable slaughter having been made on both sides, the Egyptians gave way, and fled.

From Pelusium to Memphis was now open to the invader, and with rapid marches he hastened towards the ancient capital of Lower Egypt. Hoping, however, to obtain advantageous terms without the necessity of another battle, Cambyses sent a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel, to treat with the Egyptians: but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed it, and tore the crew to pieces. At the news of this outrage, the indignation of Cambyses was excessive: he immediately laid siege to Memphis, and having succeeded in reducing the place, he indulged his resentment by putting many of the inhabitants to the sword*: the king was taken prisoner, and 2000 Egyptians of the same age as the son of Psammenitus, preceded by the young prince, being compelled to march in procession before the conqueror, were condemned to death as a retaliation for the murder of the Persian and Mitylenian heralds; ten of the first rank among the Egyptians being chosen for every one of those who suffered on that occasion.† Psammenitus himself was pardoned;

* Diodorus (i. 46.) says that at this time numerous artificers' and immense wealth, were carried off to Persia; and that the palaces and splendid buildings of Persepolis, Susa, and the cities of Media, were erected by them at the command of the victors.

† There were, therefore, 200 Mitylenians in the vessel destroyed at Memphis.

and such was the respect entertained by the Persians for the persons of kings* that he would in all probability have been restored to a tributary throne, if he had not entered into an ill-timed conspiracy against the monarch who had spared his life.

Egypt now became a province of Persia; and Cambyses and his seven successors compose the 27th Dynasty.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
Cambyses - -	Kanbosh -	Conquers Egypt in his 4th year - - -	525
Darius, son of Hystaspes -	Ntareeosh, Ndareosh -	Battle of Marathon, 490; Egypt revolts, 486 -	521
Xerxes the Great - -	Khsheersh -	Xerxes reconquers Egypt, 484; Birth of Herodotus - -	485
Artabanus -	- - -	Artabanus reigns 7 months	472
Artaxerxes -	Artkhsheshes	Egypt revolts, and Inaros and Amyrtæus are elected kings, 463; Herodotus visits Egypt, 460 -	472
Xerxes II. -	- - -	Reigns 2 months - -	425
Sogdianus -	- - -	Reigns 7 months - -	425
Darius Nothus, the son of Xerxes -	- - -	- - -	424 to 414

The name of Cambyses, as may be easily imagined, is never met with on Egyptian monuments; but a visiter to the slate and breccia quarries on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea has, at a later period, recorded the name of this monarch in hieroglyphics, adding to it the date of his sixth year.

* Herodot. iii. 14, 15. "The Persians," says the historian, "are accustomed to honour the sons of kings, and to restore the throne to those whose parents have rebelled against them." The same feeling is evinced by the Turks and other Asiatics; and respect for the person of a king was strongly marked in the case of Charles XII.

Two other ovals also occur: one of Darius, with the number 36; the other of Xerxes, with the year twelve: showing the inscription to have been written in the twelfth of Xerxes; and the date 36, intended as the full extent of Darius's reign, accords with the authority of ancient history. On another rock, at the same place, are the sixteenth year of Xerxes and the fifth of Artaxerxes (Longimanus); and these four are the only monarchs of the 27th Dynasty whose names I have seen in Egypt. In the principal temple at El Khargeh, in the Great Oasis, that of Darius again occurs, a considerable portion of the building having been erected by him; and it is remarkable that he is the only Persian king whose phonetic name is accompanied by a prenomen, like those of the ancient Pharaohs of Egypt; a circumstance satisfactorily confirming the remark of Diodorus, "that he obtained while living the appellation of Divus*, which was applied to no other of the (Persian) kings, and received after death the same honours which it had been customary to bestow upon the ancient sovereigns of the country."†

The rule of Darius was mild and equitable; and he was not only careful to avoid every thing that might offend the religious prejudices, or hurt the feelings, of his foreign subjects, but having made

* The title "Good God" was given by the Egyptians to all the Pharaohs.

† Diodor. i. 25. This appears singular, since they were in open rebellion at the time of his death. They did not, however, destroy his monuments or efface his name on that occasion; which seems to indicate more than usual respect for a foreign ruler.

diligent inquiry respecting the jurisprudence and constitution of the Egyptians, he corrected some abuses, and introduced many salutary laws, which continued to form part of their code, until, in common with many of those enacted by his Pharaonic predecessors, they were altered or abrogated by the Ptolemies, after the Macedonian conquest.*

Impatient, however, of foreign rule, and anxious to free their country from the presence of a people whose cruelties at the time of Cambyses's invasion they could never pardon or forget, the Egyptians, thinking the reverses of Persia during the Greek war offered a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke, revolted towards the close of Darius's reign†, and succeeded in expelling the Persians from the whole valley of the Nile. For upwards of a year they continued in open rebellion, and defied the power of his successor; but in the second year of Xerxes they were again subdued, and treated with increased severity, Achæmenes, the brother of the king, being appointed governor of the country.

Affairs remained in this state one and twenty years, until the death of Xerxes, when considerable confusion took place in Persia; which being augmented by the intrigues of Artabanus‡, and the rebellion of Bactria, afforded the Egyptians another opportunity for asserting their independence; and

* Diodor. loc. cit.

† Herodotus (vii. 1. 7.) says Darius reigned 36 years, and that the revolt of the Egyptians took place in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon, the year before his death.

‡ Ctesias, in Persicis, calls him Artapanus, and makes Achæmenes a brother of Artaxerxes.

prevailing on the Athenians to assist them with a fleet of forty sail, they attacked and overwhelmed the Persian garrisons. Upon intelligence of this, an army of 400,000 foot and a fleet of 200 sail* were equipped by Artaxerxes, and placed under the command of Achæmenes. Inarus the son of Psamaticus, a native of Libya, and Amyrtæus† of Saïs, who had been invested with sovereign power, and were charged with the defence of the country, made every effort to resist him; and the two armies having met, the Persians were defeated with the loss of 100,000 men, and Achæmenes received a mortal wound from the hand of Inarus, of which he died.

Enraged at the failure of an expedition which he had undertaken contrary to the advice of his friends‡, Artaxerxes resolved on sending an overwhelming force, under the combined command of Megabyzus and Artabazus, consisting of 200,000 men, and a fleet of 300 sail, independent of the remnant of the former army, which swelled the amount to 500,000. Both armies fought valiantly, and many were slain on either side; at length Megabyzus having wounded Inarus in the thigh, obliged him to leave the field, and the rout became general. Inarus, with a body of Greek auxiliaries, having taken refuge in Byblus, which was strongly fortified, obtained for himself and companions a

* Ctesias says 80 ships. Diodorus considers Achæmenes the son of Darius. lib. xi.

† Ctesias only says, "Inarus the Lydian and another Egyptian." Thucydides (lib. i.) and other authors mention Amyrtæus. Some consider Inarus a Libyan; and Thucydides styles him "King" of that country.

‡ Ctesias, in Persic.

promise of pardon from Megabyzus, upon condition of their surrendering themselves to the Persian monarch; but the remembrance of Achæmenes' death overcame the regard he owed to the promise of his general, and Inarus, by the command of Artaxerxes, was treacherously crucified. Amyrtæus was more fortunate: he escaped to the Isle of Elbo, and remaining concealed there, awaited better times; the Persian troops again taking possession of the fortified towns, and Sarsamas being appointed satrap or governor of Egypt.

No attempts to throw off the Persian yoke were made by the Egyptians during the remainder of this reign; and though the Athenians sent them a fleet of sixty sail*, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, and some hopes were entertained of restoring Amyrtæus to the throne, these projects were abandoned, and the Persians continued in undisturbed possession of the country till the tenth year of Darius Nothus.

Perceiving that the Egyptians bore with great reluctance the presence of a foreign governor, and anxious to allay as much as possible the turbulent spirit and prejudices of that people, the Persians had permitted Thannyrus the son of Inarus, and Pausiris the son of Amyrtæus †, to hold the office and nominal power of governors, or tributary kings; but nothing could conciliate the Egyptians. They beheld their fortified towns garrisoned by Persian

* Thucyd. lib. i. The same sixty ships are mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Cimon, as having been sent by him to the coast of Egypt.

† Herodot. iii. 15. This must have happened previous to the year 445, since Herodotus had then completed his history.

troops; the degradation of paying tribute to a people they detested was insupportable; and nothing but the restoration of an independent monarch could satisfy them. They therefore made secret preparations for expelling the Persians; and Amyrtæus being invited to put himself at their head, advanced from his place of concealment, routed the Persians, and finally succeeded in obtaining possession of Memphis and the whole country.

Amyrtæus now became independent master of Egypt; and he is stated in Manetho's list to have been the only monarch of the 28th Dynasty. His reign continued six years, during which period he laboured to repair the many losses sustained by his country from the hostile aggressions of Persia. Numerous restorations* were made to the temples of Thebes and other cities, many of which had suffered from the sacrilegious fury of Cambyses; and in order still further to weaken their power, and to remove the Persians to a distance from his territories, he engaged the Arabians, by a treaty, to assist him, and advanced into Phœnicia. His conquests, however, in that quarter were not extensive, and his efforts were chiefly confined to the defence of his own frontier.

According to Manetho, he was succeeded by Nepherites, the first king of the 29th Dynasty: though Diodorus mentions another, called Psamaticus, descended from the first of that name,

* Some gateways and other monuments bearing his name still remain. The sarcophagus in the British Museum, called of Alexander, is of this Pharaoh.

whom he supposes to have preceded Nepherites or Nephreus; but it is uncertain whether he really ruled at this time, or whether he was confounded by the historian with the father of Inarus.*

Of the character of Psamaticus, Diodorus draws a very unfavourable picture, representing† him to have been guilty of an act of cruelty and meanness unequalled in the history of his country. Tamus, a Memphite by birth, had been appointed by the Persians prefect of Ionia; and having held that post some time, he was obliged to leave his province, in order to avoid the resentment of Tissaphernes, and fly to his own country. Feeling persuaded he had nothing to fear from Psamaticus, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, he scrupled not to take with him all his riches, and to confide in the protection of the Egyptian monarch; but no sooner had Psamaticus become acquainted with this circumstance, than, regardless of the laws of humanity, and of the indulgence he owed to a friend, he perfidiously seized his treasures, and deprived him of life.‡

For the name§ of this Psamaticus it is needless to look on Egyptian monuments; nor do the sculptures of Inarus appear on any of the temples at Thebes, or in the lower country: and Manetho omits the mention of Inarus‖ in his catalogue of kings. But that he was an independent, though

* Herodot. vii. 7. † Diodor. lib. xiv.

‡ His quitting the Persian service in the possession of such treasures does not argue in favour of Tamus; and the king may have had some motive for this extraordinary conduct besides avarice.

§ Manetho makes no mention of this Psamaticus.

‖ Diodorus omits Amyrtæus.

not the sole, monarch of Egypt, during the short period which elapsed between the commencement of their second revolt and the victory of Megabyzus, is proved by the authority of several ancient historians; and as the unsettled state of affairs during the whole of his reign, and the preparations required in order to resist the expected attack of the Persians, deprived the Egyptians of that tranquillity necessary for the encouragement of art, the absence of monuments bearing the name of Inarus is readily accounted for. By some writers he is supposed to have been a king of Libya, by others an individual of Libyan origin; but as Libya was included within the dominions of Egypt, it appears more probable that he was the rightful heir to the throne, and had taken refuge there to avoid the tyranny of the Persians, and await an opportunity, which afterwards offered, of liberating his country from a foreign yoke. And the fact of his being a native of Egypt is still farther confirmed by the name of his father, Psamaticus, which is purely Egyptian.

The 28th and 29th Dynasties, according to Manetho, and the monuments, are as follows: —

28th Dynasty, of 1 *Saïte King.*

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Amyrteus - } Amyrtæus - }	Ao-ma-hor-te?	- - -	414

29th Dynasty, of Mendesian Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Nepherites Nephreus of Diodorus	Nefaorot	- - -	408
Achoris Acoris	Hakóri	Death of Cyrus the Younger, 401 - -	402
Psammoutis	Pse-maut	- - -	389
Nepherites Mouthis	not met with on the monuments	- - -	388 388

Few monuments of this period occur in Egypt. The arts, which had long been on the decline, received a severe blow from the Persian invasion; and many of the finest buildings were mutilated or destroyed. Numerous artificers were sent to Persia, and, with the encouragement required for the very existence of art, Egypt had lost the skill for which she was once so conspicuous. Of Nepherites the phonetic name once occurs amidst the ruins of Thebes; and if some additions were made by his two successors to the temples * there and in Lower Egypt †, the style of the sculpture, like the scale of their monuments, was degraded, and unworthy of a Pharaonic era. Egypt, however, free from a foreign yoke, enjoyed that tranquillity which had been so long denied, and Nepherites was even enabled to join in active hostilities against the enemies

* The name of Acoris occurs in the temple of Medeenet Haboo.

† During his reign many stones were taken from the quarries of the Troici lapidis Mons, opposite Memphis, probably for the erection of buildings in that city.

of his country. He therefore entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians, and sent a fleet of 100 ships to their aid, with a supply of corn for their army: though this last fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the transports putting into Rhodes, which had lately submitted to the Persians.

Acôris, who succeeded Nepherites, reigned thirteen years. He made a treaty with Euagoras, king of Cyprus, against the Persians, and endeavoured, by every means in his power, to weaken the strength and thwart the schemes of his adversary; and the defection of Gaus, the son of Tamus*, who had been for some time commander of the Persian fleet, and now, abandoning their service, had entered into a league with Acôris and the Lacedæmonians, added to the intrigues of Orontes, so embarrassed the affairs of Artaxerxes, that Egypt was enabled to enjoy perfect security, and to defy his threatened projects of invasion.

Nothing of consequence transpired during the reign of Psammoutis, which lasted only one year; and, as might be expected, his name rarely occurs on any edifice, either of Upper or Lower Egypt.† Of the short period occupied by his two successors, Nepherites II. and Mouthis, little can be learned either from the monuments, or from the accounts of ancient writers, but that the Persians, intent upon the recovery of a country they had

* Who was put to death by Psamaticus. Diodor. xiv.

† It is found at the temple of Karnak in Thebes. *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, pp. 185. 517., and Plate II., and my Topographical Survey of Thebes.

long possessed, prepared to make a descent upon Egypt, which was attempted without success in the reign of the succeeding monarch.

Mouthis was the last of the 29th or Mendesian Dynasty: and the 30th was composed, according to Manetho, of three kings from Sebennytus.

30th Dynasty, of Sebennyte Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B. C.
Nectanebes, Nectabis of Pliny	Nectanebo, or Nakht-nebo	- - -	387
Teos, Tachos of Diodorus	- - -	- - -	369
Nectanebes, Nectanabis of Plutarch	- - -	Defeated by the Persians, and flies to Ethiopia, B. C. 340	362 to 340

In the commencement of Nectanebo's reign, the Persian monarch equipped a formidable expedition, by land and sea, and sent it to Egypt under the command of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates. He confidently expected that so imposing a force would speedily reduce the strongholds, and firmly establish his authority throughout the country; but the jealousy of the two commanders prevented that union which was necessary to insure success. Pelusium was found to be impregnable, and all the fortified towns had been put into a proper state of defence. Pharnabazus, therefore, despairing of making any impression upon them, advanced into the interior; but being opposed by the Egyptian king with a considerable force, and, in consequence

of the want of boats, being constantly impeded in his movements by the various channels of the rising Nile, he was obliged to retreat, and relinquish the hope of driving Nectanebo from his throne, and of subjecting his country to the yoke of Persia.

The Egyptian monarch, now free from the dread of foreign aggression, directed his attention towards the internal administration of affairs and the encouragement of art. Many temples in various parts of the country, from Philæ to the sea-coast, were repaired or enlarged; a fine obelisk was cut, and transported from the quarries of Syene*; and the name of Nectanebo still occurs, in Upper and Lower Egypt, as a lasting testimony of his munificence in the erection of public buildings. If he was censured, in a dream, by the god Mars, for allowing his temple at Sebennytus to remain unrepaired during the early part of his reign, he made ample amends for this unintentional neglect by the manner in which the commands of the deity were obeyed, the building being restored with great splendour; and this circumstance, unnoticed by any ancient writer, is recorded in a curious Greek papyrus, which chance has preserved and modern researches have discovered in an Egyptian tomb.†

Nectanebo, after a reign of eighteen years, was succeeded by Teos or Tachos. He had scarcely ascended the throne when he was alarmed by the warlike preparations of the Persian monarch, who

* Pliny says it was without hieroglyphics. He calls him Nectabis.

† This highly interesting document is in the possession of S^r D'Anastasy, Swedish Consul-general at Alexandria.

threatened once more to invade his country. He therefore applied to Sparta for assistance; and Agesilaus, eager to assist a nation which had previously befriended the Lacedæmonians, repaired himself to Egypt with a strong force of Greek auxiliaries.

On the arrival of the Spartan prince, Tachos, whose expectations had been raised by his high military reputation, and who looked for a person of striking exterior, was greatly disappointed by the appearance of a little old man, whose figure and habits seemed contemptible, and unworthy of a king. Treating him, therefore, with scorn and disrespect, he refused him the post of generalissimo, which had been promised; and reserving it for himself, appointed Agesilaus to the command of the auxiliaries, and entrusted the fleet to Chabrias the Athenian. Nor did he regard the counsels of the Spartan general relative to the movements of the army; and contrary to his advice, led his troops in person into Phœnicia, committing the whole direction of affairs at home to the hands of a viceroy. He had no sooner quitted the country, than Nectanebo, his uncle, aided by one of his principal generals, conspired against him *; and Agesilaus, partly from resentment at his previous conduct, and partly from an interested motive, having basely deserted him, the Egyptian monarch was obliged to fly to Sidon. Mendesius, however,

* According to Plutarch. This is differently related by Diodorus; who says that, instigated by the viceroy he had left, his son Nectanebo conspired against him, and was defeated by Agesilaus, who thus restored Tachos to the throne.

whom Tachos had designed as his successor, resolved on opposing the usurper, and marched to attack him with an army of 100,000 men. In number they were very superior to the troops of Nectanebo, but, being composed principally of townsmen and artificers, were inferior in military skill: and being opposed by the experience of Agesilaus, they were routed at the first onset; and thus, through the Spartan general, Nectanebo obtained undisputed possession of the Egyptian throne.*

On the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which happened about the second year of Nectanebo II.†, Ochus or Artaxerxes III. ascended the throne of Persia.

During his reign, the Sidonians and Phœnicians having revolted from the Persians, entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians, and assisted by 4000 Greeks, sent by Nectanebo under Mentor the Rhodian, succeeded in expelling the Persians from their territories. This event seemed to have removed the enemy, and every prospect of an attack, to a convenient distance from the frontier, and the Egyptian monarch felt secure against their aggressions. Shortly after, a formidable army, led by Ochus in person, having reduced all Phœnicia, and Mentor treacherously deserting to the enemy, the affairs of Nectanebo began

* Cornelius Nepos (in Agesilao) says Agesilaus received 220 talents from Nectanebo, for his aid in obtaining the kingdom. According to the same author, Chabrias was recalled by the Athenians, in consequence of a representation made to them by the Persian monarch (in Chabriâ). He calls Tachus Thamus, and, in another place, Thacus.

† Diodorus only allows 43 years for the reign of Artaxerxes II.

to wear an alarming aspect, and Egypt was itself invaded. Every precaution which skill or courage could suggest was taken by the Egyptian monarch; the passes were well guarded; all the fortified towns were strongly garrisoned; and, though inferior in numbers, his troops, both natives and Greek auxiliaries, were animated with that enthusiasm which valour, confidence, and a good cause can alone impart. The soldiers were eager to meet the enemy, and boldly rushed to battle. The fight was obstinate; but numbers prevailed. After a severe contest, the Persians were victorious; and Nectanebo, having abandoned his positions, in order to retire upon and secure Memphis, his army became dispirited, Pelusium surrendered, and resistance was no longer offered to the arms of Ochus. Flying, therefore, from Memphis, Nectanebo retired into Upper Egypt, and at length withdrew to Ethiopia: the Delta and all Lower Egypt falling a prey to the conqueror, who finally succeeded in reducing the whole country, about the year 340, in the 21st of his reign.

During the previous occupation of Egypt by the Persian troops the inhabitants had been exposed to cruel persecutions. They were now doomed to greater sufferings. If Cambyses had committed unheard-of enormities; if he had derided the religion and insulted the deities of Egypt; if he had ordered the bull Apis to be brought before him, and had stabbed it with his dagger*, and been guilty of every species of oppression,—these were trifling

* Herodot. iii. 29.

compared with the enormities of Ochus. Wanton injustice, murders, profanation of religious rites, and continual persecutions, seemed to delight him. The sacred Apis was slain, and served up at a banquet, of which Ochus and his friends partook; and all Egypt groaned under the tyranny of this inhuman despot. Two years, however, fortunately relieved them from his caprices; and the Egyptians, to show their abhorrence for him, and their hatred of his name, substituted for it the representation of a sword, the emblem of destruction, in their catalogue of kings.*

Ochus and his two successors constituted the 31st Dynasty of Manetho: during which period nothing happened worthy of notice; and the invasion of the Macedonians in the year 332 put an end to the dominion of the Persians in Egypt.

31st Dynasty, of Persians.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Began to reign.
Ochus (or Artaxerxes III.) -	Not met with on the monuments.	In his 20th year. Death of Philip, 338 - -	B. C. 340
Arses - -		- - - -	338
Darius Codomanus -	- - -	Alexander makes himself master of Egypt, 332; dies, 323: Ptolemy Lagus becomes governor and king of Egypt, 322—305.	336

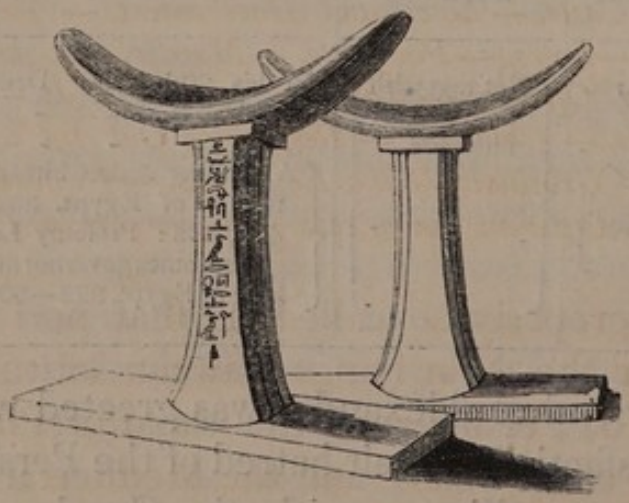
The arrival of Alexander was greeted with universal satisfaction. Their hatred of the Persians, and their frequent alliances with the Greeks, who had

* Plut. de Iside et Osiride, s. ii.

fought under the same banners against a common enemy, naturally taught the Egyptians to welcome the Macedonian army with the strongest demonstrations of friendship, and to consider their coming as a direct interposition of the gods; and so wise and conciliatory was the conduct of the early Ptolemies, that they almost ceased to regret the period when they were governed by native princes.

To detail the events of the Ptolemaic history is not my present intention, nor is it necessary to introduce any account of their reigns in a work which purposes to relate solely to the history and manners of the *ancient* Egyptians; but if the reader is desirous of consulting a chronological notice of those princes, I refer him to that work* from which I have taken the dynasties inserted in the preceding pages.

* My Egypt and Thebes, p. 508. *et seq.*



No. 6. Alabaster pillow for the head. *Alnwick Museum.*

VIGNETTE C. View of the Ruins and Vicinity of Philæ.

CHAP. III.

Extent of the Country. — Revenue and Commerce. — Seaports. — The Castes of the Egyptians. — The Sacerdotal Order. — Kings. — First Caste. — The Priests. — Second Caste. — Military Class. — Troops. — Auxiliaries. — Arms. — The Enemies and Conquests of the Egyptians. — March to War. — Their Humanity. — Triumph. — Captives. — Military Laws and Punishments. — Other Members of the Second Caste. — Third Caste. — Fourth Caste. — Laws and Government. — The Kings. — Judges. — Laws. — Passports. — Murder. — Right of Fathers. — Minor Offences. — Theft. — Debt. — Deeds. — Marriages. — Slaves. — Children. — Respect for Old Age, and for their Kings. — Gratitude of the Egyptians. — Uniformity of their Laws. — Different Lawgivers. — Governors of Provinces.

EGYPT, properly so called, is that portion of the valley of the Nile lying between latitude 24° 3′ and 31° 37′, or between the island of Philæ at the cataracts of E'Sooan * and the Mediterranean Sea.†

* According to the Oracle of Ammon, all those who drank the water of the Nile and lived to the north of Elephantine were Egyptians. Herodot. ii. 18.

† At Cape Boorlos.

With the exception of the northern part about the Delta, its breadth is very limited, and the cultivated, and consequently inhabited portion, is frequently confined to less than half the distance between the eastern and Libyan chains. The average breadth of the valley from one mountain range to the other, between Cairo in Lower and Edfoo in Upper Egypt, is only about seven miles; and that of the cultivable land, whose limits depend on the inundation, scarcely exceeds five and a half, being in the widest part ten and three quarters, and in the narrowest two miles, including the river.*

The extent in square miles of the northernmost district between the pyramids and the sea is considerable, and that of the Delta alone, which forms a portion of it, may be estimated at 1976 square miles; for though it is very narrow about its apex, at the junction of the modern Rosetta and Damietta branches, it gradually widens on approaching the coast, where the base of this somewhat irregular triangle is eighty-one miles. And as much irrigated land stretches on either side E. and W. of the two branches, the northern district, with the intermediate Delta included, will be found to contain about 4500 square miles, or double the whole arable land of Egypt, which may be computed at 2255 square miles, exclusive of the Fyoom, a small province consisting of about 340.

* That is in Middle Egypt, and to the north of Edfoo; between which town and E'Sooan the valley is so narrow that in some places there is scarcely any soil on either side of the river, so that this part does not enter into the general average I have given.

The number of towns and villages reported to have stood on this tract, and in the upper parts of the valley of the Nile, appears almost incredible; and Herodotus affirms that 20,000 populous *cities* existed in Egypt during the reign of Amasis.* Diodorus, with more caution and judgment, calculates 18,000 large villages and towns; and states that, under Ptolemy Lagus, they amounted to upwards of 30,000, a number which remained even at the period when he wrote, or about forty-four years before our era. But the population was already greatly reduced, and of the seven millions who once inhabited Egypt, about three† only remained in the time of the historian.

Josephus‡, in the reign of Vespasian§, still reckons seven millions and a half in the valley of the Nile, besides the population of Alexandria, which amounted to more than 300,000 souls; and, according to Theocritus‖, the number of towns at an earlier period was 33,339: we may here however include some of the neighbouring provinces belonging to Egypt, as he comprehends Ethiopia, Libya, Syria, Arabia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria,

* Herodot. ii. 177.

† Diod. i. 31. There are two readings of this passage: according to the other, Diodorus reckons 7,000,000, and in his own time a no less number.

‡ Josephus makes Agrippa say, "Αιγυπτου .... ητις εκτεινομενη μεχρις Αίθιοπων και της ευδαιμονος Αραβιας, ομορος τε ουσα της Ινδικης, πεντεκοντα προς ταις επτακοσιαις εχουσα μυριαδας ανθρωπων." Alexandria, he adds, is thirty stadia in length, and ten in breadth. De Bello Jud. ii. 16. 4.

§ Or he may allude to the period when Egypt was conquered by the Romans.

‖ Theocr. Id. xvii. 82.

and Lycia within the dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus: and other authors may occasionally have extended the name of Egypt to its possessions in Libya, Ethiopia, and Syria; since, making every allowance for the flourishing condition of this highly fertile country, the number of towns they mention is too disproportionate for the sole valley of Egypt lying between the cataracts and the sea.

The produce of the land was doubtless much greater in the earlier periods of its history than at the present day, owing as well to the superior industry of the people as to a better system of government, and sufficed for the support of a very dense population; yet Egypt, if well cultivated, could now maintain many more inhabitants than at any former period, owing to the increased extent of the irrigated land: and if the ancient Egyptians enclosed those portions of the uninundated edge of the desert which were capable of cultivation, the same expedient might still be resorted to; and a larger proportion of soil now overflowed by the rising Nile offers additional advantages. That the irrigated part of the valley was much less extensive than at present, at least wherever the plain stretches to any distance E. and W., or to the right and left of the river, is evident from the fact of the alluvial deposit constantly encroaching in a horizontal direction upon the gradual slope of the desert; and, as a very perceptible elevation of the river's bed, as well as of the land of Egypt, has always been going on, it requires no argument to prove that a perpendicular rise of the water must

cause it to flow to a considerable distance over an open space to the E. and W.

Thus the plain of Thebes, in the time of Amunoph III., or about 1430 before our era, was not more than two thirds of its present breadth; and the statues of that monarch, around which the alluvial mud has accumulated to the height of nearly seven feet, are based on the sand that once extended some distance before them.* How erroneous, then, is it to suppose the drifting sands of the encroaching desert† threaten the welfare of this country, or have in any way tended to its downfall; and how much more reasonable is it to ascribe the degraded condition, to which Egypt is reduced, to causes of a far more baneful nature, — foreign despotism, the insecurity of property, and the effects of that old age which it is the fate of every country, as well as every individual, to undergo.

Besides the numerous towns and villages in the plain, many were prudently placed by the ancient Egyptians on the slope of the desert, at a short distance from the irrigated land, in order not to occupy more than was necessary of soil so valuable

* The ancient Egyptians were constantly obliged to raise mounds round the old towns to prevent their being overwhelmed by the inundation of the Nile, from the increased height of its rise after the lapse of a certain number of years. Herodot. ii. 137. *Vide suprà*, p. 9.

† It is true that the sand has accumulated about Bahnasa, and the edge of the irrigated land in its vicinity, as well as about Kerdasseh and a few other places, owing to the form of the valleys which open on those spots from the Libyan desert, but it is not general throughout the valley of the Nile, even on this side of the river; and the progress of the sand can never be very great in any part of Egypt, however it may extend itself in Nubia over the exposed and narrow strip of land, which the west bank presents above the cataracts of E'Sooan.

for its productions; and frequently with a view of encouraging some degree of cultivation in the desert plain, which, though above the reach of the inundation, might be irrigated by artificial ducts, or by water raised from inland wells. Mounds and ruined walls still mark the sites of these villages in different parts of Egypt; and in a few instances the remains of magnificent temples, or the authority of ancient authors, attest the existence of large cities in similar situations. Thus Abydus, Athribis, Tentyris, parts of Memphis* and Oxyrinchus, stood on the edge of the desert; and the town that once occupied the vicinity of Qasr Kharóon, at the western extremity of the Fyoom, was far removed from the fertilizing influence of the inundation.

When towns or villages were surrounded with sand, the constant attention of the inhabitants prevented their being encumbered by it; but, so soon as they were deserted, it began to accumulate around them, and we sometimes find their monuments half buried in large drifts collected by the wind.† As population and industry decreased, the once cultivated spots of land on the desert plain were gradually abandoned, and the vestiges of canals or artificial water-courses, the indication of fields once portioned into squares, or the roots of fruit trees, only now serve to attest the unremitting exertions of a civilised people. It is not, however, to

* Strabo says the Serapeum was "in a very sandy spot."

† As at Abydus; but considering the length of time this city has been deserted, and its position, the state of the ruins there is not surprising.

be inferred that the irresistible encroachments of moving downs have curtailed the limits, or threatened the existence, of this fertile country; and the fearful picture drawn by M. De Luc* must rather be looked upon as a composition than a study from nature. "The sands of Egypt," he observes, "were formerly *remote* from that country: and the *Oases*, or habitable spots, still appearing in the midst of them, are the remains of soil which formerly *extended the whole way to the Nile;* the sand, transported thither by the western winds, having overwhelmed and buried this extensive tract, and doomed to sterility a land *once* remarkable for its fruitfulness." This singular statement is partly founded on the report of Denon, who, in his visit to Bahnasa† (Oxyrinchus), observed some buildings near the town so much encumbered with sand that their summits were scarcely visible above it, and who consequently concluded the Libyan desert had made proportionate encroachments along the whole of the western side of the valley. The opening here formed by the accidental position of the hills and neighbouring ravines, and the quantity of drifted sand in the interior of the desert to the westward, have been the cause of its accumulation, and of the partial formation of downs in

* In the Mercure de France, September 1809, on the Moving Sands of Africa.

† The proper orthography of this name is Bahnasa, Behnasa, or Behneseh, and is said to have been given it from one of its queens (or the wife of the governor of the place), signifying Bahanissa, "the beauty of woman," or the most beautiful of women. Such is the account given in an Arabic MS. history of that city, written by Aboo Abdillah, Mohammed, Ebn Mohammed el Mukkari.

the vicinity; but neither these, nor any other sand drifts in similar exposed situations, could, after a careful examination of the whole valley, be deemed of such a nature as to endanger the fertility of Egypt; though it is possible that, if no inundation of the Nile counteracted its effects, or if the alluvial deposit did not continue to increase in height, the sand might then interfere with the extent of the arable land, and gradually tend to narrow its limits. For the satisfaction of those who are contented with simple facts, it will be sufficient to state that the breadth of the irrigated portion of the valley is much more extensive than it was at any former period, and this increase will continue in spite of the very few local impediments which the drifted sand may accidentally offer; and it may not be irrelevant to observe that no soil is better suited to many kinds of produce than the irrigated edge of the desert *, even before it is covered by the fertilizing deposit of the inundation.

M. De Luc's idea respecting the Oases is novel and amusing; and if Egypt once extended to that distance westward, instead of considering the accounts of ancient writers on its former populousness at all exaggerated, we should be inclined to think they had failed to ascribe an adequate number of inhabitants to so extensive a region. So far from being the remains of a once cultivated and level tract, extending to the valley of the Nile, the Oases are surrounded by limestone mountains,

* It generally consists of a clay mixed with sand.

rising to the height of several hundred feet, and generally bounding them on all sides; whose level summit is part of the same table land, or mountain plain, extending to and bordering the western side of Egypt, which is overlooked by these precipitous cliffs in the same manner as the similarly depressed though less extensive tract of the Oases.* Like other provinces of Egypt, they were much more densely peopled than at present; and remains of towns and villages attest their flourishing condition, even to the late period of the Roman dominion.

Nubia, or that part of Ethiopia lying between the cataracts of E'Sooan and Wadee Halfeh, was at all times a thinly inhabited and unproductive province; and the vicinity of mountains, frequently reaching to the water's edge, prevented its receiving those benefits from the inundation, which the very great rise of the water would have afforded to a more level and extensive tract.† It is in this narrow strip of land that the noxious approach of moving sand is more particularly felt, since its advances are more sudden and overwhelming than on a gradual slope; and the ancient towns and temples on the west side of the Nile are therefore frequently surrounded or partially buried by its accumulating drifts. They are mostly built on this bank; and it is not improbable that the

* The Oases look very much like a portion of the valley of the Nile surrounded by the same kind of limestone mountains, but without any river.

† The more southward the greater the perpendicular rise of the Nile. It decreases, of course, gradually towards the mouth; and while in Nubia it is upwards of ten yards, at Rosetta it is only a very few feet.

unproductive nature of the soil was the principal reason for placing the towns there; the land on one side, which they were taught to consider so valuable, not being thus unnecessarily wasted, and the religious respect due to the abode of their gods, and regard for their own comfort, being sufficient motives for industriously striving to prevent the encroachments of the desert on the other. For that they were aware of the danger threatened by the sand is evident from the crude brick walls frequently erected there as a protection to the monuments; and the fall of one of those barriers gave ingress to the torrent which has overwhelmed and concealed the entrance of the great temple at Aboosimbel.

REVENUES AND COMMERCE.

That the conquests of the ancient Egyptians extended beyond the limits of their valley, is abundantly proved by ancient authors and monumental records; but as I have already noticed this fact in the foregoing chapter, I shall proceed to the consideration of the revenues arising from them, as well as the commerce and other fiscal resources of the country.

Judging from the sculptures of Thebes, the tribute annually received by the Egyptians from nations they had subdued in Asia and Northern Ethiopia was of immense value, and tended greatly to enrich the coffers of the state; and the quantity of gold and silver in rings and ingots, the various objects of luxury, vases of porcelain and different

metals, ivory, rare woods, precious stones, horses, dogs, wild animals, trees, seeds, fruits, gums, perfumes, spices, and other foreign productions there described, perfectly accord with the statements of ancient authors.* And though they are presented to the king, as chief of the nation, we may conclude they formed part of the public revenue, and were not solely intended for his use; especially in a country where royalty was under the restraint and guidance of salutary laws, and where the welfare of the community was not sacrificed to the caprice of a monarch.

According to Strabo, the taxes, even under Ptolemy Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, the most negligent of monarchs, amounted to 12,500 talents, or between three and four millions sterling†; and the constant influx of specie resulting from commercial intercourse with foreign nations, who purchased the corn‡ and manufactures of Egypt, during the very careful administration of its native sovereigns, necessarily increased the riches of the country, and greatly augmented the revenue at that period.

Among the exports were yarn§, fine linen cloth,

* Tacitus (Ann. ii. 60.) says, "The tribute paid by conquered nations was recorded at Thebes, as well as the specific weight of gold and silver, the quantity of arms, the number of horses, the offerings of ivory and rich perfumes presented to the temples of Egypt, the measures of grain, and the various supplies administered by every nation, making altogether a prodigious revenue."

† The present revenue of Egypt has been variously stated: at 2½ 3, 4, and even near 5 millions sterling.

‡ "All countries came into Egypt to buy corn," in the time of the famine of Joseph. Gen. xli. 57.

§ "Linen yarn out of Egypt." 1 Kings, x. 28.; 2 Chron. i. 16.

and embroidered work*, purchased by the Tyrians and Jews; chariots and horses†, bought by the merchants of Judæa in the time of Solomon at 600‡ and 150§ shekels of silver; and other commodities, produced or manufactured in the country.

The Egyptians also derived important advantages from their intercourse with India and Arabia; and the port of Philoteras, which, there is reason to believe, was constructed at a very remote period‖, long before the exodus of the Israelites, was probably the emporium of that trade. It was situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, in latitude 26° 9′; and though small, the number of ships its basin would contain sufficed for a constant traffic between Egypt and Arabia, no periodical winds there interfering with the navigation, at any season of the year.

Whether they had a direct communication with India at the same early epoch, or were supplied through Arabia with the merchandise of that country, it is not possible now to determine; but even an indirect trade¶ was capable of opening to them a source of immense wealth; and that the produc-

* "Fine linen, with broidered work from Egypt," was purchased by the Tyrians. Ezek. xxvii. 7. That painted or embroidered sail-cloth was used by the Egyptians for their pleasure-boats, at least those belonging to the kings and chief persons of the country, is proved by the sculptures of Thebes.

† 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.; and 1 Kings, x.

‡ 70*l.* sterling. § 17*l.* 10*s.*

‖ Already noticed in Chap. II. p. 45. It was previously called Ænnum, "oppidum parvum est Ænnum, pro quo alii Philoteram scribunt." Strabo says it received the name of "Philoteras from the sister of the second Ptolemy." lib. xvii. Plin. vi. 29.

¶ Strabo thinks that in former times a fleet of twenty ships never passed the Straits of Babelmandeb; but the Indian trade might have been carried on through Arabia. Strabo (lib. xvii.) on Alexandria.

tions of India did actually reach Egypt we have positive testimony from the tombs of Thebes.

The Scripture history shows the traffic established by Solomon with India, through the Red Sea, to have been of very great consequence, producing, in one voyage, no less than 450 talents of gold*, or 3,240,000*l.* sterling; and to the same branch of commerce may be ascribed the main cause of the flourishing condition of Tyre itself. And if the Egyptian trade was not so direct as that of Solomon and the Tyrians, it must still be admitted that *any* intercourse with India at so remote a period would be highly beneficial to the country, since it was enjoyed without competition, and consequently afforded increased advantages.

The other harbours in this part of the Arabian Gulf,—Myos Hormos, Berenice, Arsinoe, Nechesia, and Leucos Portus, — were built in later times; and the lucrative trade they enjoyed was greatly increased after the conquest of Egypt by the Romans: 120 vessels annually leaving the coast of Egypt for India, at midsummer, about the rising of the dog-star†, and returning in the month of December or January. "The principal objects of oriental traffic," says Gibbon, "were splendid and trifling: silk (a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold), precious stones, and a variety of aromatics." When Strabo visited Egypt the Myos Hormos seems to have superseded Berenice, and

* 2 Chron. viii. 18.; 1 Kings, ix. 26.

† The Periplus gives "the month of July, which is Epiphi;" and Pliny (lib. vi. 26.), "ante Canis ortum," about July 26.

all the other maritime stations on the coast; and indeed it possessed greater advantages than any other, except Philoteras and Arsinoe, in its overland communication with the Nile: yet Berenice, in the later age of Pliny, was again preferred to its rival. From both ports the goods were taken on camels by an almost level road across the desert to Coptos*, and thence distributed over different parts of Egypt; and, in the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, those particularly suited for exportation to Europe went down the river to Alexandria, where they were sold to merchants who resorted to that city at a stated season.

At a subsequent period, during the reigns of the Arab caliphs, Apollinopolis Parva, or Qoos, succeeded Coptos, as the rendezvous of caravans from the Red Sea; and this town flourished so rapidly, in consequence of the preference it enjoyed, that in Aboolfidda's time it was second only to Fostat, the capital of Egypt; until it ceded its place to Qeneh, as Myos Hormos was destined to do in favour of Kossayr. Philoteras, however, continued to be resorted to after the Arab conquest; and it was during the reigns of the Egyptian caliphs that the modern Kossayr† took the place of that ancient port.

The Myos Hormos, called also Aphrodite‡, stood

* "Coptos Indicarum Arabicarumque mercium Nilo proximum emporium." Plin. v. 9. "All the Indian and Arabian goods, and even those that come from Ethiopia by the Red Sea, are brought to Coptos." Strabo, xvii.

† Philoteras, now in ruins, is known by the name of Old Kossayr.

‡ Now called Abooshar. Strabo, "Ειτα Μυος ορμον και Αφροδιτης ορμον καλεισθαι λιμενα μεγαν," lib. xvii. Agatharcides says, it was afterwards called the Port of Venus.

in latitude 27° 22′, upon a flat coast, backed by low mountains, distant from it about three miles; where a well, the Fons Tadnos*, supplied the town and ships with water. The port was more capacious than those of Berenice and Philoteras; and though exposed to the winds, it was secure against the force of a boisterous sea. Several roads united at the gates of the town, from Berenice and Philoteras on the south, from Arsinoe on the north, and from Coptos on the west; and stations supplied those who passed to and from the Nile with water and other necessaries.

Berenice owed its foundation to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who called it after the name of his mother, the wife of Lagus or Soter.† The town was extensive, and was ornamented with a small but elegant temple of Sarapis; and though the harbour was neither deep nor spacious, its position in a receding gulf‡ tended greatly to the safety of the vessels lying within it, or anchored in the bay. A road led thence direct to Coptos, furnished with the usual stations, or hydreumas; and another, which also went to the emerald mines, joined, or rather crossed it, from Apollinopolis Magna.

* "Mox deserta ad Myos Hormon, ubi Fons Tadnos." Plin. vi. 29.

† "Berenice oppidum matris Philadelphi nomine, ad quod iter à Copto diximus." Plin. vi. 29.

‡ Strabo says, "Berenice placed in a deep bay." The headland of Cape Nose stretches out on the east of it to the distance of 21 miles from the line of the shore, agreeing with another remark of the geographer, that "an isthmus projects into the Red Sea near the city of Berenice, which, though without a port, affords a convenient shelter, from the vicinity of the headland."

Arsinoe, which stood at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, near the modern town of Sooez, was founded by the second Ptolemy, and so named after his sister.* Though vessels anchored there rode secure from the violence of the sea, its exposed situation, and the dangers they encountered in working up the narrow extremity of the gulf, rendered its position† less eligible for the Indian trade than either Myos Hormos or Berenice; and had it not been for the convenience of establishing a communication with the Nile by a canal, and the shortness of the journey across the desert in that part, it is probable it would not have been chosen for a seaport.

The small towns of Nechesia and the Leucos Portus were probably of Roman date, though the natural harbours they possess may have been used at a much earlier period. Their positions are still marked by the ruins on the shore, in latitude 24° 54′ and 25° 37′, where I discovered them in 1826, while making a survey of this part of the coast from Sooez to Berenice. The former stands in, and perhaps gave the name to, the Wadee Nukkaree;

* "Arsinoen . . . . conditam sororis nomine in sinu charandra, à Ptolemæo Philadelpho." Plin. vi. 29.

† It probably succeeded to some more ancient town. It is not certain that Clysma stood there; but Qolzim appears to have occupied the site of Arsinoe and part of the modern Sooez. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 540. note †. Herodotus (ii. 158.) says the canal entered the Red Sea near to Patumos; we may therefore conclude that town stood on the same spot as Arsinoe. We again trace in Patumos the name Pi-thom. It was common to many towns. Thomu, Thmui, and others are evidently derived, like Thummim, from Thmei, the goddess of Truth or Justice. In Egyptian pi is "the," and pa "belonging to."

the latter is called E'Shoona, or "the Magazine *," and, from being built of very *white* limestone, was readily indicated by the Arabs when I inquired of them the site of the White Harbour.

Many other ports, the "Portus multi" of Pliny †, occur along the coast, particularly between Berenice and Kossayr; but though they all have landmarks to guide boats in approaching their rocky entrances, none of them have any remains of a town, or the vestiges of habitations.

The principal objects introduced in early times into Egypt, from Arabia and India, were spices and various oriental productions ‡, required either for the service of religion, or the purposes of luxury; and a number of precious stones, lapis lazzuli, and other things brought from those countries, are frequently discovered in the tombs of Thebes, bearing the names of Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty. The mines of their own desert did, indeed, supply the emeralds they used; and these were worked as early, at least, as the reign of Amunoph III., or 1425 B. C., but many other stones must have come from India; and some plants, as the Nymphæa Nelumbo, could only have been introduced from that country. §

Though we cannot ascertain the extent or exact

* This word is taken from the Arabic Mukhzen, of similar import.

† Plin. vi. 29.

‡ Chinese bottles, with inscriptions in that language, are found in ancient tombs at Thebes, but of what date I am uncertain.

§ It was evidently not indigenous to Egypt, from the care that was necessary in planting it, and is now totally unknown in the valley of the Nile. Before they introduced it, would they not have seen the plant? and who was likely to bring the roots but some of their own people?

quality of the various imports, of goods re-exported from Egypt, or the proportion which these last bore to the internal consumption, it is reasonable to conclude that every article of luxury was a source of revenue to the government; and that both native and foreign productions coming under this denomination, whether exported or sold in Egypt, tended to enrich the state, to which they belonged, or paid a duty.

That the riches of the country were immense is proved by the appearance of the furniture and domestic utensils, and by the great quantity of jewels of gold, silver, precious stones, and other objects of luxury in use among them in the earliest times: their treasures became proverbial throughout the neighbouring states*, and a love of pomp and splendour continued to be the ruling passion of the Egyptians till the latest period of their existence as an independent state, which is fully demonstrated by the history of the celebrated Cleopatra.

Another source of wealth was derived from the gold mines in the desert of the upper country. Their position†, still known to the Arabs, is about S. E. from Baháyreh, a village opposite the town of Edfoo‡, or Apollinopolis Magna, and at a distance of nearly ten days' journey from that place, in the

* "Greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." Ep. Hebr. xi. 26. "The pomp of Egypt." Ezek. xxxii. 12. Conf. also the jewels of silver and gold which the Jews borrowed of the Egyptians. Exod. xii. 35.

† They have lately been visited by Monsieur Linant and Mr. Bonomi, who have found the account of the Arabs to agree very well with their position.

‡ Edfoo is in latitude 24° 58′.

mountains of the Bisharéëh. The Arab authors, Edrisi, Ebn-Saïd, and Aboolfidda, place them at Gebel Ollágee, a mountain situated in the land of Begá; and this last word at once points out the Bisháree desert, being still used by the tribe as their own name. The gold lies in veins of quartz *, in the rocks bordering an inhospitable valley and its adjacent ravines: but the small quantity they are capable of producing by immense labour, added to the difficulty of procuring water, and other local impediments, would probably render the re-opening of them at the present day an unprofitable speculation; and indeed in the time of Aboolfidda† they only just covered their expenses, and have never been worked since they were abandoned by the Arab caliphs. According to Agatharcides' account, the toil of extracting the gold was immense: it was separated from the pounded stone by frequent washings, and this process appears to be represented in the paintings of tombs executed during the reign of Osirtasen, and other ancient Pharaohs. We have no positive notice of their first discovery, but it is reasonable to suppose they were worked at the earliest periods of the Egyptian monarchy; and the total of their annual produce is stated by Hecatæus‡ to have been re-

* Mohammed Ali had an idea of re-opening them, but I believe the project has been abandoned. Wherever the ancients met with veins of quartz in the desert, I observe they invariably broke up portions of it, doubtless to try if it contained gold.

† Or Omad-e'deen-Aboolfeda, Ismail-ben-Nasser. He was king of Hamah in Syria, and lived about the year 730 of the Hegira, A. D. 1334.

‡ Diodorus, i. 49., on his authority.

corded in a temple founded by a monarch of the 18th Dynasty. He also notices an immense sum annually produced from the silver mines of Egypt, which amounted to 3,200 myriads of minæ.* Besides these were valuable mines of copper, lead, iron, and emeralds, all of which still exist in the deserts of the Red Sea; and the sulphur, which abounds in the same districts, was not neglected by the ancient Egyptians.

The riches, then, of the country were principally derived from taxes, foreign tribute, monopolies, commerce, mines, and above all from the productions of a fruitful soil. The wants of the poorer classes were easily satisfied; the abundance of grain, herbs, and esculent plants afforded an ample supply to the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, at a trifling expense, and with little labour; and so much corn was produced in this fertile country, that after sufficing for the consumption of a very extensive population, it offered a great surplus for the foreign market†; and the quantity on hand enabling the peasant to sell it at a low rate necessarily afforded considerable profit to the government, being exported to other countries, or sold to the traders who visited Egypt for commercial purposes.

Though the lower classes of the people appear to have been contented with their condition, there is no evidence of their having participated in

* *Vide suprà*, p. 113.

† An idea may be formed of the quantity produced in Egypt from the account of the famine of Joseph, when they were enabled to lay up from the superabundance of seven plenteous years enough corn to suffice for seven years of dearth. Gen. xli. 47.

the affluence enjoyed by the higher orders; and the very great distinction between them and the richer classes is remarkable, as well in the submissive obeisance to their superiors as in their general appearance, their dress, and the style of their houses. Some, indeed, seem to have been little better lodged and fed than those of the present day*; and the degrading custom of prostration before those in authority argues that they were subject to severe discipline and punishment, though, doubtless, only administered according to the rules of justice. That they were happy under their native princes, and contented with the laws and early institutions of the Pharaohs, is strongly argued by the constant feeling of dissatisfaction evinced by them against foreign rule, not only in the time of the despotic Persians, but of the Ptolemies, who sought, on many occasions, to flatter their religious prejudices, to content the priesthood, and even to court the good will of the people. And though some allowance must be made in these cases for the effect of change, the influence of the priests, and the impatience common to all people under a foreign master, we may fairly conclude, that the spirit of their laws, under the original system, was dictated by a scrupulous regard to justice and the benevolence of a paternal government.

* Herodotus (ii. 47.) speaks of poor people in Egypt who had scarcely any thing to live upon. I do not, however, imagine they suffered from hunger like the modern peasants, nor could the taxes have been as numerous or as oppressive. Diod. i. 80.

CASTES.

The great distinction of classes * maintained in Egypt was characteristic of the East, and custom naturally removed every unpleasing impression which so readily occurs to men educated with different habits and ideas; and provided justice was regarded, it offered no cause of discontent in an eastern nation. The division of Egyptian society into separate classes, or castes, has been noticed by many authors. Herodotus† says they were divided into seven tribes, one of which was the sacerdotal, another of the soldiers, and the remaining five of the herdsmen, swineherds, shopkeepers, interpreters, and boatmen. Diodorus‡ states that, like the Athenians, who being an Egyptian colony derived this institution from the parent country, they were distributed into three classes, the priests, the peasants, or husbandmen, from whom the soldiers were levied, and the artizans, who were employed in handicraft and other similar occupations, and in common offices among the people §; but in another place || he extends the number to five, and reckons the pastors, husbandmen, and artificers, independent of the soldiers and priests.

* The Etruscans were also divided into four castes; but this institution appears rather to have been derived from the East than to have taken its rise in Italy. They were, 1. the Larthes, Tyrani, or lords: 2. the Tusci, or priesthood: 3. the Rasenæ, or warriors; and, 4. the people, or popular caste.

† Herod. ii. 164.

‡ Diodorus, i. 28.

§ As public weighers, notaries, and other of the usual avocations of large towns.

|| Diod. i. 74.

Strabo limits them to three, the military, husbandmen, and priests; and Plato* divides them into six bodies, the priests, artificers, shepherds, huntsmen, husbandmen, and soldiers; each peculiar art, or occupation, he observes, being confined to a certain subdivision of the caste, and every one engaged in his own branch, without interfering with the occupation of another: as in India and China, where the same trade or employment is followed in succession by father and son.

From the statements above noticed, the exact number of classes into which the Egyptians were divided appears uncertain; but as there is reason to conclude that some authors have subdivided the main castes into several of their minor branches, while others have been contented with the collective divisions, I shall endeavour to point out (as I have already had occasion to do in a former work†) the four great comprehensive classes, and the principal subdivisions of each.

The first caste was the sacerdotal order; the second, the soldiers and peasants, or agricultural class; the third was that of the townsmen; and the fourth, the *plebs*, or common people. The first was composed of the chief priests or pontiffs‡, as well as minor priests of various grades belonging to different deities, prophets, judges, hierophants, magistrates, hierogrammats or sacred scribes, basilico-

* Plato in Timæo, near the beginning.
† Egypt and Thebes, p. 230.
‡ "Each deity has several priests and a high-priest." Herod. ii. 37.

grammats or royal scribes, sphragistæ *, hierostoli † or dressers and keepers of the sacred robes, doctors, embalmers, hierophori ‡, pterophori §, præcones, who appear to have been the same as the pastophori ‖, keepers of the sacred animals ¶, hierolaotomi or masons of the priestly order, sacred sculptors and draughtsmen, beadles, sprinklers of water, and ἀπομυιοι, mentioned by Hesychius, who drove away the flies with *chowries*, and several inferior functionaries attached to the temples.

The second was divided into the military, farmers, husbandmen, gardeners, huntsmen, boatmen, and others: the third consisted of artificers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, musicians, builders, carpenters, masons, sculptors, and probably potters, public weighers **, and notaries; and in the fourth may be reckoned pastors, poulterers, fowlers, fishermen, labourers, servants, and, generally speaking, the common people. Many of these were again subdivided, as the artificers and tradesmen, according to their peculiar trade or occupation, and as the

* Plutarch (de Isid. s. xxxi.) says the Sphragistæ were a class of priests whose office was to examine the victims, and to put a seal upon them, previous to their being sacrificed. *Vide* Herod. ii. 38.

† Plutarch. de Is. s. iii. "Those who have access to the adytum to clothe the statues of the gods." Rosetta stone.

‡ The bearers of sacred emblems in the religious processions.

§ Those who bore the flabella and fans in the processions in which the statues of the gods were carried.

‖ Bearers of the small statues, or shrines, of the gods. *Vide* Diod. i. 29.

¶ Herod. ii. 68. "There are certain persons, both men and women, whose business it is to take care of the sacred animals, and of each peculiar species: it is an honourable employment, and the son succeeds his father in the office."

** The *Gabbáneh* of the present day: who are also public scribes.

pastors, into oxherds, shepherds, goatherds, and swineherds; which last were, according to Herodotus, the lowest grade, not only of the class but of the whole community, since no one would either marry their daughters or establish any family connection with them; and so degrading was the occupation of tending swine, that they were looked upon as impure, and were even forbidden to enter a temple without previously undergoing a purification. Herodotus, indeed, affirms*, "they could not *enter* a temple;" and the prejudices of the Indians against this class of persons almost justify our belief of the historian.

In my division of the Egyptian castes I have been guided by Diodorus, and have classed the soldiers with the husbandmen; though, I confess, to have placed them in a caste by themselves appears preferable, or with the magistrates who were not priests, as among the Hindoos. If they really were a class of the same caste as the peasants, that class must have ranked far above the others, and have been almost as distinct as a separate caste; nor did the fact of their occasionally following agricultural pursuits reflect upon them any disgrace: and in like manner, a Hindoo soldier, or even a brahmin, may cultivate land without the fear of reproach.

Among the Indians are four castes: 1. Brahmins; 2. Cshatriyas; 3. Vaisyas; 4. Sudras. The first is taken from the mouth, the organ of the intellectual part; the second, from the arms, or

* Herod. ii. 47.

defending part; the third, from the thigh, or supporting part; and the fourth, from the feet, or labouring part: comprising the priests and philosophers, the magistrates and soldiers, the husbandmen and merchants, and the artizans, labourers, and common people. Some ancient authors, among whom is Megasthenes, divide the Indians differently; and as it is interesting to compare his account of the ancient Indian system with that of the Egyptians, I shall here introduce it.*

According to Megasthenes, the whole population of India is distributed into seven castes; among which, that of the philosophers is held in estimation as the first, notwithstanding their number is the smallest.

Whenever any one sacrifices, or prepares the feasts of the dead in private, it is usual for him to make use of the service of one of them; but the kings publicly gather them together in an assembly, which is called synod, held at the commencement of each new year, in the gate† of the king, where all the philosophers assemble, in order that whatever useful information they have collected relative to the increase of the fruits and animals, or to the state, may be produced in public. And it is a law, that if any among them be three times convicted of falsehood, he shall be doomed to silence during life: but the upright, they release from tax and tribute. The second division is the

* From Strabo, lib. xv. Cory. p. 216.

† This is an oriental expression. Thus "the Sublime Porte." Conf. Psalm cxxvii. 5. and c. 4. Ruth, iv. 1. Deut. xxi. 19.

caste of the agriculturists, who are the most numerous and worthy. They pursue their occupation free from military duties and fear; neither concerning themselves with civil, public, or any other business; and it often happens that, at the same time and place, the military class is arrayed and engaged with an enemy, whilst the agricultural population, depending upon the other for protection, plough and dig without any sort of danger; and since the land is all held of the king, they cultivate upon hire, paying a rent of one fourth of the produce.

The third caste is that of the shepherds and huntsmen, whose sole occupation is hunting, grazing, and selling cattle, for which they give a premium and stipend: and for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds which destroy the grain, they are entitled to a portion of corn from the king, and lead a wandering life, dwelling in tents.

After the huntsmen and shepherds, the fourth race is that of the innholders, artisans, and bodily labourers of all kinds; of whom some bring tribute, or, instead of it, perform stated service in the public works. But the manufacturers of arms and builders of ships are entitled to pay and sustenance from the king, as they labour only for him. The keeper of the military stores gives out arms to the soldiers, and the governor of the docks lets ships for hire to the sailors and merchants.

The fifth caste is the military, who, when disengaged, spend the rest of their time at ease in stations properly provided by the king; in order

that, whenever occasion requires, they may be ready to march immediately, carrying with them nothing else than their bodies. The sixth are the inspectors, whose business it is to pry into all matters that are carried on, and report them privately to the king; for which purpose, in the cities they employ women of the town, and in the army the followers of the camp. They are chosen from the most upright and honourable men. The seventh class are the counsellors and assessors of the king, by whom the government laws and administration are conducted.

It is unlawful either to contract marriages from another caste, or to change one profession or occupation for another, or for one man to undertake more than one, unless the person so doing shall be one of the philosophers, which is permitted on account of their dignity.

Of the governors, some preside over rural, others over civil, others again over military affairs. To the first class is intrusted the inspection of the rivers, and the admeasurements of the fields, after the inundations as in Egypt, and the covered aqueducts by which the water is distributed into channels for the equal supply of all according to their wants. The same have the care of the huntsmen, with the power of dispensing rewards and punishments according to their deserts. They collect also the tribute, and inspect all the arts which are exercised upon the land, as of wrights and carpenters, and the workers of brass and other metals. They also construct the highways, and at every ten

stadia place a milestone, to point out the turnings and distances.

The civil governors are divided into six pentads, some of whom overlook the operative works, and others have charge of all aliens, distributing to them an allowance, and taking cognizance of their lives, if they give them habitations; some they send away, but they take care of the goods of such as happen to die, or are unwell, and bury them when dead. The third class registers the births and deaths, how and when they take place; and this for the sake of the tribute, that no births either of good or evil, nor any deaths, may be unnoticed. The fourth has the care of the tavern keepers and exchanges: these have charge also of the measures and qualities of the goods, that they may be sold according to the proper stamps. Nor is any one permitted to barter more, unless he pay a double tribute. The fifth class presides over the manufactured articles, arranging them, and separating the stamped from the common, the old from the new, and laying a fine upon those who mix them. The sixth and last exacts the tithe of all things sold, with the power of inflicting death on all such as cheat. Each, therefore, has his private duties. But it is the public business of them all to control the private as well as civil affairs of the nation, and to inspect the repairs of the public works, the prices, markets, ports, and temples.

After the civil governors, is the third college, which presides over military affairs, and this in like manner is divided into six pentads, of which the

first is associated with the governor of the fleet; the second, with him who presides over the yokes of oxen, by which the instruments are conveyed, the provisions for themselves and the oxen, and all the other baggage of the army: they have with them, moreover, attendants who play upon drums and bells, together with grooms, smiths, and their under-workmen: and they send forth their foragers to the sound of bells, recompensing their speed with honour or punishment, and attending to their safety. The third class has the charge of the infantry. The fourth, of the cavalry. The fifth, of the chariots. The sixth, of the elephants. Moreover, there are royal stables for the horses and beasts, and a royal arsenal, in which the soldier deposits his accoutrements when he has done with them, and gives up his horse to the master of the horse, and the same with respect to his beasts. They ride without bridles: the oxen draw the chariots along the roads; while the horses are led in halters, that their legs may not be injured, nor their spirit impaired by the draught of the chariots. In addition to the charioteer, each chariot contains two riders; but in the equipment of an elephant its conductor is the fourth, there being three bowmen also upon it.

Such is the account given by Megasthenes of the Indian castes.

The Egyptian nobles were of the upper classes, either of the priestly or military orders; and though Diodorus* tells us all the Egyptians were equally

* Diod. i. 92.

noble, it is not to be supposed that this applied to their rank in society, during life, since in no country, except perhaps India, does the distinction of castes appear to have been so arbitrarily maintained as with the ancient Egyptians. After death, however, no grade was regarded, and every good soul was supposed to become united to that essence from which it derived its origin; and the title of Osiris was applied indiscriminately to men and women of every rank.

THE KING.

It was also from one or other of those two orders that the king was obliged to be chosen; and if he had been a member of the military class, previous to his ascending the throne, it was peremptorily required by the laws* that he should then be admitted into the sacerdotal order, and be instructed in all the secret learning of the priests.

He was the chief of the religion and of the state†, he regulated the sacrifices in the temples, and had the peculiar right of offering them to the gods‡ upon grand occasions; the title and office of

* Plutarch. de Is. ix. "If the choice fell on a soldier, he was immediately initiated into the order of priests, and instructed in their abstruse and hidden philosophy."

† Like the caliphs and Moslem sultans.

‡ In the absence of the kings, the priests officiated. Psammaticus offered libations with the other eleven kings. Herod. ii. 151. In the sculptures the kings always make the offerings in the temples. At Rome, the sovereign held the office of Pontifex maximus. Conf. also Aristotle, "στρατηγος ην και δικαστης ὁ βασιλευς, και των προς τους θεους κυριος." Arist. Polit. iii. 14. Melchizedec was king, priest, and prophet. Among the Indians of America, the sovereign was also a priest. The Lacedæmonian monarchs were consecrated, at their coronation, priests of Jupiter Uranius. The kings of Athens were intrusted with the

"president of the assemblies" belonged exclusively to him, and he superintended the feasts and festivals in honour of the deities. He had the right of proclaiming peace and war; he commanded the armies of the state, and rewarded those whose conduct in the field, or on other occasions, merited his approbation; and every privilege was granted him which was not at variance with good policy or the welfare of his people.

The sovereign power descended from father to son; but in the event of an heir failing, the claims for succession were determined by proximity of parentage, or by right of marriage.* Nor were queens forbidden to undertake the management of affairs†; and on the demise of their husbands they assumed the office of regent; but, though introduced into the annals of Manetho, and Nitocris is mentioned by Herodotus as a queen, their names do not appear in the lists of sovereigns sculptured in the temples of Thebes and Abydus.

In some instances the kingdom was usurped by

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care of divine worship and the performance of the sacred rites; and many ancient monarchs are mentioned, as uniting the office of priest and king: thus Virgil, "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos." With the Jews, the King provided the offering, and the priest officiated. Ezek. xlv. 17. 2 Chron. xxix. 24. Numb. iii. 10. and xvi. 40. It was imputed to Saul a sin for having offered a burnt offering in the place of Samuel. 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 13.

* This I conclude from the mode of deriving their right from ancient kings, sometimes passing over many intermediate names, when they mention their predecessors.

† The Egyptians, at a later period, do not seem to have been favourable to female government, and obliged Cleopatra to marry her younger brother, on the death of the elder Ptolemy; and even afterwards we find the name of her son, Neocæsar, introduced into the sculptures with her own. v. vol. ii. p. 59.

a powerful chief, as in the case of Amasis, or by some Ethiopian prince, who either claiming a right to the Egyptian crown from relationship with the reigning family, or taking advantage of a disturbed state of the country, secured a party there, and obtained possession of it by force of arms; but there are no grounds for supposing that the Egyptian monarchy was elective, as Synesius would lead us to conclude. He affirms that the candidates for the throne of Egypt repaired to a mountain at Thebes, on the Libyan side of the Nile, where all the voters assembled, and according to the show of hands and the proportionate consequence of each voter, who was either of the sacerdotal or military order, the election of the king was decided. But his authority is not of sufficient weight on so doubtful a question, and from being at variance with all that history and monumental record have imparted to us, cannot possibly be admitted.

We find the kings recorded on the monuments as having succeeded from father to son for several generations; and if the election of a king ever took place in Egypt it could only have been when all lawful aspirants were wanting. Diodorus* says, "In ancient times kings, instead of succeeding by right of inheritance, were selected for their merits:" but whether this really was the case at the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy it is difficult to determine. Indeed, both Herodotus and Diodorus mention the first kings being succeeded by their children; and we have positive

* Diod. i. 43.

authority from the sculptures that this was the case during the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties: nor did Plutarch*, in saying "the kings were chosen from the priests or the warriors," mean that the monarchy was elective, except when an heir was wanting. And this is further confirmed by the formula in the Rosetta stone: "The kingdom being established unto him and unto his children for ever." But they did not presume, in consequence of the right of succession, to infringe the regulations enacted for their public and private conduct; and the laws of Egypt, which formed part of the sacred books, were acknowledged to be of divine origin, and were looked upon with superstitious reverence. To have called them in question, or to have disobeyed them, would have been considered rebellion against the Deity, and the offender would have paid the forfeit of his presumption and impiety.

That their laws were framed with the greatest regard to the welfare of the community is abundantly proved by all that ancient history has imparted to us; and Diodorus† observes, "this unparalleled country could never have continued throughout ages in such a flourishing condition, if it had not enjoyed the best of laws and customs, and if the people had not been guided by the most salutary regulations." Nor were these framed for the lower orders only; and their kings, says the same author‡, so far from indulging in those acts

* Plut. de Is. 9. † Diod. i. 69.
‡ Diod. i. 70.

of arbitrary will, unrestrained by the fear of censure, which stain the character of sovereigns in other monarchical states, were contented to submit to the rules of public duty, and even of private life, which had been established by law from the earliest times. Even their daily food was regulated by prescribed rules, and the quantity of wine was limited with scrupulous exactitude.

When a sovereign, having been brought up in the military class *, was ignorant of the secrets of his religion, the first step, as I have already observed, on his accession to the throne, was to make him acquainted with those mysteries, and to enrol him in the college of the priests. He was instructed in all that related to the gods, the service of the temple, the laws of the country, and the duties of a monarch; and, in order to prevent any intercourse with improper persons, who might instil into his mind ideas unworthy of a prince, or at variance with morality, it was carefully provided that no slave or hired servant should hold any office about his person, but that the children of the first families of the priestly order †, who had arrived at man's estate, and were remarkable for having received the best education and profited by it, should alone be permitted to attend him. And this precautionary measure was dictated by the persuasion that no monarch gives way to the im-

* The greater part of the kings, if we may judge from the sculptures, appear to have been of the military caste, at least during the glorious era of the 18th dynasty.

† This agrees very well with the sculptures. The king's sons also held the offices of pages and fan-bearers. Diod. i. 70.

pulse of evil passions, unless he finds those about him ready to serve as instruments to his caprices, and to encourage his excesses.

It was not on his own will that his occupations depended, but on those rules of duty and propriety which the wisdom of his ancestors had framed, with a just regard to the welfare of the king and of his people.* They argued that he was an officer of the state; that the situation he held had not been made for his sole benefit, but for that of the nation, which he was bound to serve as well as to govern; and the king was thought rather to belong to the nation than the nation to the king. Impressed with these ideas, the Egyptian monarchs refused not to obey those lessons which the laws had laid down for their conduct: their occupations, both by day and night, were regulated by prescribed rules; a time was set apart for every duty, and a systematic method of transacting business was found to lead to those results which a disregard of order usually fails to produce. At break of day† public business commenced, all the epistolary correspondence was then examined, and the subject of each letter was considered with the attention it required. The ablutions for prayer were then performed, and the monarch, having put on the robes of ceremony, and attended by proper officers, with the insignia of royalty, repaired to the temple to superintend

* A few injunctions for the conduct of a Jewish king are given in Deut. xvii. 16.

† Diod. i. 70. Herodotus (ii. 173.) says that Amasis employed himself about public business from daybreak till market time, or about the third hour of day.

the customary sacrifices to the gods of the sanctuary. The victims being brought to the altar, it was usual for the high priest to place himself close to the king, while the whole congregation* present on the occasion stood round at a short distance from them, and to offer up prayers for the monarch†, beseeching the gods to bestow on him health and all other blessings‡, in return for his respect to the laws, his love of justice, and his general conduct towards the people he ruled. His qualities were then separately enumerated; and the high priest particularly noticed his piety towards the gods, and his clemency and affable demeanour towards men. He lauded his self-command, his justice, his magnanimity, his love of truth, his munificence and generosity, and, above all, his entire freedom from envy§ and covetousness. He

* This ceremony must have taken place in the court of the temple and not in the sanctuary, since the people were admitted to it. The entrance into the holy of holies, or the sanctuary, was only on particular occasions, as with the Jews. Ezek. xlii. 13, 14., in speaking of the temple, and Exod. xxviii. 29.

† As in the Moslem mosks, from the times of the caliphs to the present day. On the conquest of Egypt by Soltan Seleem, the aristocracy of the Memlooks was left, on condition of annual tribute to the Osmanlis, obedience in matters of faith to the Mooftee of Constantinople, and the insertion of the name of the soltan in the public prayers and on the coin. Mohammed Ali had an idea of introducing his own instead of Soltan Mahmood's name during the war of Syria in 1832—1833.

‡ Conf. the Rosetta stone: "In return for which, the gods have given him health, victory, power, and all other good things, the kingdom being established unto him and unto his children for ever," which is, perhaps, the real formula here alluded to by Diodorus.

§ Some of the king's names seem even to bear a similar meaning, if we may believe the Laterculus of Eratosthenes, where one is translated Abascantus, *i.e.* invidiâ carens, though I confess Sirios does not appear to admit of that interpretation. Many of these eulogistic epithets occur in the obelisk inscription of Hermapion; as, "the mighty lover of truth," "whom the Sun has preferred;" "to whom the gods have given a life free from satiety," &c.

exalted his moderation in awarding the most lenient punishment to those who had transgressed, and his benevolence in requiting with unbounded liberality those who had merited his favours. These and other similar encomiums having been passed on the character of the monarch, the priest proceeded to review the general conduct of kings, and to point out those faults which were the result of ignorance and misplaced confidence. And it is worthy of remark, that this ancient people had already adopted the principle, that the king should be exonerated from blame *, while every curse and evil was denounced against his ministers, and those advisers who had given him injurious counsel. The object of this oration, says Diodorus, was to exhort the sovereign to live in fear of the Deity, and to cherish that upright line of conduct and demeanour, which was deemed pleasing to the gods; and they hoped, that, by avoiding the bitterness of reproach and by celebrating the praises of virtue, they might stimulate him to the exercise of those duties which he was expected to fulfil. The king then proceeded to examine the entrails of the victim, and to perform the usual ceremonies of sacrifice; and the hierogrammateus, or sacred scribe, read those extracts from the holy writings which recorded the deeds and sayings of the most celebrated men.

It was recommended, that the prince should

* That the king could do no wrong is a much older notion than we generally imagine. *Vide* Diod. i. 70. *τον μεν βασιλεα των εγκλημαtων εξαιρουμενος*, &c. The title given to them, "living for ever," seems also to bear analogy to the idea of the king *never dying*.

listen to that good advice which was dictated by experience, and attend to those lessons which were derived from the example or history of former monarchs; and he was particularly enjoined to conform to a line of conduct which in other instances had proved beneficial to the state. But it was not in public alone that he was warned of his duty; and the laws subjected every action of his private life to as severe a scrutiny as his behaviour in the administration of affairs. The hours for washing, walking, and all the amusements and occupations of the day, were settled with precision, and the quantity as well as the quality of his food were regulated by law: simplicity was required both in eating and drinking, and Diodorus affirms that their table only admitted the meat of oxen and geese.* A moderate allowance of wine was also permitted; but all excess was forbidden and prevented, upon the principle that food was designed for the support of the body, and not for the gratification of an intemperate appetite. And, though we cannot admit the opinion of Plutarch†, who, on the authority of Eudoxus, affirms that wine‡ was not allowed to the kings previous to the time of Psamaticus, this statement of Diodorus derives from it an additional testimony that the kings at all times conformed to the laws in private

* They were the most usual meats; but they had also the wild goat, gazelle, oryx, and wild fowl of various kinds, as we learn from the sculptures.

† De Isid. et Osir. s. vi.

‡ We find that as early as the time of Joseph the Egyptian kings drank wine; since the chief *butler* of Pharaoh is mentioned in virtue of his office pouring out wine to the monarch. Gen. xl. 11.

as well as in public life. In short, he adds, the regulations concerning food and temperance were of such a salutary nature, that one would rather imagine them the regimen of some learned physician, who anxiously consulted the health of the prince, than an extract from a legislative code.

But the most admirable part of their institutions, says the same historian, did not consist in sanatory regulations, which forbade the sovereign to transgress the rules of temperance, nor has the conduct of the princes, who submitted themselves to such laws, the chief claim upon our admiration; our praise is mainly due to those wise ordinances which prevented the chief of the state from judging or acting thoughtlessly, and from punishing any one through the impulse of anger, revenge, or any other unjust motive. And as he was thus constrained to act in obedience to the laws, all punishments were inflicted according to real justice and impartiality.

To persons habituated to the practice of virtue, these duties became at length a source of gratification, and they felt convinced that they tended as well to their own happiness as to the welfare of the state. They acknowledged the mischief which would arise from allowing the passions of men to be unbridled, and that love, anger, and other violent impulses of the mind, being stronger than the recollection of duty, were capable of leading away those even who were well acquainted with the precepts of morality. They, therefore, willingly submitted to those rules of conduct already laid down

and sanctioned by competent legislators; and by the practice of justice towards their subjects, they secured to themselves that good will which was due from children to a parent; whence it followed that not only the college of priests but the whole Egyptian nation was as anxious for the welfare of the king as for that of their own wives and children, or whatever was most dear to them. And this, as Diodorus observes, was the main cause of the duration of the Egyptian state, which not only lasted long, but enjoyed the greatest prosperity, waging successful wars on distant nations, and enabled by immense riches, resulting from foreign conquest, to display a magnificence, in its provinces and cities, unequalled by that of any other country.

Love and respect were not merely shown to the sovereign during his lifetime, but were continued to his memory after his demise; and the manner in which his funeral obsequies were celebrated tended to show, that, though their benefactor was no more, they retained a grateful sense of his goodness, and admiration for his virtues. And what, says the historian, can convey a greater testimony of sincerity, free from all colour of dissimulation, than the cordial acknowledgment of a benefit, when the person who conferred it no longer lives to witness the honour done to his memory?

On the death of every Egyptian king, a general mourning was instituted throughout the country

for seventy-two days*, hymns commemorating his virtues were sung, the temples were closed, sacrifices were no longer offered, and no feasts or festivals were celebrated during the whole of that period. The people tore their garments†, and, covering their heads with dust and mud, formed a

No. 7. People throwing dust on their heads, in token of grief. *Thebes.*

procession of 200 or 300 persons of both sexes, who met twice a day in public to sing the funeral dirge. A general fast was also observed, and they neither allowed themselves to taste meat or wheat bread, and abstained, moreover, from wine and every kind of luxury.

* Conf. the custom of the Jews, and Gen. l. 3. "The Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days," for "so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed."

† A common custom to the present day in rage and grief. Conf. the Scriptures, passim. They have different modes of rending their garments, according to the degree of anger, the excess of grief, or the display of feeling requisite upon each occasion; and thus, when bewailing the loss of a parent, the rent is proportionably greater than when mourning the death of an acquaintance.

In the meantime, the funeral was prepared, and on the last day the body was placed in state within the vestibule of the tomb, and an account was then given of the life and conduct of the deceased. It was permitted to any one present to offer himself as an accuser, and the voice of the people might prevent a sovereign enjoying the customary funeral obsequies; a worldly ordeal, the dread of which tended to stimulate the Egyptian monarchs to the practice of their duty far more than any feeling inculcated by respect for the laws or the love of virtue.

FIRST CASTE: THE PRIESTS.

The Egyptians, as I have already observed, were divided into four principal castes: the sacerdotal order, the peasants*, the townsmen, and the common people. Next to the king, the priests held the first rank, and from them were chosen his confidential and responsible advisers†, the judges, and all the principal officers of state. They associated with the monarch, whom they assisted in the performance of his public duties, and to whom they explained, from the sacred books, those moral lessons which were laid down for his conduct, and which he was required to observe; and by their

* I have included the military under this general denomination on the authority of Diodorus; but I suppose a great distinction existed in the subdivisions of the caste, and the military order, which was one of them, must have held a rank far above the others.

† "The wise counsellors of Pharaoh." Isaiah, xix. 11. Diodorus, i. 73.

great experience, their knowledge of the past, and their skill in augury and astronomy, they were supposed to presage future events, and to foresee an impending calamity, or the success of any undertaking. It was not one man or one woman, as Diodorus observes, who was appointed to the priesthood, but many were employed together in performing sacrifices and other ceremonies; and each college of priests was distinguished according to the deity to whose service it belonged, or according to the peculiar office held by its members.

The principal classes into which the sacerdotal order was divided have been already enumerated; there were also many minor priests of various deities, as well as the scribes and priests of the kings*, and numerous other divisions of the caste. Nor should we omit the priestesses of the gods, or of the kings and queens, each of whom bore a title indicating her peculiar office. Of the former, the Pellices, or Pallacides, of Amun, are the most remarkable, as the importance of their post sufficiently proves; and if we are not correctly informed of the real extent and nature of their duties, yet, since females of the noblest families, and princesses, as well as the queens themselves, esteemed it an honour to perform them, we may conclude the post was one of the highest to which they could aspire in the service of religion.

They are the same whom Herodotus mentions

* Conf. the Rosetta stone and the sculptures, as well as the papyri mentioned by Dr. Young, Hierog. Lit. p. 72.

as γυναικας ιρηΐας *, consecrated to the Theban Jove, whose sepulchres, said by Diodorus to have been about ten stadia from the tomb of Osymandyas†, are still seen at Thebes, in a valley 3000 feet behind the ruins of Medeenet Haboo: and this fact strongly confirms, and is confirmed by, the evidence of the sculptures, which show them to have been females of the highest rank, since all the occupants of those tombs were either the wives or daughters of kings.

Besides this class of priestesses, was another of similar rank, apparently a subdivision of the same, who fulfilled certain duties entrusted only to the wives and daughters of priests, and not unusually to members of the same family as the Pallacides. They had also the privilege of holding the sacred sistra in religious ceremonies, before the altar and on other occasions, and were attached to the service of the same deity.‡

The ridiculous story of their prostitution could only have originated in the depraved notions and ignorance of the Greeks, fond of the marvellous, and notorious as they were for a superficial acquaintance with the customs of foreign nations; and it is unnecessary to request a sensible person to consider, whether it is more probable that women, who devoted themselves to the service of religion, among the most pious people of antiquity§, and who held the rank and consequence

* Herod. ii. 54. † Diod. i. 47.
‡ See wood-cut, p. 260.
§ I mean, of course, of profane nations.

fig. 5. *fig.* 4. *fig.* 3. *fig.* 2. *fig.* 1.

The Queens of Remeses the Great. The Mother, Daughter, and Sister of a Priest. *Thebes.*

No. 8. Sacred offices held by Women.

necessarily enjoyed by the wives and daughters of a monarch, and of the principal nobles of a country, should have sacrificed every feeling of delicacy and virtue, or that the authors of the story were deceived, and perhaps intended to deceive others.

Herodotus states that women were not eligible to the priesthood, either of a male or female deity, and that men were alone admitted to this post*; but his remark evidently applies to the office of pontiff, or at least to some of the higher sacerdotal orders, from his referring in another place† to women devoted to the service of Amun, as well as from the authority of other writers. Diodorus‡, indeed, describes Athyrtis, the daughter of Sesostris, so well versed in divination that she foretold to her father the future success of his arms, and engaged him to prosecute his designs of conquest: her knowledge in these matters being sufficient to influence the conduct of the monarch, who was himself, in the capacity of high priest, well versed in all the secrets of religion: and her visions and omens were observed *in* the temple itself. Again, in the Rosetta stone, and the papyri of Paris and Sig. D'Anastasy§, we find direct mention made of the priestesses of the queens. In the former, "Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philadelphus: and Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy, priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philopator:

* Herod. ii. 39. † Herod. ii. 54.
‡ Diod. i. 53.
§ Dr. Young's Hierog. Literature, p. 72. and 65.

and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, being canefora (or basket-bearer) of Berenice, the daughter of Euergetes;" and in the latter, are "the priestess of Arsinoe, the father-loving:" and "the prize-bearer of Berenice Euergetes: the basket-bearer of Arsinoe Philadelphus: and the priestess of Arsinoe Eupator:" and those of the three Cleopatras.*

The same office usually descended from father to son†, but the grade was sometimes changed; and it is probable that even, when a husband was devoted to the service of one deity, a wife might perform the duties of priestess to another. They enjoyed important privileges, which extended to their whole family. They were exempt from taxes; they consumed no part of their own income in any of their necessary expenses‡; and they had one of the three portions into which the land of Egypt was divided, free from all duties. They were provided for from the public stores, out of which they received a stated allowance of corn and all the other necessaries of life; and we find that when Pharaoh, by the advice of Joseph, took all the land of the Egyptians in lieu of corn §, the priests were not obliged to make the same sacrifice of their landed property, nor was the tax of the fifth part of the produce entailed upon it, as on

* In p. 72. of Dr. Young.

† Diod. i. 73. Proofs of this are frequently met with in the sculptures; but I believe that though a priest was son of a priest, the peculiar office held by a son may sometimes have been different in point of rank from that of his father.

‡ Herodot. ii. 37.

§ Gen. xlvii. 20. 22.

that of the other people.* Diodorus states, that the land was divided into three portions, one of which belonged to the king, the other to the priests, and the third to the military order; and I am inclined to think this exclusive right of freehold property is alluded to in the sculptures of the Egyptian tombs. And if the only persons there represented as landed proprietors are the kings, priests, and military men†, this accordance of the sculptures with the scriptural account is peculiarly interesting, as it recalls the fact of Pharaoh's having bought all the land of the Egyptians, who farmed it afterwards for the proprietor of the soil, on condition of paying him a fifth of the annual produce; though Herodotus would lead us to infer that Sesostris divided the lands among the people‡, and having allotted to each a certain portion, received an annual rent from the peasant by whom it was cultivated.

In the sacerdotal, as among the other classes, a great distinction existed between the different grades, and the various orders of priests ranked according to their peculiar office. The chief and high priests held the first and most honourable station; but he who offered sacrifice in the temple appears to have had, at least for the time, the

* Gen. lxvii. 26.

† The priests and soldiers had an allowance from the government; though the latter are not mentioned as having profited by this during the famine of Joseph.

‡ Herodot. ii. 189. *Vide infra*, on the lawgivers; and *supra*, p. 74. Unless he means that the crown lands were portioned out, and given to the peasants to farm, on payment of a certain rent, or a fifth of the produce, as mentioned in Genesis, xlvii. 26.

highest post, and one that was usually filled by the kings themselves. It is, however, probable that the chief priests took it by turns to officiate on those occasions, and that the honour of doing sacrifice was not confined to one alone; but the priests of one deity were not called upon to perform the ceremonies in the temple of another, though no injunction prevented any of them making offerings to the contemplar gods, and still less to Osiris in his capacity of judge of Amenti. Some also, who were attached to the service of certain divinities, held a rank far above the rest; and the priests of the great gods were looked upon with far greater consideration than those of the minor deities. In many provinces and towns, those who belonged to particular temples were in greater repute than others; and it was natural that the priests who were devoted to the service of the presiding deity of the place should be preferred by the inhabitants, and be treated with greater honour. Thus the priests of Amun held the first rank at Thebes, those of Pthah at Memphis, of Re at Heliopolis, and the same throughout the nomes of which these were the chief cities.

One of the principal grades of the priesthood was the prophets. They were particularly versed in all matters relating to religion, the laws, the worship of the gods, and the discipline of the whole order; and they not only presided over the temple and the sacred rites, but directed the management of the priestly revenues.* In the solemn

* Clem. Alex. strom. i. p. 758.

processions, their part was conspicuous; they bore the holy *hydria*, or vase, which was frequently carried by the king himself on similar occasions; and when any new regulations were introduced in affairs of religion, they, in conjunction with the chief priests, were the first whose opinion was consulted, as we find in the Rosetta stone, where, in passing a decree regarding the honours to be conferred on Ptolemy Epiphanes, "the chief priests and prophets" headed the conclave assembled in the temple of Memphis.*

The sacred office of the priests, by giving them the exclusive right to regulate all spiritual matters, as well as to announce the will, threaten the wrath, and superintend the worship, of the gods, was calculated to ensure them universal respect; and they were esteemed for a superior understanding, and for that knowledge which could only be acquired by the peculiar nature of their education. In consideration of the services they were bound to perform in the temples, for the welfare of the country and of its inhabitants, they were provided with ample revenues, besides numerous free gifts; for the Egyptians deemed it right that the administration of the honours paid to the gods should not be fluctuating, but be conducted always by the same persons, in the same becoming manner, and that those, who were above all their fellow-citizens

* "The chief priests and prophets, and those who have access to the adytum, to clothe the gods, and the pterophoræ, and the sacred scribes, and all the other priests . . . . . assembled in the temple at Memphis, established the following decree." Ros. St. line 6.

in wisdom and knowledge, ought not to be below any of them in the comforts and conveniences of life. With a similar view, a stated portion was assigned also to the kings, in order that they might be enabled to reward the services of those who merited well of their country, and that by having ample means for supporting their own splendour and dignity, they might not burthen their subjects with oppressive and extraordinary taxes.*

The chief cause of the ascendency they acquired over the minds of the people was the importance attached to the mysteries, to a thorough understanding of which the priests could alone arrive; and so sacred did they hold those secrets that many members of the sacerdotal order were not admitted to a participation of them, and those alone were selected for initiation who had proved themselves virtuous and deserving of the honour: a fact, satisfactorily proved by the evidence of Clement of Alexandria, who says, "the Egyptians neither entrusted their mysteries to every one, nor degraded the secrets of divine matters by disclosing them to the profane, reserving them for the heir apparent of the throne †, and for such of the priests as excelled in virtue and wisdom."‡

From all we can learn on the subject, it appears that the mysteries consisted of two degrees, denominated the greater and the less §; and in order to

* Diod. i. 73.

† If of the priestly order.

‡ Clem. Alex. strom. i. p. 670. He adds, "Therefore, in their hidden character, the enigmas of the Egyptians are very similar to those of the Jews."

§ Like the Eleusinian, which were borrowed from Egypt.

become qualified for admission into the higher class, it was necessary to have passed through those of the inferior degree: and each of them was probably divided into ten different grades. It was necessary that the character of the candidate for initiation should be pure and unsullied; and novitiates were commanded to study those lessons which tended to purify the mind, and to encourage morality. The honour of ascending from the less to the greater mysteries was as highly esteemed as it was difficult to obtain: no ordinary qualification recommended the aspirant to this important privilege; and independent of enjoying an acknowledged reputation for learning and morality, he was required to undergo the most severe ordeal*, and to show the greatest moral resignation; but the ceremony of passing under the knife of the Hierophant†, was merely emblematic of the regeneration of the *neophyte*.

That no one except the priests was privileged to initiation into the greater mysteries, is evident from the fact of a prince, and even the heir apparent, if of the military order, not being made partaker of those important secrets, nor instructed in them until his accession to the throne, when, in virtue of his kingly office, he became a member of the priesthood and the head of the religion. It is not, how-

* I do not allude to the method of frightening the novice, which I do not suppose to have been practised on these occasions, especially in the initiation of the members of the priestly order; if, indeed, this was ever done in Egypt before the time of the Romans.

† I suppose some of the headless figures in the tombs of the kings, at Thebes, refer to this ceremony.

ever, less certain that, at a later period, many besides the priests, and even some Greeks, were admitted to the lesser mysteries; yet in these cases also their advancement through the different grades must have depended on a strict conformance to prescribed rules.

On the education of the Egyptians Diodorus* makes the following remarks: — "The children of the priests are taught two different kinds of writing†, — what is called the sacred, and the more general; and they pay great attention to geometry and arithmetic. For the river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, is the cause of many and various discussions among neighbouring proprietors about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical reasoning, founded on actual observation.

Of arithmetic they have also frequent need, both in their domestic economy, and in the application of geometrical theorems, besides its utility in the cultivation of astronomical studies; for the orders and motions of the stars are observed at least as

* Diodor. i. 81. Conf. Herod. ii. 36. "They have two sorts of writing, the sacred and the demotic."

† Perhaps Diodorus and Herodotus both refer to the hieratic and enchorial, or demotic, without considering the hieroglyphic; but Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria are more explicit. The former states that Pythagoras (when in Egypt) became acquainted with the three kinds of writing, the epistolic, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic; and the latter says, "that in the education of the Egyptians three styles of writing are taught: the first is called the epistolary (enchorial, or demotic); the second, the sacerdotal (hieratic), which the sacred scribes employ; and the third, the hieroglyphic. Porph. in Vitâ Pythag., p. 15. Clem. Alex. strom. 5. vol. ii. p. 657. The Egyptian languages and characters I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

industriously by the Egyptians as by any people whatever; and they keep record of the motions of each for an incredible number of years, the study of this science having been, from the remotest times, an object of national ambition with them. They have also most punctually observed the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, as well as the powers which they possess with respect to the nativities of animals, and what good or evil influences they exert; and they frequently foretel what is to happen to a man throughout his life, and not uncommonly predict the failure of crops, or an abundance, and the occurrence of epidemic diseases among men and beasts: foreseeing also earthquakes and floods, the appearance of comets, and a variety of other things which appear impossible to the multitude. It is said that the Chaldæans in Babylon are derived from an Egyptian colony, and have acquired their reputation for astrology by means of the information obtained from the priests in Egypt.

But the generality of the common people learn only from their parents or relations that which is required for the exercise of their peculiar professions, as we have already shown; a few only being taught anything of literature, and those principally the better classes of artificers."

Hence it appears they were not confined to any particular rules in the mode of educating their children, and it depended upon a parent to choose the degree of instruction he deemed most suitable to their mode of life and occupations, as among other civilized nations.

In their minute observations respecting every event of consequence, Herodotus states that the Egyptians surpassed all other men; and "when any thing occurs," says the historian*, "they put it down in writing, and pay particular attention to the circumstances which follow it; and if in process of time any similar occurrence takes place, they conclude it will be attended with the same results."

If the outward show and pomp of religion, for which the ancient Egyptians were so noted, appear to us unnecessary, and inconsistent with real devotion, we must make suitable allowance for the manners of an eastern nation, and bear in mind that the priests were not guilty of inculcating maxims they did not themselves follow; but on the contrary, by their upright conduct, and by imposing on themselves duties far more severe than those required from any other class of the community, they set an example to the people by which they could not fail to benefit. And the strict purification of body and mind they were bound to undergo, both as members of those sacred institutions, and as persons devoted to the service of the gods, not only obtained for them the esteem of the rest of the Egyptians, but tended also to ameliorate their own character; and their piety and virtue† were as conspicuous as their learning.

* Herod. ii. 32.

† Though many enjoyed the comforts and luxuries of this world, it does not follow that they failed, on this account, in the practice of morality.

We may, perhaps, feel disposed to blame the Egyptian priests for their exclusiveness in the study of religion, and in keeping concealed from the people those secrets which it imparted; but it was argued that being fully engaged in the temporal occupations of the world, the theories of metaphysical speculation were unnecessary for their welfare, and incompatible with their employments. They deemed it sufficient to warn them of their duty, and urge them to conform to the rules laid down for the encouragement of morality; and the dread both of a temporal, and a future, ordeal, was held out to them as an inducement to lead a just and virtuous life. Restrained by the fear of punishment hereafter, and by the hope of a happier state, and dreading the displeasure of their rulers and the severity of the laws, they were necessarily taught to command their passions, and to practise, or at least to appreciate, virtue; and respect for their spiritual pastors being heightened by the idea of their possessing superior talents, they obeyed their commands with deference and submission.

It appears to have been the object of the priests to enhance the value of their knowledge, and thereby more easily to gain an ascendency over the minds of a superstitious people; a measure which naturally strikes us as illiberal and despotic: but if we remember how much the force of habit and the sanctity of established laws serve to reconcile men to the form of government under which they have long lived, we cease to be surprised at the fondness of the Egyptians for their ancient in-

stitutions; and if they were so well satisfied with them that every innovation was resisted, and the Ptolemies and Cæsars vainly endeavoured to suggest improvements in their laws, we may conclude that the system and regulations of the Egyptian priests were framed with wisdom, and tended to the happiness as well as to the welfare of the people. And when the members of the legislative body are possessed of superior talents, even though their measures are absolute, they frequently govern with great benefit to the community; and this paternal authority is certainly more desirable in the ruling power than physical force.

Some will also question the policy or the justice of adopting such exclusive measures in the study of religion; but we may be allowed to doubt the prudence of allowing every one, in a nation * peculiarly addicted to speculative theory, to dabble in so abstruse a study. We have observed the injury done to the morals of society in Greece, at Rome, and in other places, by the fanciful interpretation of mysteries and hidden truths, which being misunderstood, were strangely perverted; and licence in religious speculation has always been the cause of schism, and an aberration from the purity of the original. At a later period, when every one was permitted to indulge in superstitious theories, the Egyptians of all classes be-

* Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxii. c. xvi.) says, "Homines Ægyptii plerique subfusculi sunt, et atrati, magisque mæstiores, gracilenti et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescentes, *controversi, et reposcones acerrimi.*"

came notorious for their wild and fanciful notions, which did not fail eventually to assail Christianity, for a time tainting the purity of that religion; and we find from Vopiscus, that the Emperor Aurelian considered them "smatterers in abstruse science, prophecy, and medicine; eager for innovation, which formed the subject of their songs and ballads; always turning their talents for poetry and epigram against the magistrates, and ready to assert their pretended liberties."

There is therefore less reason to censure the Egyptian priests for their conduct in these matters, though a little insight into the foundation of their theological system would have been more beneficial to the people than the blind creed of an imaginary polytheism, which was contrary to the spirit of the religion they themselves professed, but which the people were taught or left to believe. For it was unjust and cruel to conceal under the fabulous guise of a plurality of gods that knowledge of the attributes and omnipotence of the Deity which the priests themselves possessed*; and it was iniquitous to degrade the nature of the divinity by bringing it down to the level of the gross imaginations of the people, when they had the means of raising their minds, by giving them an insight into some of those truths which have merited the name of "the wisdom of the Egyptians." The unity of the Deity would have been a doctrine which all classes might have been taught; and the

* I allude to the priests of an early epoch, and not in the time of the Romans.

eternal existence and invisible power of Îhôah* would have offered a higher notion of the Cause and Ruler of all things than any mention of his attributes, or the fanciful representation of a god in the sculptures of their temples. It would have been unnecessary to explain the nature or peculiar occupation of a trinity, the mysterious connection between truth and the creative power (which is referred to in their sculptures); and imprudent to confuse their ideas with the notion of intermediate temporal and intellectual agents, or with the abstruse science of numbers and geometrical emblems.

If the priests were anxious to establish a character for learning and piety, they were not less so in their endeavours to excel in propriety of outward demeanour, and to set forth a proper example of humility and self-denial; and if not in their houses, at least in their mode of living, they were remarkable for simplicity and abstinence. They committed no excesses either in eating or drinking; their food was plain, and in a stated quantity†, and wine‡ was used with the strictest regard to moderation. And so fearful were they lest the body should not "sit light upon the soul§,"

* I use the Hebrew name of the deity in unity, "the Being of Beings," "who is and was;" Jehovah (Yehouah); this word has been still further changed by our custom of giving J the force of G: of which there are many instances, as Jacob, Judah, jot, and others.

† Herodot. ii. 37.

‡ During the fasts, which were frequent, Plutarch says they abstained from it entirely. (Plut. de Is. s. vi.) The Jewish priests were not permitted to drink wine when they went "into the tabernacle of the congregation." Levit. x. 9.

§ Plut. de Is. s. v.; on the principle of *plus de corps, moins d'esprit.*

and excess should cause a tendency to increase "the corporeal man," that they paid a scrupulous attention to the most trifling particulars of diet: and similar precautions were extended even to the deified animals: Apis, if we may believe Plutarch*, not being allowed to drink the water of the Nile, since it was thought to possess a fattening property.

They were not only scrupulous about the quantity, but the quality of their food; and certain viands were alone allowed to appear at table. Above all meats, that of swine was particularly obnoxious; and fish both of the sea and the Nile was forbidden them†, though so generally eaten by the rest of the Egyptians. And indeed, on the 9th of the month Thoth‡, when a religious ceremony obliged all the people to eat a fried fish before the door of their houses, the priests were not even then expected to conform to the general custom, and they were contented to substitute the ceremony of burning theirs at the appointed time. Beans they held in utter abhorrence; and Herodotus affirms§ that "they were never sown in the country; and if they grew spontaneously, they neither formed an article of food, nor even if cooked were ever eaten by the Egyptians." But this aversion, which originated in a supposed sanitary regulation, and which was afterwards so

* Plut. de Is. s. v.

† Pythagoras borrowed his aversion to fish from Egypt. Plut. Symp. viii. 8.

‡ Plutarch says, "the first month," which was Thoth. The 1st of Thoth coincided, at the time of the Roman conquest, with the 29th of August. Plut. de Is. s. vii. *Vide* Herodot ii. 37.

§ Herodot. ii. 37.

scrupulously adopted by Pythagoras, "did not," as I have already had occasion to observe*, "preclude their cultivation;" and Diodorus† expressly states, that some only abstained from them, as from others of the numerous pulse and vegetables which abounded in Egypt. Of these, lentils, peas, garlick, leeks, and onions‡ were the most objectionable, and no priest was permitted to eat them under any pretence; but that the prohibition regarding them, as well as certain meats, was confined to the sacerdotal order, is evident from the statements of many ancient writers; and even swine were§, if we may believe Plutarch‖, not forbidden to the other Egyptians at all times: "for those who sacrifice a sow to Typho once a year, at the full moon, afterwards eat its flesh."

It is a remarkable fact that onions, as well as the first fruits of their lentils¶, were admitted among the offerings placed upon the altars of the gods, together with gourds**, cakes, beef, goose, or wild fowl, grapes, figs, wine, and the head of the victim; and they were sometimes arranged in a hollow circular bunch, which, descending upon the table or altar, enveloped and served as a cover

* In my Egypt and Thebes, p. 216.

† Diod. i. 89.

‡ Plut. s. viii. Diod. i. 81. Juv. sat. xv. "Porrum et cepe nefas violare ac frangere morsu."

§ On the day of the full moon, says Herodotus, the people eat part of the victim they have sacrificed to that deity, but on no other occasion do they taste the meat of swine. ii. 47.

‖ Plut. de Is. s. viii.

¶ They were offered in the month of Mesore (August). Plut. de Is. s. lxviii.

** Cucurbita lagenaria, γ, fructu longiore, eduli, of Linn. Arab. qarra toweel.

to whatever was placed upon it. And the privilege of presenting them in this form appears to have been generally enjoyed by that class of priests who wore the leopard-skin dress.*

No. 9. Mode of tying up the onions for some offerings. *Thebes.*

In general, "the priests abstained from most sorts of pulse, from mutton, and swine's flesh; and in their more solemn purifications, even excluded salt from their meals†;" but some vegetables were considered lawful food, being preferred by them for their wholesome nature, and it is certain that the leguminous productions and fruits of Egypt are frequently introduced into the sculptures, and are noticed by Pliny and other authors‡ as abundant, and of the most excellent quality.

In their ablutions as in their diet, they were

* This spotted skin has been mistaken for that of the νεβρις, or fawn. Plut. de Is. s. xxxv.

† Plut. de Is. s. v.

‡ When Alexandria was taken by Amer, 4000 persons were engaged in selling vegetables in that city.

equally severe, and they maintained the strictest observance of numerous religious customs. They bathed twice a day and twice during the night*; and some who pretended to a more rigid observance of religious duties, washed themselves with water which had been tasted by the ibis, supposed in consequence to bear an unquestionable evidence of its purity; and shaving the head and the whole body every third day, they spared no pains to promote the cleanliness of their persons, without indulging in the luxuries of the bath.† A grand ceremony of purification took place previous and preparatory to their fasts, many of which lasted from seven to forty-two days‡, and sometimes even a longer period: during which time they abstained entirely from animal food, from herbs and vegetables, and above all from the indulgence of the passions.

DRESSES.

Their dress was simple; but the robes of ceremony were grand and imposing, and each grade was distinguished by its peculiar costume.

The high priest who superintended the immolating of the victims, the processions of the sacred boats or arks, the presentation of the offerings at the altar§, or at funerals, and the anointing of the

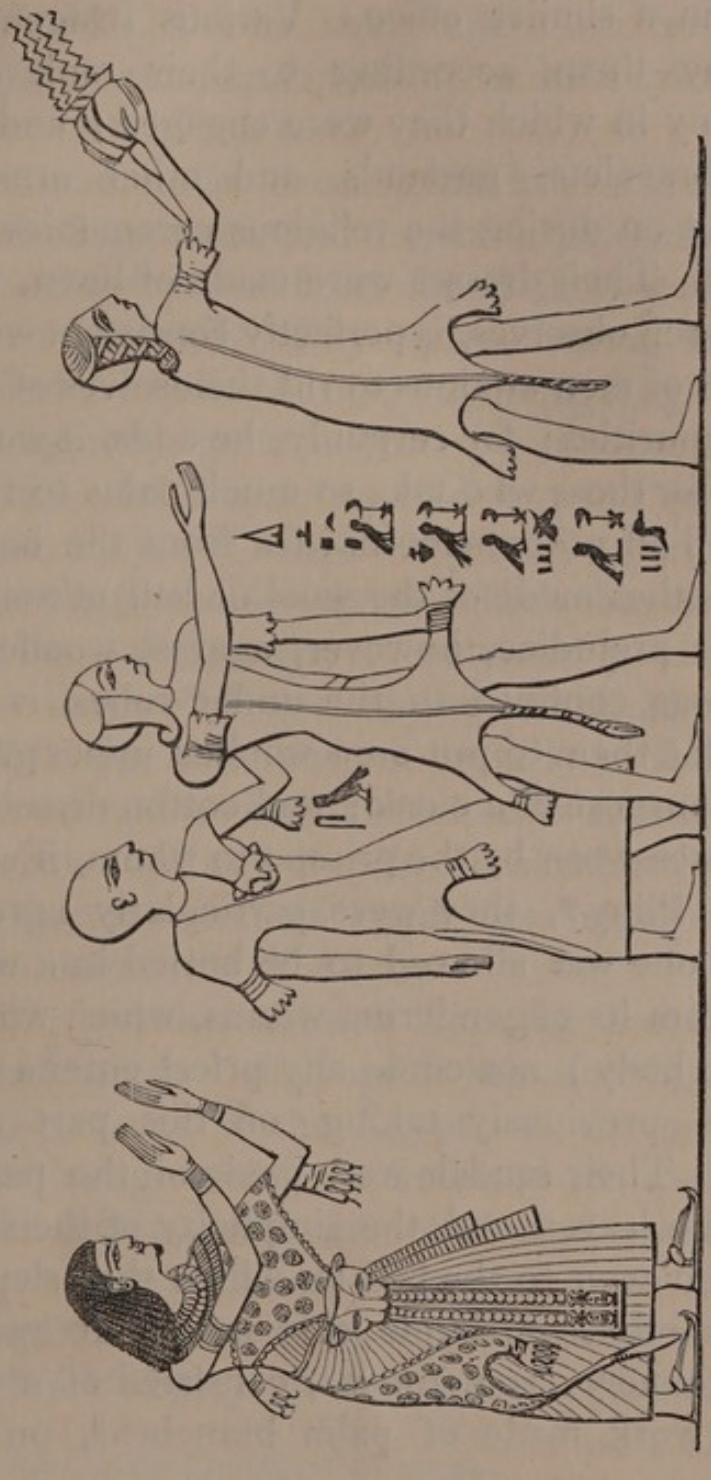
* Herodot. ii. 37. Porphyry says thrice a day, and the nocturnal ablutions were only required on certain occasions.

† It is supposed that Homer alludes to this when speaking of the priests of Jove (Il. xvi. 238.), though he describes them with unwashed *feet*: —

"*αμφι δε Σελλοι*
Σοι ναιους' υποφηται ανιπτοποδες, χαμαιευναι."

‡ Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, l. iv. s.7.

§ Probably in the capacity of priest to the king.



No. 10. *fig.* 1. *fig.* 2. *fig.* 3. *fig.* 4. *Thebes.*

Priests clad in a leopard skin.

king, was covered with a sort of mantle made of an entire leopard skin; and this badge was also attached to the dress of the monarch when en-

gaged in a similar office. Various insignia were worn by them, according to their rank or the ceremony in which they were engaged; and necklaces, bracelets, garlands, and other ornaments were put on during the religious ceremonies in the temples. Their dresses were made of linen, which, as Plutarch observes, is perfectly consistent with the customs of men anxious to rid themselves of all natural impurities; for certainly, he adds, it would be absurd for those who take so much pains to remove hair and all other superfluities from the body, to wear clothes made of the wool or hair of animals.

Their prejudice, however, against woollen garments was confined to the under robes, it being lawful for them to put on a woollen upper garment for the purpose of a cloak; and cotton dresses were sometimes worn by the priests, to whom, if we may believe Pliny*, they were particularly agreeable. But no one was allowed to be buried in a woollen robe, from its engendering worms, which would injure the body; nor could any priest enter a temple without previously taking off this part of his dress.† Their sandals were made of the papyrus‡ and palm leaves, and the simplicity of their habits extended even to the bed on which they slept. It was sometimes a simple skin extended upon the bare ground§; sometimes it consisted of a sort of wicker work made of palm branches‖, on which

* Plin. xix. 1. Herodotus says they only wore linen. iii. 37.
† Herod. ii. 81. ‡ Conf. Herod. ii. 37.
§ Eustath. in Homer Il. xvi. 235.
‖ No doubt the same as the *caffass* of the present day, which is so generally used for bedsteads in Egypt. Porphyry is right in saying the palm branch (in Arabic *gereet*) was called *bai*. Lib. iv. s. 7.

they spread a mat or skin; and their head, says Porphyry, was supported by a half cylinder of wood, in lieu of a pillow.*

The same mode of resting the head was common to all the Egyptians, and a considerable number of these stools † have been found in the tombs of Thebes: generally of sycamore, acacia, or tamarisk wood; or of alabaster, not inelegantly formed, and frequently ornamented with coloured hieroglyphics.‡ In Abyssinia, and in parts of Upper Ethiopia, they still adopt the same support for the head; and the materials of which they are made are either wood, stone, or common earthenware. Nor are they peculiar to Abyssinia and the valley of the Nile: the same custom prevails in far distant countries; and we find them used in Japan, China, and Ashantee §, and even in the island of Otaheite, where they are also of wood, but longer and less concave than those of Africa.

Of the peculiar dresses worn by the different classes of priests I shall speak hereafter in describing the costume of the Egyptians, the preceding remarks being merely introduced in connection with the habits and character of the sacerdotal caste.

Though excesses in their mode of living, and all external display of riches were avoided by the

* *Vide infra*, on the furniture of the houses.

† It is remarkable that the ancient Egyptians denominated them *koorsee* (*korsi*), a name still applied by the Arabs to a stool, or chair.

‡ *Vide suprà*, p. 214.

§ Those of the Chinese and Japanese are also of wood, but they are furnished with a small cushion.

priests, we cannot reconcile the great distinction maintained between the different classes of society, or the disproportionate extent of their possessions, with the boasted simplicity of their habits; and judging from the scale of their villas, and the wealth they enjoyed, we feel disposed to withhold much of that credit we should otherwise have bestowed upon the Egyptian priesthood.

Besides their religious duties, the priests fulfilled the important offices of judges* and legislators, as well as counsellors of the monarch; and the laws, as among many other nations of the East†, forming part of the sacred books, could only be administered by members of their order. But as the office of judge and the nature of their laws will be mentioned in another part of this work, it is unnecessary to enter upon the subject at present, and I therefore proceed to notice the military class, which was the first subdivision of the succeeding or second caste.

SOLDIERS.

Next in rank to the priests were the military. To them was assigned one of the three portions into which the land of Egypt was divided by an edict of Sesostris‡, in order, says Diodorus §, "that those who exposed themselves to danger in the field might be more ready to undergo the hazards of

* Elien. Hist. Var. l. xiv. c. 34.
† The Jews, Moslems, and others.
‡ Diodor. i. 54. § Diodor. i. 73.

war, from the interest they felt in the country as occupiers of the soil; for it would he absurd to commit the safety of the community to those who possessed nothing which they were anxious to preserve. Besides, the enjoyment of comfort has a great tendency to increase population; and the result being that the military class becomes more numerous, the country does not stand in need of foreign auxiliaries: and their descendants receiving privileges handed down to them from their forefathers, are thus encouraged to emulate their valour; and studying from their childhood to follow the advice and example of their fathers, they become invincible by the skill and confidence they acquire." For it was forbidden that a child should follow a different profession from that of his father, or that the son of a soldier should belong to any other profession than that of arms. *

Whether the Egyptians had any military schools, where their youth were instructed in the science of war, is uncertain; though in the account given by Diodorus of the early education of Sesostris, there is distinct allusion to a system, which, from its having succeeded so satisfactorily, may have been continued by that monarch and his successors. And when we consider that the sole education required for the children of soldiers was such as prepared them for their future duties, and that they were obliged to follow the profession of their father, we shall find much stronger reasons for believing those establishments to have been set on

* Herodot. ii. 166.

foot by the Egyptians, than by any other people of antiquity.

Each man was obliged to provide himself with the necessary arms, offensive and defensive, and every thing requisite for a campaign; and they were expected to hold themselves in readiness for taking the field when required, or for garrison duty. The principal garrisons were posted in the fortified towns of Pelusium, Marea, Eilethyas*, Hieraconpolis†, Syene, Elephantine, and other intermediate places; and a large portion of the army was frequently called upon by their warlike monarchs to invade a foreign country, or to suppress those rebellions‡ which occasionally broke out in the conquered provinces.

Herodotus tells us each soldier, whether on duty or no, was allowed 12 arouræ of land §, free from all charge and tribute; which was, probably the mode of dividing the portion mentioned by Diodorus ‖, though it may of course be inferred that every one obtained a share proportionate to his rank. And this system of portioning out land (but more particularly of a conquered country), and making allotments for soldiers, has been prevalent at all times throughout the East.

Another important privilege was that no soldier ¶

* So I conclude, from the fortified enclosures that remain there, distinct from the walls of the town.

† This and Eilethyas are nearly opposite each other, and command the passage of the valley.

‡ Diodor. i. 47., and the sculptures.

§ Herodot. ii. 168. The aroura was a square measure, containing 10,000 cubits.

‖ Diodor. i. 54. 73.

¶ Diod. i. 79.

could be cast into prison for debt; and this law, though it extended to every Egyptian citizen, was particularly provided by Bocchoris in favour of the military, who, it was urged, could not be arrested by the civil power without great danger to the state, of which they were the chief defence.

The whole military force, consisting of 410,000*, was divided into two corps, the Calasiries and Hermotybies. They furnished a body of men to do the duty of royal guards, 1000 of each being annually selected for that purpose; and each soldier had an additional allowance of five minæ of bread†, with two of beef‡, and four arusters of wine§, as daily rations, during the period of his service.

The Calasiries were the most numerous, and amounted to 250,000 men, at the time that Egypt was most populous. They inhabited the nomes of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and the Isle of Myecphoris, which was opposite Bubastis; and the Hermotybies, who lived in those of Busiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis, and the Isle of Prosopitis, and half of Natho, made up the remaining 160,000. It was here that they abode while retired from active service, and in these nomes the farms or portions of land before alluded

* Herodot. ii. 165, 166. Diodorus (i. 54.) gives a much larger amount to the army of Sesostris, which, he says, consisted of 600,000 foot, besides 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots. He must have included the auxiliaries.

† 5 lbs. 5 oz. 1 dwt. ‡ 2 lbs. 2 oz. 8 grs.

§ If the aruster is the same as the cotyla, these four will be little less than 2 pints English.

to were probably situated: which were not only a substitute for regular pay*, but tended to encourage habits of industry, and to instil a taste for the occupations of a country life. For the Egyptians justly considered that such employments promoted the strength of the body, as much as the idleness of a town life injured the physical and moral constitution, and the soldier was taught to look upon the pursuits of a mechanic as unmanly and contemptible. Indeed they were absolutely forbidden to engage in any such occupation; as in Sparta, they made war their profession, and deemed it the most worthy pursuit of generous and free-born souls. They did not, however, confine the exercise of trades to slaves, like the Lacedæmonians, because the number of the military class alone, in a country so well peopled as Egypt, sufficed for all the purposes of defence; but their prejudices against mechanical employments, as far as regarded the soldier, were equally strong as in the rigid Sparta.

The sports of the field, and gymnastic exercises were recommended, as beneficial to their physical force, and as diversions peculiarly suited to the active habits of a soldier; and mockfights, wrestling, leaping, cudgelling, and numerous feats of strength†, and agility, were their constant amusement.

* The military chiefs, like the kings and priests, let out their lands to husbandmen.

† According to Diodorus (i. 53), when Sesostris was a boy he was obliged, like all the others educated with him, to run 180 stadia, or between 22 and 23 miles, every morning before breakfast. The heat of an Egyptian climate must have added greatly to the unpleasant part of this feat.

AUXILIARIES.

Besides the native corps they had also mercenary troops, who were enrolled either from the nations in alliance with the Egyptians, or from those who had been conquered by them. They were divided into regiments, sometimes disciplined in the same manner as the Egyptians, though allowed to retain their arms and costume; but they were not on the

fig. 1. *fig.* 2. *fig.* 3. *fig.* 4.

No. 11. Allies of the Egyptians. *Thebes.*

same footing as the native troops; and instead of land they had regular pay, like other hired soldiers. Strabo speaks of them as mercenaries*; and the million of men he mentions must have included

* Strabo, lib. xvii.

these foreign auxiliaries. When formally enrolled in the army they were considered as part of it, and accompanied the victorious legions on their return from foreign conquest; and it is not improbable that they assisted in performing garrison duty in Egypt, in the place of those Egyptian troops which were left to guard the conquered provinces.

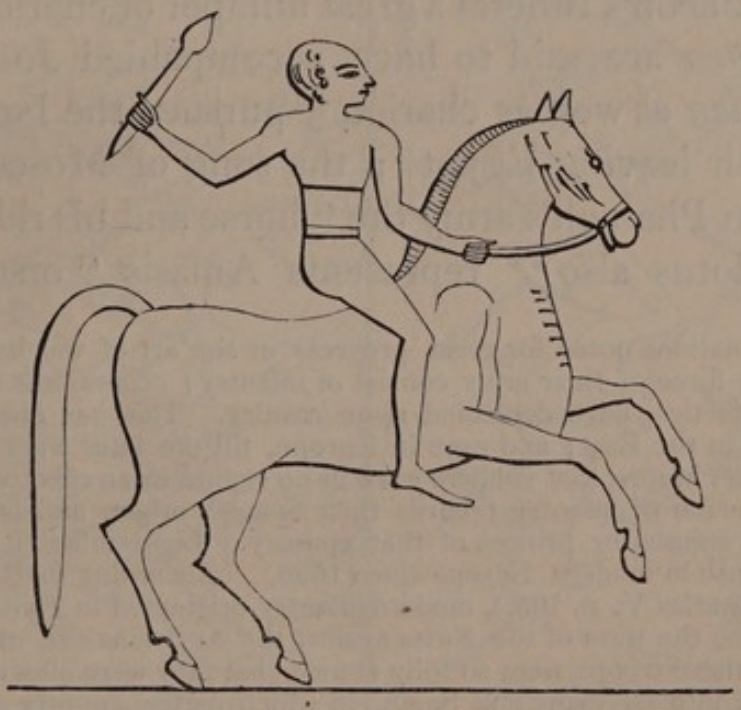
THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

The strength of the army consisted in archers, whose skill appears to have contributed mainly to to the success of the Egyptian arms, as it did in the case of our own ancestors during the wars waged by them in France. They fought either on foot or in chariots, and may therefore be classed under the separate heads of a mounted and unmounted corps; and they probably constituted the chief part of both wings. Several bodies of heavy infantry, divided into regiments, each distinguished by its peculiar arms, formed the centre; and the cavalry, which according to the scriptural accounts was numerous, covered and supported the foot.

Though we have no representation of Egyptian horsemen in the sculptures, we find them too frequently and positively noticed in sacred and profane history to allow us to question their employment; and it is reasonable to suppose them well acquainted with the proper mode of using this serviceable force. In the battle scenes of the temples in Upper Egypt, we meet with five or six instances of men fighting on horseback; but they

are part of the enemy's troops, and I can therefore only account for their exclusive introduction, and the omission of every notice of Egyptian cavalry, by supposing that the artists intended to show how much more numerous the horsemen of those nations were than of their own people.

Once indeed, and once only, we find an instance * of an Egyptian mounted on horseback; but it is in the hieroglyphics of the portico at Esneh, which are of a Roman era, and unconnected with any historical bas-relief. It, however, appeared to Mr. Salt and myself so singular, from the action of the man and from being the only one so represented, that we took an impression of it, a copy of which I have here introduced.



No. 12. Egyptian on horseback. *Esneh.*

* In the collection of S D'Athanasi, is a hatchet, having a man on horseback upon the blade, which is apparently of an ancient epoch. *Vide* end of this chapter.

The Greeks before the Persian war had little cavalry, the country of Attica and the Peloponnesus being ill suited for the employment of that arm; and it was not till they were called upon to cope with an enemy like the Persians, that they became aware of its utility. The same argument may be urged in the case of the Egyptians; and their distant expeditions into Asia, and the frequent encounters with troops which served on horseback, would necessarily teach them the expediency of employing cavalry, even if they had not done so previously.* Egypt was in fact famous for its breed of horses, which were not less excellent than numerous, and we find they were even exported to other countries.†

At Jacob's funeral a great number of chariots and *horsemen* are said to have accompanied Joseph‡; *horsemen* as well as chariots§ pursued the Israelites on their leaving Egypt‖; the song of Moses mentions in Pharaoh's army the "horse and his rider¶;" Herodotus also** represents Amasis "on horse-

* All nations noted for great progress in the art of war have made the main force of their army consist of infantry; others, less skilful in military tactics, have depended upon cavalry. This has always been the case in the East; and even in Europe, till the later wars in Spain against the Moors, foot soldiers were in no repute as an effective corps: and the name of infantry records their Spanish origin, and is derived from the *infantas* or princes of that country. Light infantry has only been in use in modern Europe since 1656. According to Robertson (in his Charles V. p. 105.), modern infantry originated in Switzerland; and during the wars of the Swiss against the Austrians the utility and force of these troops were so fully shown, that they were afterwards introduced into Germany and Spain, in which latter country great improvements were suggested. Their example was afterwards followed in Italy and France.

† 2 Chron. i. 17.

‡ Gen. l. 9.

§ Conf. 2 Kings, xviii. 24. "Put thy trust in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen."

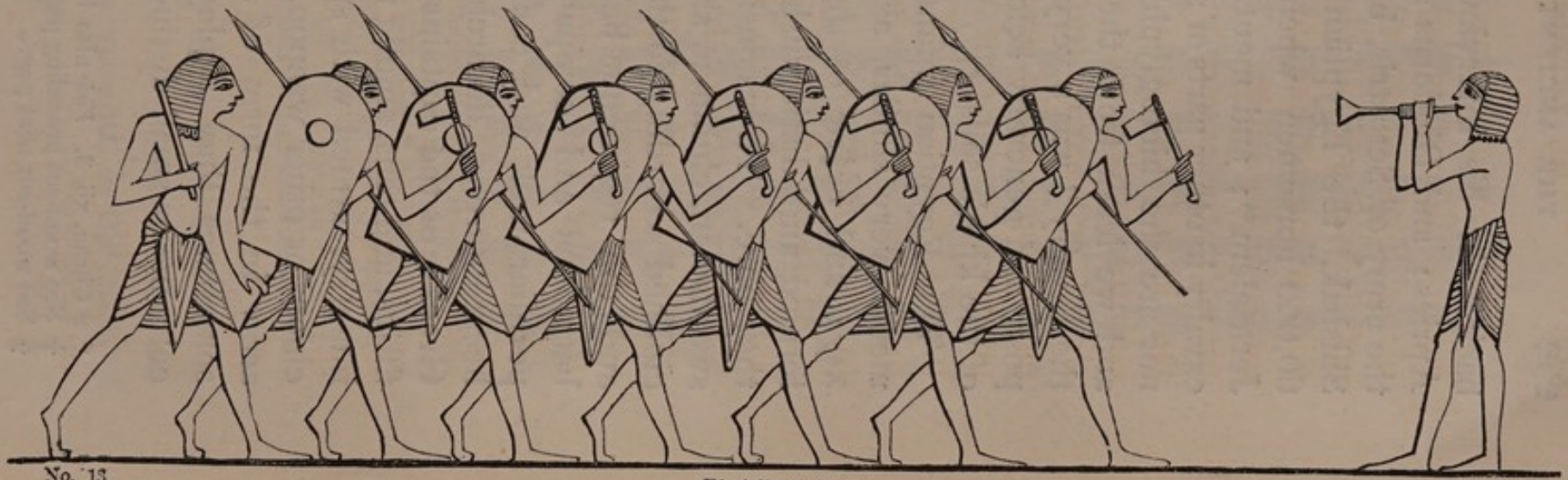
‖ Gen. xiv. 9. 28.

¶ Gen. xv. 21.

** Herod. ii. 162.

Part 1.

Part 2.



No. 13

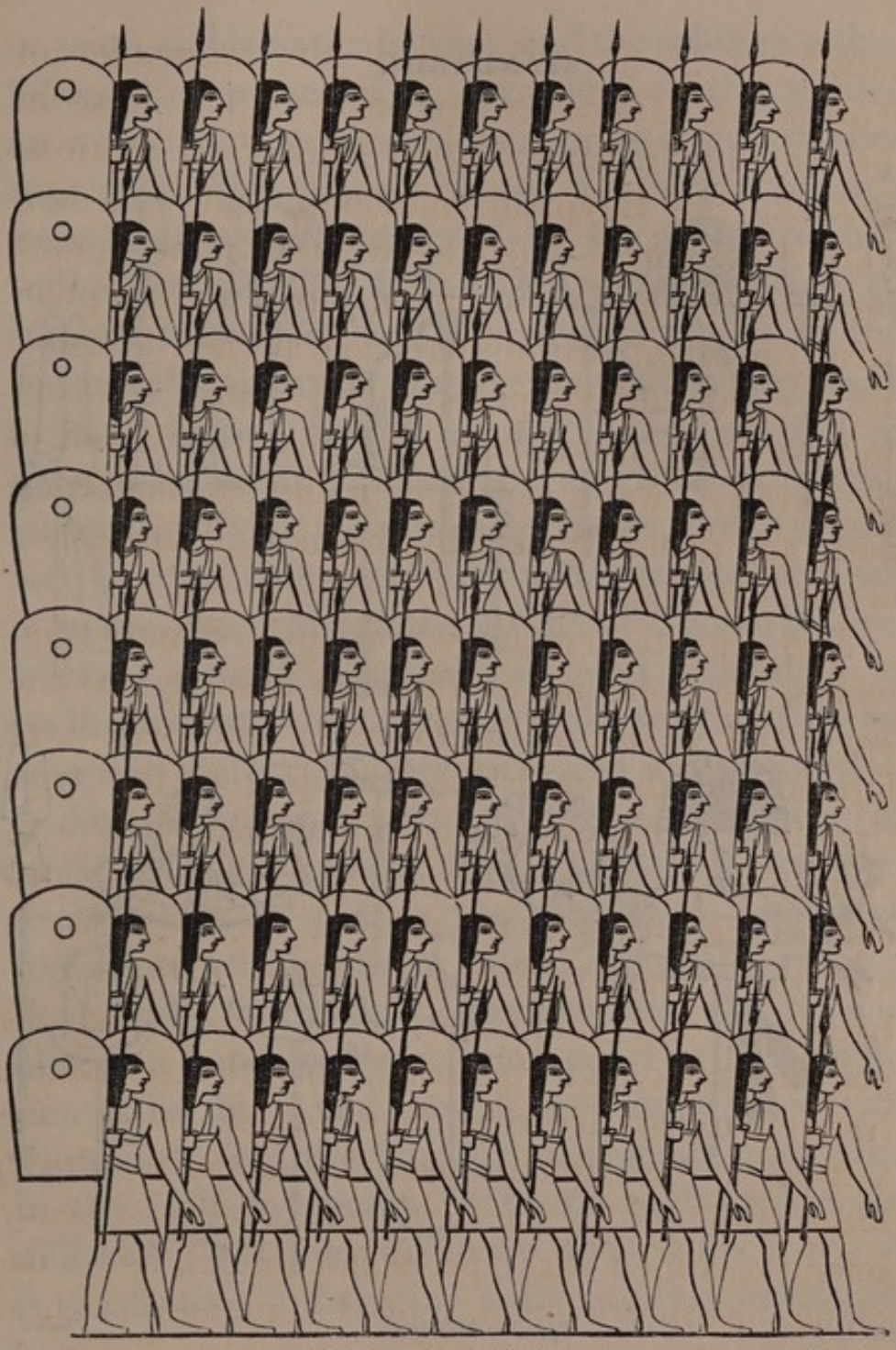
Disciplined troops.

Thebes.

back" in his interview with the messenger of Apries; and Diodorus speaks of 24,000 horse in the army of Sesostris, besides 27,000 war chariots. Shishak, the Egyptian Sheshonk, had with him 60,000 horsemen when he went to fight against Jerusalem*; and mention is made of the Egyptian cavalry in other parts of sacred and profane history: nor are the hieroglyphics silent on the subject; and we learn from them that the "command of the cavalry" was a very honourable and important post, and generally held by the most distinguished of the king's sons.

The Egyptian infantry was divided into regiments, very similar, as Plutarch observes, to the λοχοι and ταξεις of the Greeks; and these were formed and distinguished according to the arms they bore. They consisted of bowmen, spearmen, swordsmen, clubmen, slingers, and other corps, disciplined according to the rules of regular tactics†; and the regiments being probably divided into battalions and companies, each officer had his peculiar rank and command, like the chiliarchs, hecatontarchs, decarchs, and others among the Greeks, or the captains over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, among the Jews.‡ Masses of heavy infantry, armed with spears and shields, and a falchion, or other weapon, moved sometimes in close array in the form of an impregnable phalanx§; sometimes they deployed, and formed into long columns or small distinct bodies; and the bowmen

* 2 Chron. xii. 3. *Vide* also Isaiah, xxxvi. 9.
† See wood-cut preceding page.
‡ Deut. i. 15.
§ See wood-cut next page.



No. 14. Phalanx of heavy infantry. *Thebes.*

as well as the light infantry were taught either to act in line, or to adopt more open movements, according to the nature of the ground, or the state of the enemy's battle.

STANDARDS.

No. 15. Egyptian Standards. *Thebes.*

Each battalion, and indeed each company, had its particular standard, which represented a sacred subject,—a king's name, a sacred boat, an animal*,

* Similar to these were some of the Greek banners. Those of Athens had an owl, of Thebes a sphinx, &c.

or some emblematic device; and the soldiers either followed or preceded it, according to the service on which they were employed, or as circumstances required. The objects chosen for their standards were such as were regarded by the troops with a superstitious feeling of respect; and it is natural to suppose they must have contributed greatly to the success of their arms*, since every soldier was ready to stand by and defend what prejudice as well as duty forbade him to abandon; and their wonderful effects in rallying desponding courage, and in urging men to court danger for their preservation, have not only been recorded in the history of Roman battles, where a general frequently ordered a standard to be thrown into the opposing ranks to stimulate his troops to victory, but are witnessed in every age.

And being raised, says Diodorus†, on a spear (or staff), which an officer bore aloft‡, each standard served to point out to the men their respective regiments, enabled them more effectually to keep their ranks, encouraged them to the charge, and offered a conspicuous rallying point in the confusion of battle. And though we cannot agree with Plutarch§, that the worship of animals originated in the emblem chosen by Osiris to designate the different corps into which he divided his army, it is satisfactory to have his authority for concluding

* Solomon, in his Song, says, "Terrible as an army with banners." vi. 4. They were used by the Jews. Ps. xx. 5. Isaiah, xiii. 2.

† Diodor. i. 86.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut No. 13.

§ Plut. de Isid. s. 72. His argument is merely that the animal was adored by the band to which it belonged. This could not affect the worship paid them by the cities of Egypt.

that the custom of using these standards was of an early date in the history of Egypt.

The post of standard-bearer was at all times of the greatest importance. He was an officer, and a man of approved valour; and in the Egyptian army he was sometimes distinguished by a peculiar badge suspended from his neck, which consisted of two lions, the emblems of courage, and other two devices apparently representing flies, so poetically described by Homer as characteristic of an undaunted hero, who, though frequently repulsed, as eagerly returns to the attack.*

Besides the ordinary standards of regiments I ought to mention the royal banners, and those borne by the principal persons of the household

No. 16. Officers of the household. *Thebes.*

* Homer, Il. ρ, 570.:—

" Και οἱ μυιης Θαρσος ενι στηθεσσιν ενηκεν,
Ἠτε και ειργομενη μαλα περ χρους ανδρομεοιο,
Ισχαναα δακεειν."

near the king himself. The peculiar office of carrying these and the *flabella* was reserved for the royal princes or the sons of the nobility, who may be considered the staff corps. They had the rank of generals, and were either despatched to take command of a division, or remained in attendance upon the monarch; and their post during the royal triumph, the coronation, or other grand ceremonies, was close to his person. Some bore the fans of state behind the throne, or supported the seat on which he was carried to the temple; others held the sceptre, and waved flabella before him; and the privilege of serving on his right or left hand depended on the grade they enjoyed. But as the processions in which the flabella were carried appertain more properly to the ceremonies than to the military affairs of the Egyptians, I shall defer the description of them for the present.

The troops were summoned by sound of trumpet *; and this instrument, as well as the long drum, was used by the Egyptians at the earliest period into which the sculptures have given us an insight: trumpeters being frequently represented in the battle scenes of Thebes, sometimes standing still, and summoning the troops to form, and at others in the act of leading them to a rapid charge.†

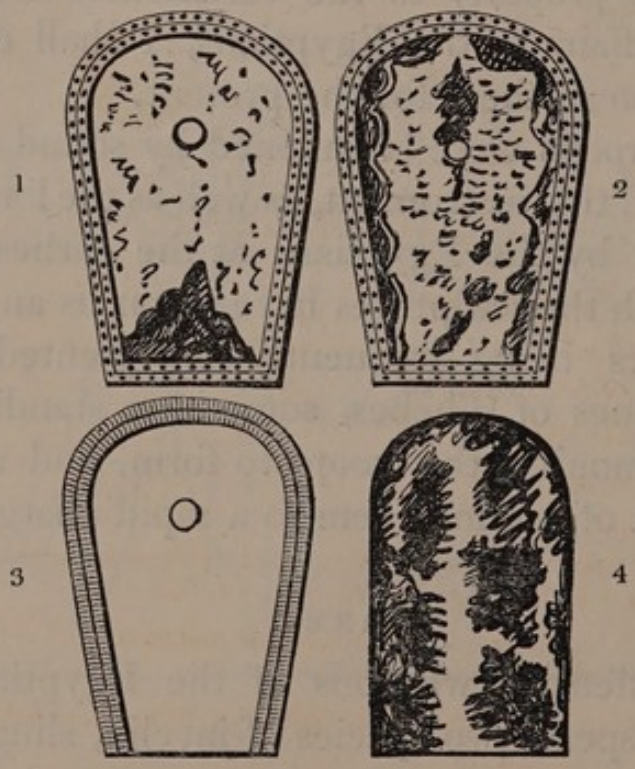
ARMS.

The offensive weapons of the Egyptians were the bow, spear, two species of javelin, sling, a short

* *Vide suprà*, wood-cut No. 13.
† *Vide infrà*, on military music.

and straight sword, dagger, knife, falchion, or *ensis falcatus*, axe or hatchet, battle-axe, pole-axe, mace or club, and the *lissán* *, a curved stick similar to that still in use among the Ababdeh and modern Ethiopians. Their defensive arms consisted of a helmet of metal, or quilted a headpiece; a cuirass, or coat of armour, made of metal plates, or quilted with metal bands; and an ample shield. But they had no greaves; and the only coverings to the arms were a part of the cuirass, forming a short sleeve, and extending about half way to the elbow.

The soldier's chief defence was his shield, which, in length, was equal to about half his height, and generally double its own breadth. It was most commonly covered with bull's hide, having the

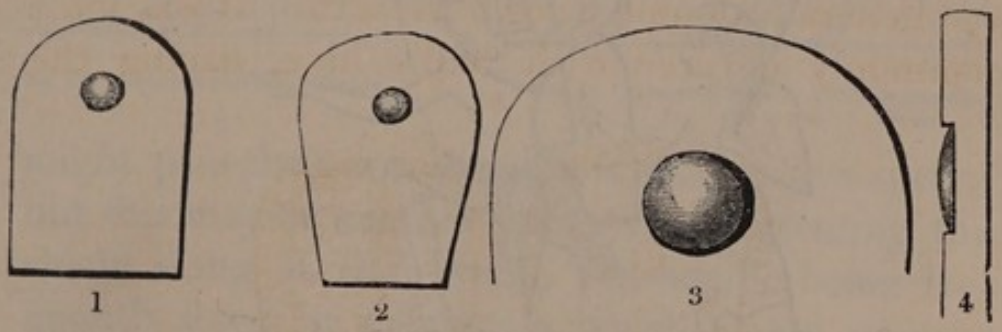


No. 17. Shields. *Thebes.*

* *Lissán* is the modern name of this weapon, and signifies, in Arabic, a tongue, which it is supposed in form to resemble.

hair outwards, like the λαισηιον of the Greeks, sometimes strengthened by one or more rims of metal *, and studded with nails or metal pins; the inner part being probably wicker-work †, or a wooden frame, like many of those used by the Greeks and Romans, which were also covered with hide. ‡

The form of the Egyptian shield was similar to the ordinary funereal tablets § found in the tombs, circular at the summit and squared at the base, frequently with a slight increase or swell towards the top; and near the upper part of the outer surface was a circular cavity in lieu of a boss.



No. 18. Boss of the Shield. *Thebes.*

* Conf. Hom. Il. ν, 406. : —

"(Ασπιδα) ὀγ' εν ῥινοισι βοων και νωροπι χαλκῳ
Δινωτην φορεεσκε."

And Il. ν, 161. 163. : —

"Ασπιδα ταυρειην."

And Il. π, 360. ; and μ, 425.

† Those of their enemies were in many instances wicker, and not covered with any hide. Conf. Virg. Æn. vii. 632. : —

. . . . . "Flectuntque salignas
Umbonum crates."

‡ That of Ajax had seven folds, that of Achilles nine folds, of bull's hide.

§ They probably borrowed their form from the shield, owing, perhaps, to a military custom of making the shield a monument in honour of a deceased soldier.

This cavity was deeper at the sides than at its centre, where it rose nearly to a level with the face of the shield; but there is great difficulty in ascertaining for what purpose it was intended, nor does its appearance indicate either an offensive or defensive use. To the inside of the shield was attached a thong*, by which they suspended it upon their shoulders; and an instance occurs of a shield so supported, which is concave within, and, what is singular, the artist has shown a knowledge

No. 19. Thong inside the Shield. *Thebes*

* The τελαμων of the Greeks.

. . . . . " απ ωμων
Ασπις συν τελαμωνι χαμαι πεσε." Hom. Il. π, 803.

" Ἱδρωσει μεν τευ τελαμων αμφι στηθεσσιν
Ασπιδος αμφιβροτης." Hom. Il. β, 388.

" Τῃ ῥα δυω τελαμωνε περι στηθεσσι τετασθην,
Ητοι ὁ μεν σακεος, ὁ δε φασγανου αργυροηλου." Il. ξ, 404.

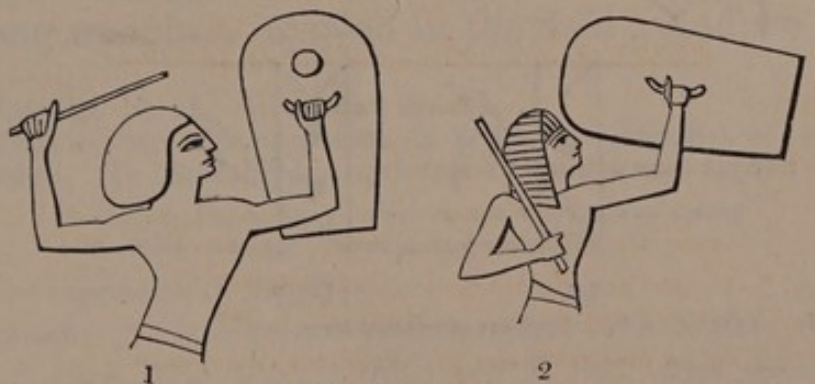
And Il. ο, 479.; κ, 149.; μ, 400.; γ, 334., *et alibi.*

of perspective in his mode of representing it.* Sometimes the handle was so situated that they

No. 20. Concave shield. *Thebes.*

No. 21. Grasping a spear while supporting the shield *Thebes.*

might pass their arm through it and grasp a spear: but this may be another mode of representing the shield slung at their back, the handle being frequently fixed in a position which would prevent their holding the spear in that manner; and though instances occur of the horizontal as well as the perpendicular handle†, the latter appears to have been the more usual of the two.

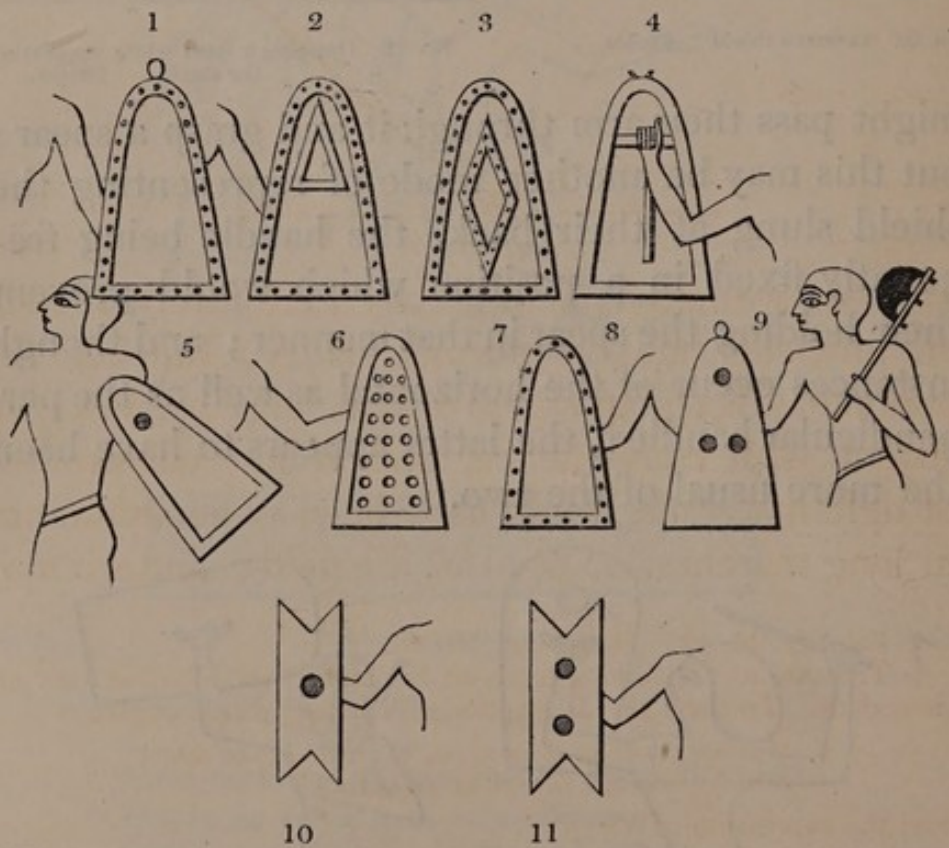


No. 22. Handle of shield. *Thebes.*

* Wood-cut, No. 20.

† Wood-cuts, Nos. 19. and 22.

Some of the lighter bucklers were furnished with a wooden bar, placed across the upper part, which was held with the hand; not intended, as in some round Greek shields*, for passing the arm through, while the hand was extended to the thong encircling the cavity of the inside, but solely as a handle; and from their general mode of holding it, we may conclude this bar was sometimes placed longitudinally, an indication of which is even traced in that of fig. 4. They are, however, seldom represented, except at Beni-Hassan, having been either peculiar to certain troops, and employed solely on particular occasions, or confined to foreigners in the pay of Egypt; like those of a



No. 23. Bucklers of unusual form. *Beni-Hassan.*

* *Vide* Hope's Costumes, pl. lxvii.

still more unusual appearance figured in the same paintings.*

Some Egyptian shields were of extraordinary dimensions, and varied in form from those generally used, being pointed at the summit, not unlike some Gothic arches; but as we seldom find any instances

No. 24. Large shields. *E'Sioot.*

of them, we may conclude they were rarely of such an unwieldy and cumbrous size.† Indeed, the common Egyptian shield was as large as was consistent with convenience, and if not constructed of light materials, would have been an encumbrance in long marches, or even in the field; and we may

* *Vide* figs. 10, 11. Wood-cut, No. 23.

† They are met with in a tomb at E'Sioot (Lycopolis), of very ancient date. To them the description of Tyrtæus would apply: —

" Μηρους τε, κνημας τε κατω, και στερνα, και ωμους
Ασπιδος ευρειης γαστρι καλυψαμενος."

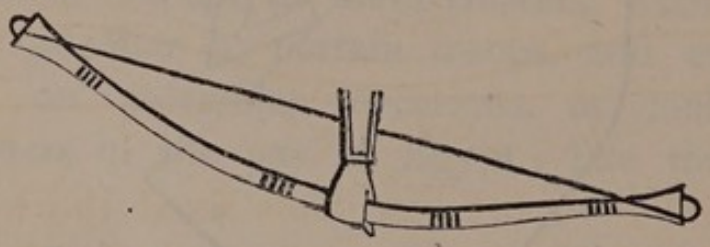
And the expression of Virgil,

" Clypeique sub orbe teguntur." Æn. ii. 227.

Conf. Hom. Il. ν, 405.; θ, 266.; and ρ, 128. Ajax' shield, ηυτε πυργον.

even doubt if it *ever* was covered with a surface of metal.

The Egyptian bow was not unlike that used in later times by European archers. The string was either fixed upon a projecting piece of horn, or inserted into a groove or notch in the wood, at either extremity, differing in this respect from that of the Koofa and some other Asiatic people, who secured the string by passing it over a small nut which projected from the circular heads of the bow.

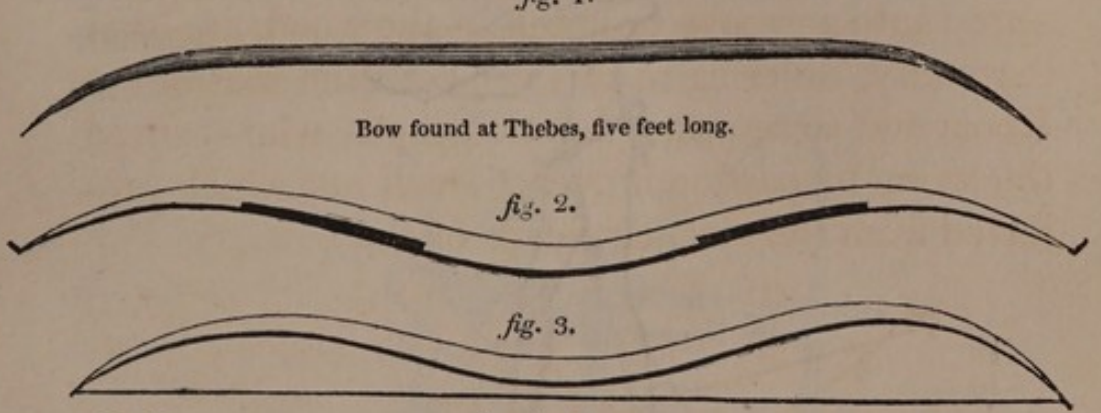


No. 25. String of bow belonging to the Koofa. *Thebes.*

The Ethiopians and Libyans, who were famed for their skill in archery, adopted the same method of fastening the string as the Egyptians, and their bow was similar in form and size to that of their neighbours: and so noted were the latter for their dexterity in its use that their name is accompanied in the hieroglyphics by a representation of this weapon.

The Egyptian bow was a round piece of wood, from five to five feet and a half in length, either almost straight, and tapering to a point at both ends, some of which are represented in the sculptures, and have even been found at Thebes, or curving inwards in the middle, when unstrung, as

in the paintings of the tombs of the kings; and in some instances a piece of leather or wood was attached to or let into it, above and below the centre.



No. 26. Egyptian bows. *Thebes.*

In stringing it, the Egyptians fixed the lower point in the ground, and, standing or seated, the knee pressed against the inner side of the bow, they bent it with one hand, and then passed the string with the other into the notch at the upper extremity; and one instance occurs of a man rest-

No. 27. Mode of stringing the bow. *Thebes and Beni Hassan.*

ing the bow on his shoulder, and bracing it in that position. While shooting they frequently

No. 28. Stringing a bow. *Beni Hassan.*

wore a guard on the left arm, to prevent its receiving an injury from the string; and this was not only fastened round the wrist, but was secured by a thong tied above the elbow. Sometimes a groove

No. 29. A guard worn on the wrist. *Thebes.*

of metal was fixed upon the fore knuckle, in which the arrow rested and ran when discharged*; and the chasseur, whose bow appears to have been less powerful than those used in war, occasionally held spare arrows in his right hand, while he pulled the string.†

No. 30. Carrying spare arrows in the hand. *Thebes.*

Their mode of drawing it was either with the forefinger and thumb, or the two forefingers; and though in the chase they sometimes brought the arrow merely to the breast, instances of which occur in the two preceding wood-cuts, their custom in war, as with the old English archers, was to carry

* I found an instance of this in a tomb at Thebes; the person was a chasseur. I regret my being unable to give a copy of it, having mislaid the drawing.

† This is rare; I have only met with it twice so represented.

it to the ear, the shaft of the arrow passing very nearly in a line with the eye.

The ancient Greeks, on the contrary, adopted the less perfect mode of placing the bow immediately before them, and drawing the string to the body*; whence the Amazonian women are reported to have cut off the right breast, lest it should be an impediment in its use. And if the Greeks, in later times, abandoned that inefficient method, and handled the bow in the same manner as the Egyptians, they never did attach much importance to it †, and few only excelled in archery, with the exception of the Cretans, who, from their skill, were supposed by some to have been the original inventors of the bow. The Scythians, Persians, and other oriental nations, also placed their principal reliance on this arm, whose power was often severely felt by the disciplined troops of Greece and Rome; and our own history furnishes ample testimony to the advantages it presented throughout the whole course of a battle, and in every species of conflict.

The Egyptian bow-string was of hide ‡, catgut, or string; and so great was their confidence in the strength of it and of the bow, that an archer from his car sometimes used them to entangle his opponent, whilst he smote him with a sword.

Their arrows varied from twenty-two to thirty-four inches in length; some were of wood, others

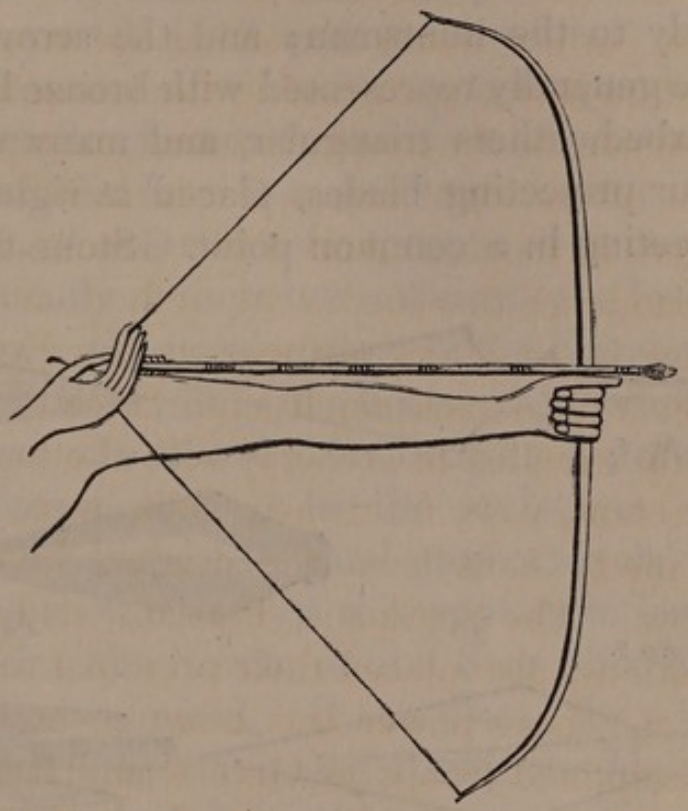
* Conf. Hom. Il. δ, 123. "Νευρην μεν μαζῳ πελασεν."

† Thus Homer says: —

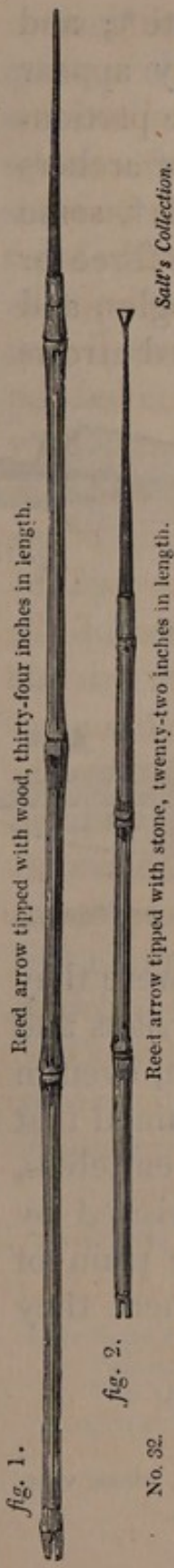
"Οξεσι δε πελεκεσσι και αξινησι μαχοντο,
Και ξιφεσιν μεγαλοισι, και εγχεσιν αμφιγυοισι." Il. ο, 711.

‡ Conf. Hom. Il. δ, 122. "νευρα βοεια."

of reed *; frequently tipped with a metal head, and winged with three feathers †,



No. 31. Arrows made of reed. *Thebes.*



Reed arrow tipped with wood, thirty-four inches in length.

fig. 1.

Reed arrow tipped with stone, twenty-two inches in length.

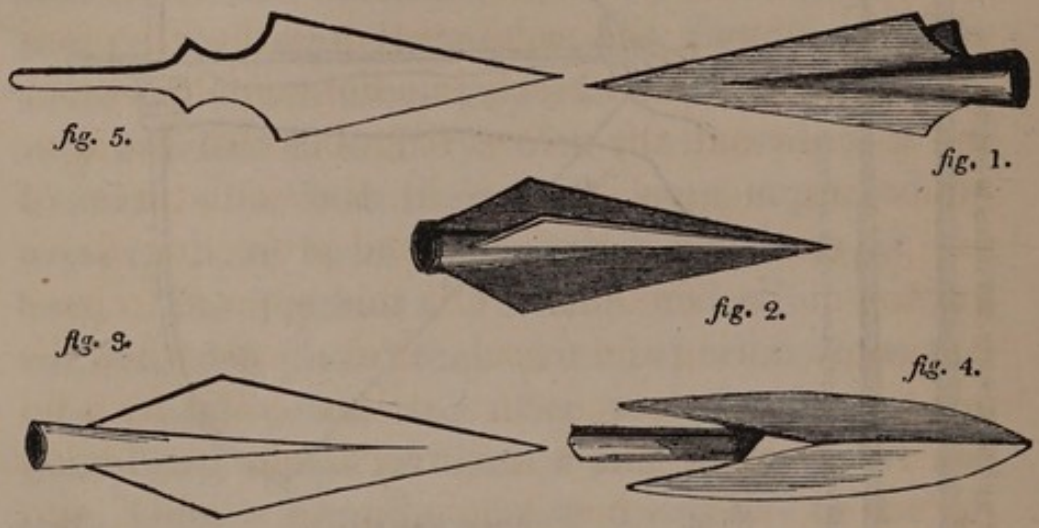
fig. 2.

No. 32. *Salt's Collection.*

glued longitudinally, and at equal distances, upon the other end of the shaft, as on our own arrows. Sometimes, instead of the metal head, a piece of hard wood was inserted into the reed, which terminated in a long tapering point‡; but these were of too light and powerless a nature to be employed in war, and could only have been intended for the chase; in others, the place of the metal was supplied by a small piece of flint, or other

* *Vide* wood-cuts, Nos. 31. and 32.
† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 30. p. 307.
‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No 32. *fig.* 1.

sharp stone, secured by a firm black paste*; and though used occasionally in battle, they appear from the sculptures to have belonged more particularly to the huntsman; and the arrows of archers are generally represented with bronze heads†, some barbed, others triangular, and many with three or four projecting blades, placed at right angles, and meeting in a common point. Stone-tipped arrows



No. 33. Metal heads of arrows. *Alnwick Museum, and Thebes.*

were not confined to an ancient era, nor were they peculiar to the Egyptians alone; the Persians and other eastern people frequently used them, even in war; and recent discoveries have ascertained that they were adopted by the Greeks themselves, several having been found in places unvisited by the troops of Persia‡, as well as on the plain of Marathon, and other fields of battle where they fought.

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 32. *fig.* 2. page 309.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 30. p. 307.

‡ I am indebted for this curious fact to Colonel Leake, whose valuable researches are known to every reader.

Each bowman was furnished with a capacious quiver, about four inches in diameter, and consequently containing a plentiful supply of arrows, which was supported by a belt, passing over the shoulder, and across the breast, to the opposite side. Their mode of carrying it differed from that of the Greeks, who bore it upon their shoulder*, and from that of some Asiatic people, who suspended it vertically at their back, almost on a level with the elbow; the usual custom of the Egyptian soldier being to fix it nearly in a horizontal position, and to draw out the arrows from beneath his arm. Many instances also occur in the sculptures of the quiver placed at the back, and projecting above the top of the shoulder; but this appears to have been only during the march, or at a time when the arrows were not required. It was closed by a lid or cover, which, like the quiver itself, was highly decorated, and, when belonging to a chief, surmounted with the head of a lion, or other ornament; and this, on being thrown open, remained attached by a leather thong.†

They had also a case for the bow‡, intended to protect it against the sun or damp, and to preserve its elasticity; which was opened by drawing off a

* Apollo is so represented by Homer, Il. *a*, 45.:—

"τοξ' ωμοισιν εχων, αμφηρεφεα τε φαρετρην."

Vide Hope's Costumes, pl. ccxx. *Vide* also *infrà*, plate 3.

† *Vide infrà*, on the march of the Egyptian army. Wood-cut, No. 70.

‡ The Greeks sometimes had the bow-case attached to the quiver, but open at the top. *Vide* Hope's Costumes, pl. lxxvi. and cxxvi.

moveable cap of soft leather sewed to the upper end. It was always attached to the war chariots; and across it inclined, in an opposite direction, another large case, containing two spears and an abundant stock of arrows *; and besides the quiver he wore, the warrior had frequently three others attached to his car.

Archers of the infantry were furnished with a smaller sheath for the bow †, of which it covered the centre, leaving the two ends exposed; and being of a pliable substance, probably leather, it was put round the bow, as they held it in their hand during a march. Besides the bow, their principal weapon of offence, they, like the mounted archers, who fought in cars, were provided with a falchion, dagger, curved stick, mace, or battle-axe, for close combat, when their arrows were exhausted; and their defensive arms were the helmet, or quilted headpiece, and a coat of the same materials; but they were not allowed a shield, being considered an impediment to the free use of the bow.

The spear, or pike, was of wood ‡, between five and six feet in length, with a metal head, into which the shaft was inserted and fixed with nails: and one of them preserved in the Berlin Museum § satisfactorily accords with the general appearance of those represented in the sculptures. The head

* *Vide infrà*, the Egyptian chariot. Wood-cut, No. 53. *a*.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 13.

‡ Homer mentions spears of ash, with brass or bronze heads. *Vide* wood-cuts, Nos. 13, 14. 21.

§ This spear is about five feet and a half long, but the shank of its bronze head is much longer than usual. *Vide* wood-cut, 34. *a. fig.* 1.

was of bronze or iron, sometimes very large, usually with a double edge, like that of the Greeks*; but the spear does not appear to have been furnished with a metal point at the other extremity, called σαυρωτηρ by Homer†, which is still adopted in Turkish, modern Egyptian, and other spears, in order to plant them upright in the ground, as the spear of Saul was fixed near his head, while he "lay sleeping within the trench."‡ Spears of this kind should perhaps come under the denomination of javelins, the metal being intended as well for a counterpoise in their flight as for the purpose above alluded to; and such an addition to those of the heavy-armed infantry would neither be requisite nor convenient.

The javelin, lighter and shorter than the spear, was also of wood, and similarly armed with a strong two-edged metal head, generally of an elongated diamond shape, either flat, or increasing in thickness at the centre, and sometimes tapering to a very long point§; and the upper extremity of its shaft terminated in a bronze knob, surmounted by a ball, to which were attached two thongs or tassels, intended both as an ornament and a counterpoise

* Hom. Il. ο, 712. "Εγχεσιν αμφιγυοισι."

† Hom. Il. κ, 151.

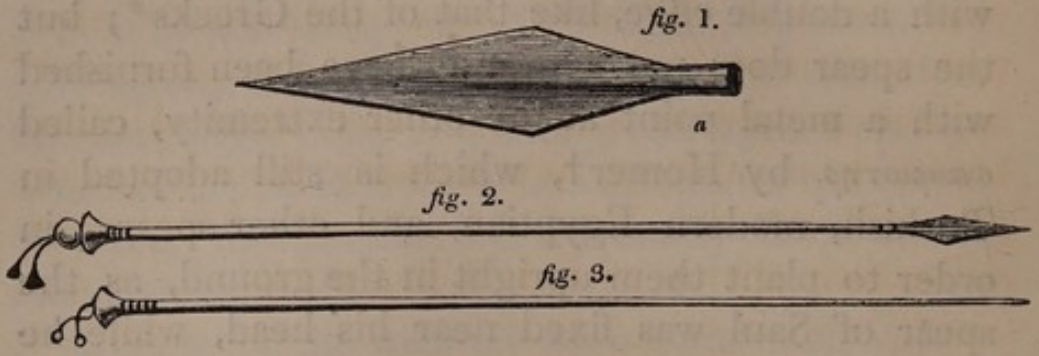
. . . . . "αμφι δ' ἑταιροι
Εὗδον· ὑπο κρασιν δ' εχον ασπιδας· εγχεα δε σφιν
Ορθ' επι σαυρωτηρος ελήλατο."

‡ 1 Sam. xxvi. 7. Conf. Virg. Æn. xii. 130:—

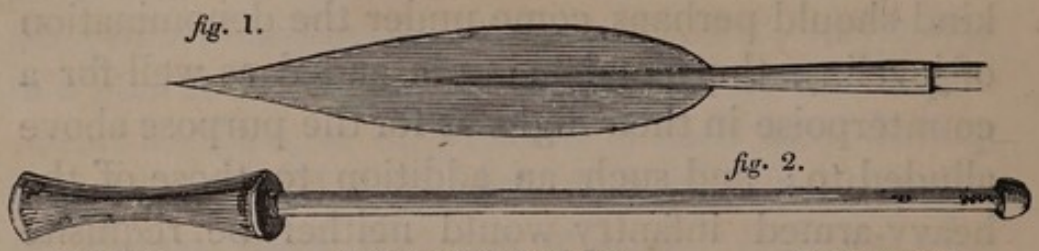
"Defigunt tellure hastas, et scuta reclinant."

§ *Vide* wood-cut at end of Chap. III. *fig.* 9.

to the weight of its point.* It was sometimes used



No. 34. Javelin and spear heads. *Thebes.*



No. 34. *a.* Spear head and drum-stick. *Berlin Museum.*

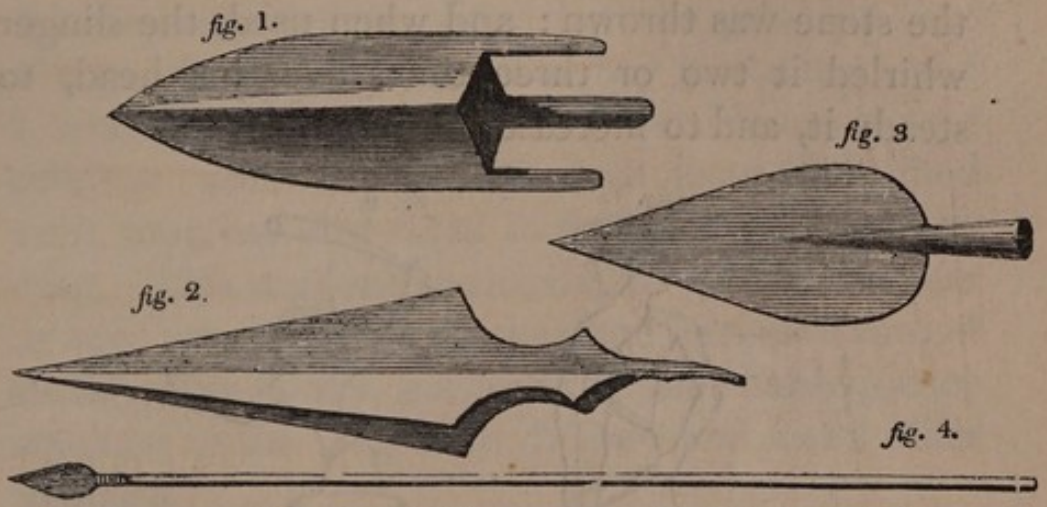
as a spear, for thrusting, being held with one or with two hands; and sometimes, when the adversary was within reach, it was darted, and still retained in the warrior's grasp, the shaft being allowed to pass through his hand till stopped by the blow, or by the fingers suddenly closing on the band of metal at the end; a custom I have often observed among the modern Nubians and Ababdeh. They had another javelin apparently of wood, tapering to a sharp point, without the usual metal head†; and a still lighter kind, armed with a small bronze point‡, which was frequently four-sided, three-

* It resembles the Parthian javelin. *Vide* Hope's Costumes, vol. i. pl. xiii.

† Wood-cut, No. 34. *fig.* 3.

‡ Wood-cut, No. 35. *fig.* 1.; and wood-cut at end of Chap. III. *fig.* 8.

bladed*, or broad and nearly flat; and from the upper end of the shaft being destitute of any metal counterpoise†, it resembled a dart now used by the people of Dar-Foor, and other African tribes, who, without any scientific knowledge of projectiles, or the curve of a parabola, dexterously strike their enemy with its falling point.



No. 35. Heads of small javelins. *Alnwick Museum and Thebes.*

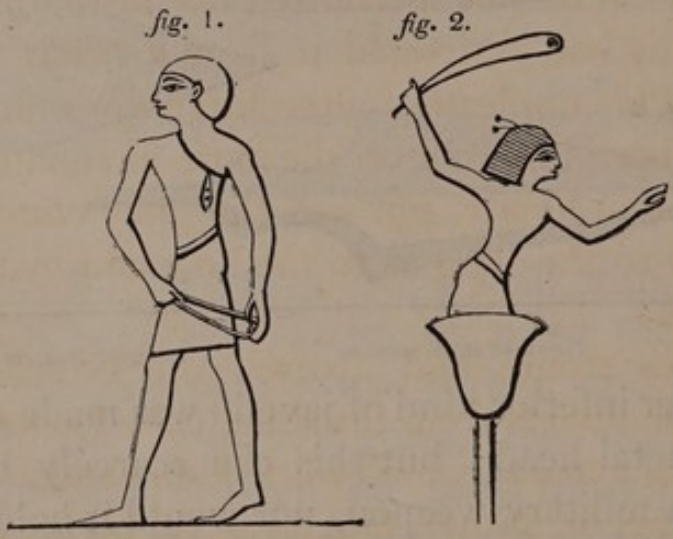
Another inferior kind of javelin was made of reed, with a metal head; but this can scarcely be considered a military weapon, nor would it hold a high rank among those employed by the Egyptian chasseur, most of which were of excellent workmanship, and adapted to all the purposes of the chase, whether in the river or the field. Of these last, the most remarkable was one used for spearing fish: it was propelled by the hand with the assistance of a thin cord‡ passing over its notched summit, and extending down the shaft: but being solely intended for sportsmen, and not among the arms

* Wood-cut, No. 35. *fig.* 2. † Wood-cut, No. 35. *fig.* 4.

‡ I do not find any instance of the amentum, mentioned by Seneca, Virgil, and other writers, which was a thong bound round the middle of a heavy dart. Æn. ix. 665. "Amentaque torquent."

borne by the soldier, it is unnecessary here to describe it more minutely.

The sling was a thong, of leather*, or string plaited†, broad in the middle, and having a loop at one end, by which it was fixed upon and firmly held with the hand; the other extremity terminating in a lash, which escaped from the fingers as the stone was thrown: and when used, the slinger whirled it two or three times over his head, to steady it, and to increase the impetus.‡



No. 36. Slingers. *Beni Hassan and Thebes.*

It was an arm looked upon by many of the Greeks with great contempt, especially by heavy-infantry, though generally carried by some of the light troops; and Q. Curtius tells us that Alex-

* Homer mentions one made of a sheep's fleece, and describes Agenor binding the wounded hand of Helenus with it: —

"Αὐτην δε ξυνεδησεν ευστροφῳ οιος αωτῳ
Σφενδονῃ, ἡν αρα οἱ Θεραπων εχε ποιμενι λαων." Il. ν, 599.

† As that still used in Egypt to drive away birds from the corn fields. *Vide* wood-cut at end of Chap. III. *figs.* 4 and 5.

‡ Conf. Virg. Æn. ix. 587.: —

"Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena."

ander, wishing to picture an enemy in a despicable light, represented them armed with javelins and slings. The Acarnanians, however, were proud of their skill in managing it, and were surpassed by the Achæans alone, of all the Greeks, who even vied with the natives of the Balearic Islands; and so expert were these last, and of such importance did they consider the sling, that the principal care of a parent was to instruct a boy in its use: and it has been affirmed that, in those islands, young children were not permitted to taste their food until they had dislodged it from a beam with the sling. This unpleasant alternative does not appear to have been imposed on the more fortunate sons of an Egyptian family, nor was the same consequence attached to the sling as to the bow and many other weapons.

Besides stones and arrows, the Greeks threw leaden plummets from the sling, called μολυβδίδες or μολυβδιναι σφαιραι, which were of an elongated spherical shape, or, rather, like an olive, pointed at each end, frequently with three or four sides; sometimes weighing as much as an Attic pound, or one hundred drachms. Some had a single or winged thunderbolt represented upon them; and others bore the name of the person to whom they belonged, or a word, as ΑΓΩΝΙΣ, or ΔΕΞΑΙ,—"Take this."

Similar plummets were generally used by the Macedonians; those of the Achæans were simple round pebbles found on the sea-shore, where they were in the habit of practising the sling: and the Egyptians employed round stones for this purpose,

which they carried in a small bag, hanging from a belt over the shoulder.*

The Egyptian sword was straight and short, from two and a half to three feet in length, having apparently a double edge, and tapering to a sharp point. It was used for cut and thrust; but on some occasions they held it downwards, and stabbed as with a dagger. The handle was plain, hollowed in

No. 37. Stabbing an enemy. *Thebes.*

the centre, and gradually increasing in thickness at either extremity, sometimes inlaid with costly stones, precious woods, or metals; and the pom-

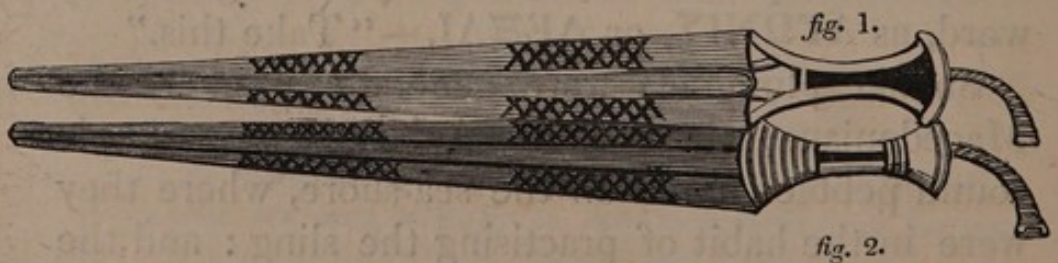


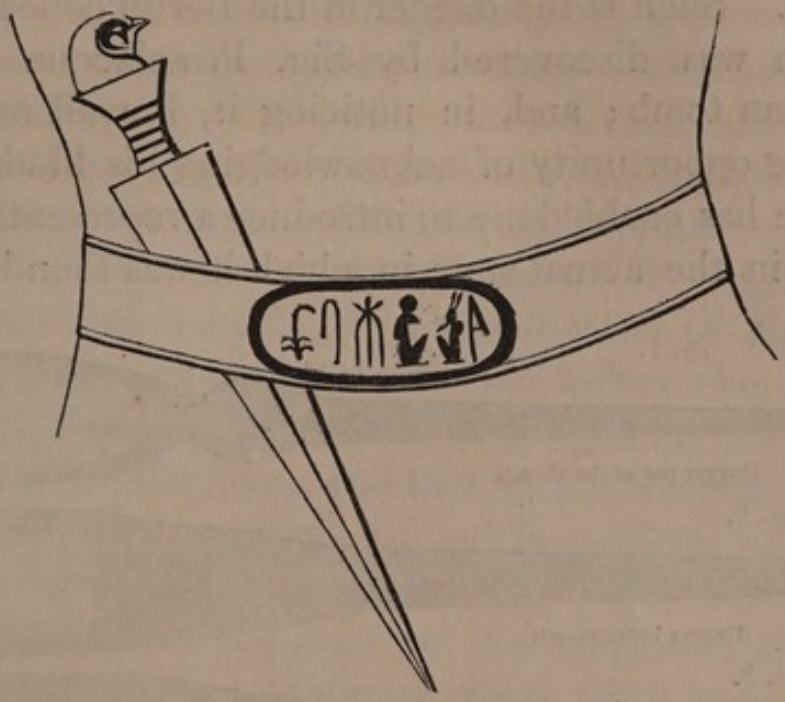
fig. 1.

fig. 2.

No. 38. Daggers in their sheaths, with inlaid handles. *Thebes.*

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 36. *fig.* 1.

mel of that worn by the king in his girdle was frequently surmounted by one or two heads of a hawk, the symbol of Phrah, or the sun, a Pharaonic title given to the monarchs of the Nile. Strictly speak-

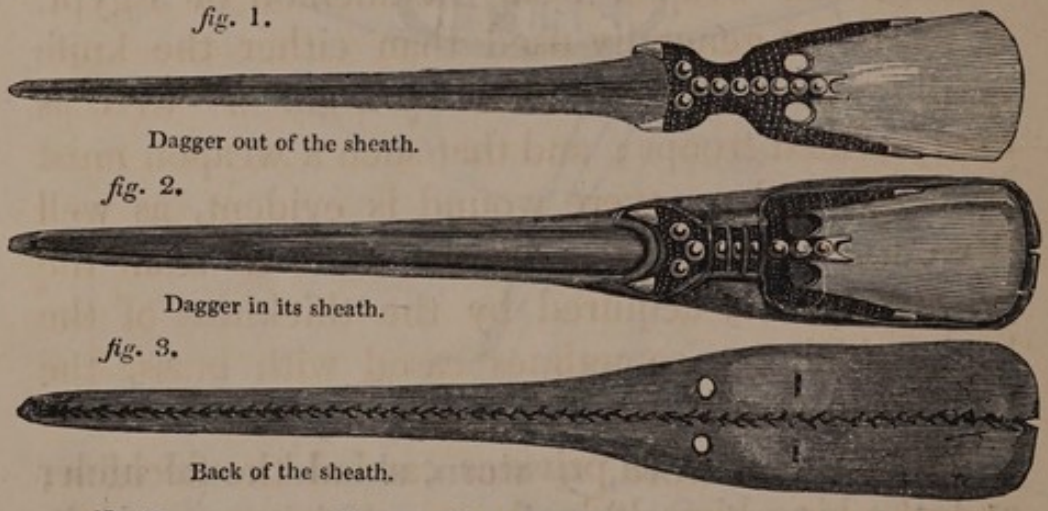


No. 39. Mode of wearing the dagger. *Thebes.*

ing, the short sword, so worn, should come under the denomination of a dagger, which was also a common Egyptian weapon, as is proved by those found in the excavated ruins of Thebes. It was much smaller than the sword: its blade was about ten or seven inches in length, tapering gradually in breadth, from one inch and a half to two thirds of an inch, towards the point; and the total length, with the handle, only completed a foot or sixteen inches. The handle, like that of the sword, was generally inlaid*: the blade was bronze, thicker in the middle than at the edges, and slightly grooved

* *Vide* also wood-cut at end of Chap. III. *fig.* 7.

in that part; and so exquisitely was the metal worked, that some of those I have examined retain their pliability and spring after a period of several thousand years, and almost resemble steel in elasticity. Such is the dagger of the Berlin collection, which was discovered by Sig. Passalacqua in a Theban tomb; and, in noticing it, I avail myself of the opportunity of acknowledging his kindness, which has enabled me to introduce a representation of it, in the actual state in which it was found, en-



No. 40. Dagger, with its sheath. *Berlin Museum.*

closed in a leathern sheath.* The handle is partly covered with metal, and adorned with numerous small pins and studs of gold †, which are purposely shown through suitable openings in the front part of the sheath; but the upper extremity consists solely of bone, neither ornamented, nor covered with any metal casing: other instances of which

* Wood-cut, No. 40. *fig.* 2.

† Like the swords mentioned by Homer: —

"ξιφος αργυροηλον χαλκεον." Il. π, 135.; and τ, 372.

have elsewhere been found*, offering, in this respect, remarkable exceptions to the usual inlaid handles of Egyptian daggers†, already noticed.

The knife was also shorter than the sword, and had a single edge, intended only for cutting, as was the falchion, a species of *ensis falcatus*. This last was called Shopsh, or Khopsh; and the resemblance of its form and name to the κοπις‡ of the Greeks suggests that the people of Argos, an Egyptian colony, by whom it was principally adopted, originally derived that weapon from the falchion of Egypt. It was more generally used than either the knife or the sword, being borne by light as well as heavy armed troops; and that such a weapon must have inflicted a severe wound is evident, as well from the size and form of the blade as from the great weight it acquired by the thickness of the back, which was sometimes cased with brass, the blade itself being of bronze or iron.§

Officers as well as privates carried the falchion; and the king himself is frequently represented in close combat with the enemy, armed with it, or with the hatchet, battle-axe, pole-axe, or mace. A simple stick is more usually seen in the hand of officers commanding corps of infantry, though we cannot

* *Vide* also wood-cut, No. 1. page 23., a dagger in Mr. Salt's collection.

† Another dagger with a simple unornamented handle is given in the wood-cut at the end of Chap. III. *fig.* 3.; but I am not certain about its date.

‡ Q. Curtius says, "Copides vocant gladios leniter curvatos, falcibus similes, quibus appetebant belluarum manus." lib. 3. conf. Apul. Metam. lib. 11. "copides et venabula."

§ From the colour of those in the tombs of the kings, we may conclude iron or steel. *Vide* plate 3.

thence infer that they were not always provided with some other more efficient weapon; and in leading their troops to the charge, we see them armed in the same manner as the king when he fought on foot. In chariots they had the bow; and every chief prided himself upon his dexterity in archery, and emulated the skill as well as the valour of the monarch.

The axe, or hatchet*, was small and simple, seldom exceeding two, or two feet and a half, in length: it had a single blade, and no instance is met with of a double axe resembling the bipennis of the Romans. Of the same form was that used by the Egyptian carpenters; and not only did the soldiers carry it as a serviceable weapon in close combat, but even for breaking down the gates of a town, and felling trees to construct engines for an assault. Independent of bronze pins which secured the blade, the handle was bound in that part with thongs of hide, in order to prevent the wood, split to admit the metal, from opening when exposed to the sun; and the same precaution was adopted in those belonging to joiners and others, who worked in their own shops.

The axe was less ornamented than other weapons; some bore the figure of an animal, a boat, or fancy device, engraved upon the blade: and the handle frequently terminating in the shape of a gazelle's foot, was marked with circular and diagonal lines, representing bands, as on the pro-

* A hatchet in Coptic is *kelebin*; but it does not appear whether it was applied to this weapon. The name kelebin calls to mind the Saxon cleofan, to cleave; as the words κοπτω and khopsh, or shopsh, to chop.

jecting torus of an Egyptian temple, or like the ligature of the Roman fasces.* The soldier, on his march, either held it in his hand, or suspended it at his back, with the blade downwards; but it does not appear from the sculptures whether it was covered by a sheath, nor is any mode of wearing a sword indicated by them, except as a dagger in the girdle, the handle sloping to the right.†

No. 41. Axes or hatchets. *Thebes, and Salt's Collection.*

The blade of the battle-axe was, in form, not unlike the Parthian‡ shield; a segment of a circle,

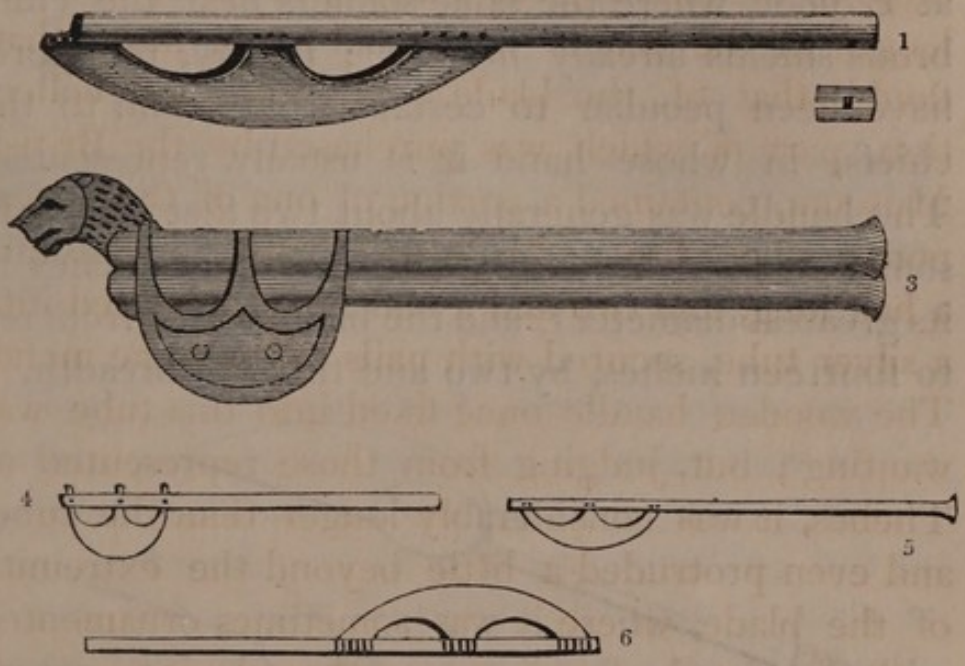
* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 41., and at the end of Chap. III. *fig.* 1.
† As in wood-cut, No. 39.
‡ *Vide* Hope's Costumes, vol. i. pl. xx.

divided at the back into two smaller segments, whose three points were fastened to the handle with metal pins. It was of bronze, and sometimes, if we may be allowed to judge from the colour of those in the paintings at Thebes, of steel; and the length of the handle was equal to, or more than double that of, the blade. Mr. Salt's last collection, part of which was purchased by the British Museum, contained a portion of one of these weapons*, whose bronze blade was thirteen inches and a half long, and two and a half broad, inserted into a silver tube, secured with nails of the same metal. The wooden handle once fixed into this tube was wanting; but, judging from those represented at Thebes, it was considerably longer than the tube, and even protruded a little beyond the extremity of the blade, where it was sometimes ornamented with the head of a lion or other device, receding slightly†, so as not to interfere with the blow; and the total length of the battle-axe may have been from three to four feet. In some battle-axes, the handles were very short‡, scarcely exceeding the length of the silver tube, above-mentioned, which in this specimen is only eleven inches and a half longer than the blade, and may have been the entire handle; the small aperture at the lower end§ serving equally for admitting the pin which secured the wood inserted into it, whether this extended beyond, or merely filled, the tube.

The blades of the battle-axes represented in the

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 42. *fig.* 1.
† As *fig.* 3.
‡ As *fig.* 6., which is from the sculptures.
§ *Fig.* 2.

paintings of Thebes offer two forms, one of which is more circular * than that of Mr. Salt's; from the excellence, however, of its workmanship and materials, we may conclude that this last was of the



No. 42. Battle-axes, from the sculptures. *Thebes and Beni Hassan.*

most general and approved shape, and perhaps belonged to some military chief, or to the king himself; and it is singular that an axe very similar to this was formerly used by the Germans, and other European infantry.

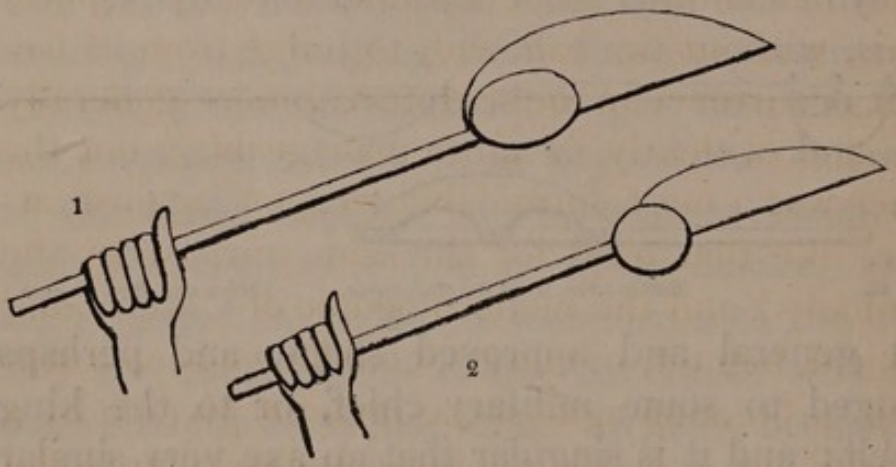
The battle-axe may answer to the πελεκυς, as the pole-axe to the αξινη of the Greeks.

The pole-axe was about three feet in length, but apparently more difficult to wield than the preceding, owing to the great weight of a metal ball to which the blade was fixed: and if this increased its force, and rendered the blow more destructive, it required, like the mace, a powerful as well as a

* *Figs.* 3. and 4.

skilful arm to use it with success, and to make it as efficient a weapon as the battle-axe.

We rarely find an entire corps of men armed with it; the only instance I remember occurring at E'Sioot, where the same soldiers bear the cumbrous shields already noticed*; it may, therefore, have been peculiar to certain troops, and to the chiefs, in whose hand it is usually represented. The handle was generally about two feet in length, sometimes much longer; the ball four inches in its greatest diameter†, and the blade varied from ten to fourteen inches, by two and three in breadth.



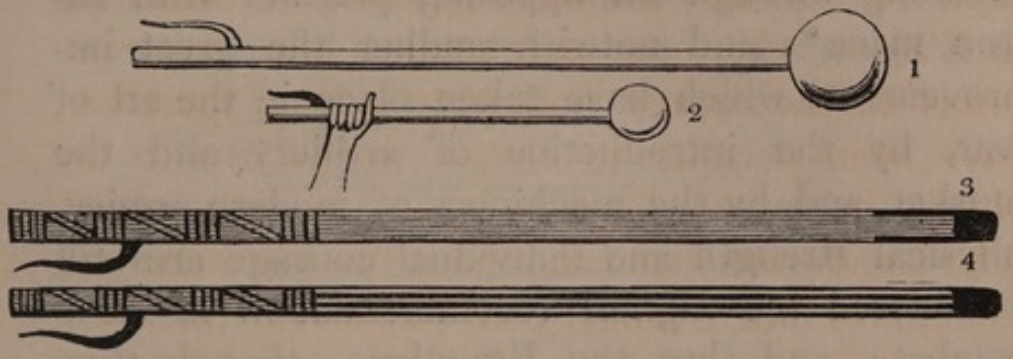
No. 43. Pole-axe. *Thebes.*

The mace was very similar to the pole-axe, without a blade, and appears to correspond to the κορυνη of the Greeks, which was frequently of iron. That used by the Egyptians was of wood, bound with bronze, about two feet and a half in length, and furnished with an angular piece of metal, projecting from the handle, which may

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 34.

† I suppose it to have been a ball, rather than a flat circular piece of metal.

have been intended as a guard, though in many instances they represent the hand placed above it, while the blow was given. *



No. 44. Maces. *Thebes.*

They had another mace†, similar in many respects to this, without the ball, and, to judge from its frequent occurrence in the sculptures, more generally used, and evidently far more manageable; but the former was a most formidable weapon against armour, like that used for the same purpose by the Memlooks‡ and the modern people of Cutch; and no shield, helmet, or cuirass, could have been a sufficient protection against the impetus given it by a powerful arm. Neither of these was peculiar to the chiefs: all the soldiers in some infantry regiments were armed with them; and a charioteer was furnished with one or more, which he carried in a case attached with the quiver to the side of his car. §

In ancient times, when the fate of a battle was frequently decided by personal valour, the dexterous management of such arms was of primary

* Wood-cut, No. 44. *fig.* 2.
† Wood-cut, No. 44. *figs.* 3. and 4.
‡ Called dabóss, or dabbóos.
§ *Vide* Egyptian chariot, in wood-cut, No. 53. *a.* p. 346.

importance; and a band of resolute veterans, headed by a gallant chief, spread dismay among the ranks of an enemy; as Homer describes Areïthous alone breaking through an opposing phalanx with his iron mace*: and notwithstanding the great improvements which have taken place in the art of war, by the introduction of artillery and the musket, and by the machinery of modern armies, physical strength and individual courage are still considered the highest recommendation in close combat; and thus the Egyptians, though they placed their chief reliance in the skill of their archers, failed not to attach great importance to heavy infantry, and paid particular attention to the nature of their offensive as well as defensive arms. And the variety of weapons used by different corps, as well as the care they took in allotting to each its respective duties during action, in selecting those best suited for a peculiar service, and in the judicious arrangement of the army and its component parts, argue the great experience acquired by the Egyptians in the art of war.

They had another kind of mace, sometimes of uniform thickness through its whole length, sometimes broader at the upper end†, without either the ball or guard, and many of their allies carried a rude heavy club‡; but no body of native troops was

* Homer, Il. η, 138. : —

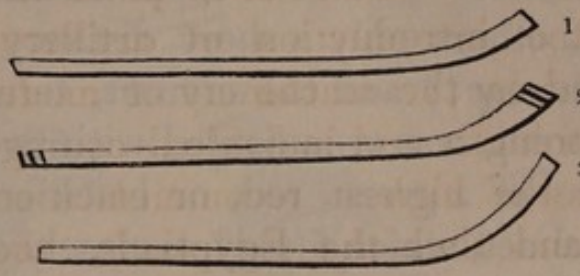
" Διου Αρηΐθοου, τον επικλησιν, κορυνητην
Ανδρες κικλησκον καλλιζωνοι τε γυναικες,
Ουνεκ' αρ' ου τοξοισι μαχεσκετο, δουρι τε μακρῳ,
Αλλα σιδηρειῃ κορυνῃ ρηγνυσκε φαλαγγας."

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 47. *figs.* 1. and 2.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 11. *fig.* 3.

armed with the last, and indeed it cannot be considered an Egyptian weapon.

The curved stick, or club, (now called *lissan*)*, was used by heavy and light-armed troops as well as archers; and if it does not appear a formidable arm,



No. 45. Curved stick or club. *Thebes*

yet the experience of modern times bears ample testimony to its efficacy in close combat. To the Bisharieen it supplies the place of a sword; and the Ababdeh, content with this, their spear, and shield, fear not to encounter the hostile Maazy, whom they frequently defeat, though armed with the matchlock and the *atagan*.† In length that of the ancient Egyptians was probably the same, about two feet and a half, and made of a hard thorn wood, as the mimosas, *sellem*, and *sumr*; which are still used for the same purpose, as well as for the shafts of the Ababdeh lance.

The shield, their principal defence, I have already noticed. The helmet was usually quilted, but rarely of metal; and though bronze helmets are said to have been worn by the Egyptians‡, we may con-

* *i. e.* "tongue," in Arabic.

† A long knife, or straight sword, worn in the girdle, and called *gembéeh* (side arm) by the Arabs.

‡ *Vide* Herod. ii. 151.

clude that, in accordance with the authority of the sculptures, they preferred and generally adopted the former, which being thick, and well padded, served as an excellent protection to the head, without the inconvenience resulting from the metal in so hot a climate.* Some of them descended to the shoulder †, others only a short distance below the level of the ear ‡; and the summit, terminating in an obtuse point, was ornamented with two tassels. § They were of a green, red, or black colour; and the long helmet, which fitted less closely to the back of the head, was fringed at the lower edge with a broad border ‖, and in some instances consisted of two parts, or an upper and under fold. ¶ Another, worn also by the spearmen, and many corps of infantry and charioteers, varied slightly from these, though very similar in many respects, being quilted, and descending to the shoulder with a fringe; but it had no tassels, and fitting close to the top of the head, it widened towards the base, the front, which covered the forehead, being made of a separate piece ** attached to the other part.

If there is no representation of an Egyptian helmet with a crest, we are less surprised, since even the ancient Greeks did not always adopt it ††; but

* This alone would not be a sufficient objection, since metal helmets are still worn even in the far hotter climates of Darfoor and Kordofan.

† Wood-cut, No. 46., *figs.* 1. and 3.

‡ *Figs.* 5, 6, 7.

§ *Figs.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

‖ *Figs.* 2, 3.

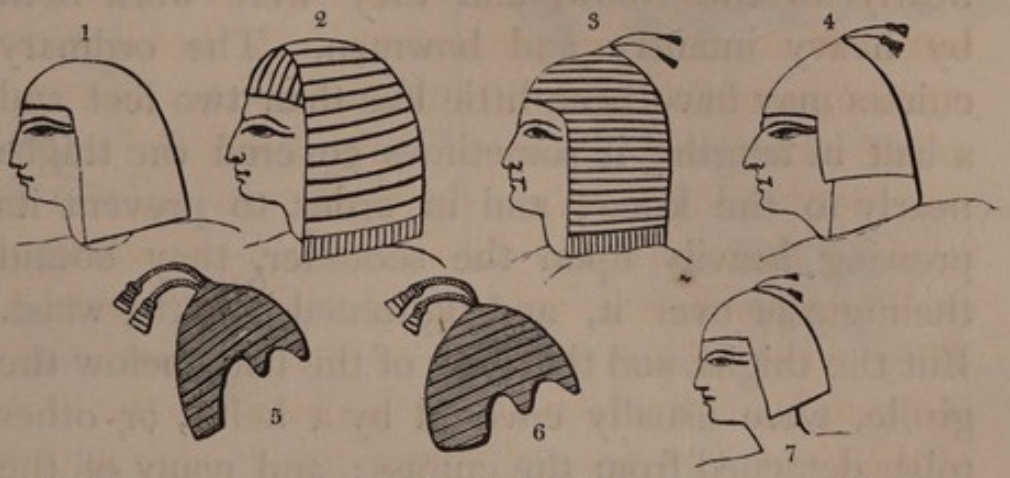
¶ *Fig.* 4.

** *Fig.* 2.

†† This helmet was called καταιτυξ.

. . . . " αμφι δε οι κυνεην κεφαληφιν εθηκε
ταυρειην, αφαλοντε, και αλοφον, ητε καταιτυξ
Κεκληται." Homer, Il. κ, 258.

that of the Shairetana, once enemies and afterwards allies of the Pharaohs, is particularly interesting,



No. 46. Helmets or head-pieces. *Thebes.*

since it shows the existence of a custom, as early as two hundred years before the Trojan war, which was afterwards introduced by the Greeks, of adorning the helmet with horns; whence the name *keras* (horn) was sometimes chosen to signify a crest.*

The outer surface of the cuirass, or coat of armour, consisted of about eleven horizontal rows of metal plates, well secured by bronze pins; and at the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced, above which were two more, completing the collar or covering of the neck. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to cover the front of the body; and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.† Many,

* According to Suidas. Our word crest bears a strong resemblance to the Greek. *Vide* Hope's Costumes, plate cxxx.; and *infrà*, on the enemies of the Egyptians, p. 366.

† *Vide* plate 3.

indeed most, of the cuirasses were without collars; in some the sleeves were rather longer, reaching nearly to the elbow, and they were worn both by heavy infantry and bowmen. The ordinary cuirass may have been little less than two feet and a half in length: it sometimes covered the thighs nearly to the knee; and in order to prevent its pressing heavily upon the shoulder, they bound their girdle over it, and tightened it at the waist. But the thighs, and that part of the body below the girdle, were usually covered by a kelt*, or other robe, detached from the cuirass; and many of the light and heavy infantry were clad in a quilted vest of the same form as the coat of armour, for which it was intended to be a substitute; and some wore corselets, reaching only from the waist to the upper part of the breast, and supported by straps over the shoulder, which, to judge from the sculptured representations of them, appear to have been faced with metal plates.†

Among the arms painted in the tomb of Remeses III., at Thebes, is a piece of defensive armour‡, which, from the hollowed space left for the arm, seems to have been a sort of coat, or covering for the body; and were it not so highly ornamented, might be considered a vest, or μιτρη, worn beneath the cuirass. It is made of a rich stuff, worked, or painted, with the figures of lions and other animals, devices common upon the shield and other parts of Greek armour, and is edged with a

* The ζωμα, or ζωστηρ, of the Greeks.
† *Vide* wood-cut, *No.* 47. *figs.* 10, 11, 12. ‡ *Vide* fig. 8. plate 3.

Fig.1.

Fig. 2.

Fig.6.

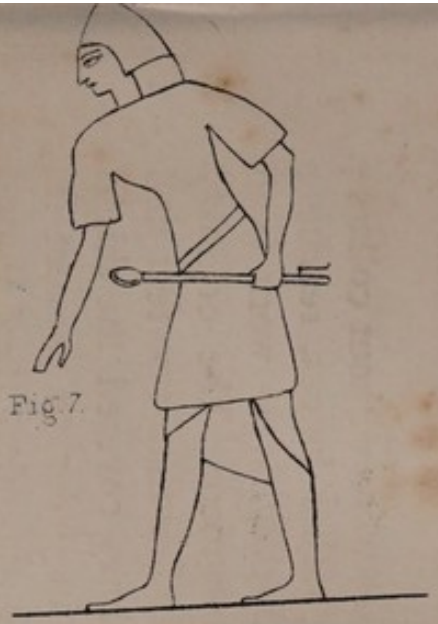
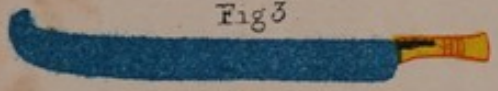


Fig 7.

Fig3



Knife

Fig 4.

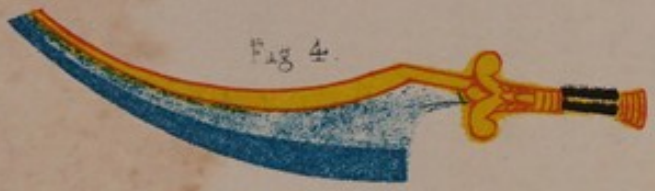


Fig 5

Falchion

Fig.8.

Fig.9.

Fig 10.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

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neat border, terminating below in a broad fringe; and though there is no appearance of metal plates, it may have been intended as a substitute for the more weighty coat of mail, which was not worn on all occasions either by infantry or charioteers. The Greeks in like manner made some thoraces of hide, hemp, linen, or twisted cord. Ajax, the son of Oïleus, from his having worn one of these, is styled by Homer* Linothorêx: Alexander, according to Plutarch, had a double thorax of linen; and Cornelius Nepos tells us that Iphicrates ordered his soldiers to lay aside their heavy metal cuirass, and to go to battle in hempen armour.

ARMS OF DIFFERENT CORPS.

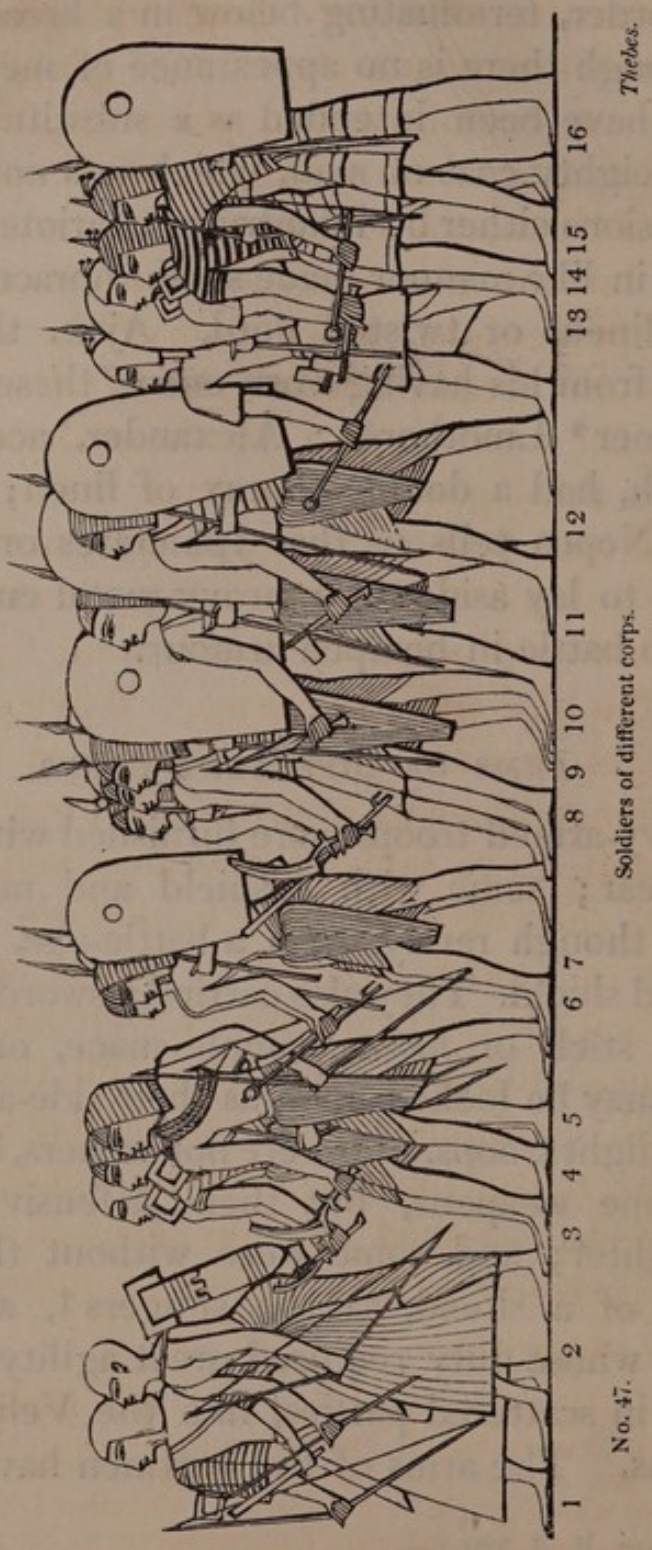
Heavy-armed troops were furnished with a shield and spear; some with a shield and mace; and others, though rarely, with a battle-axe, or a pole-axe, and shield. They also carried a sword, falchion, curved stick or *lissan*, simple mace, or hatchet, which may be looked upon as their side-arms. †

The light troops, who were not archers, had nearly the same weapons, but their defensive armour was lighter; and some were without the incumbrance of a shield, as the slingers ‡, and a few others, whose duty required great agility, and who fought in scattered parties, like the Velites of the Romans. The arms of the bowmen have been al-

* Homer, Il. β, 529.: —

. . . . . "Οιληος ταχυς Ιαις
. . . . ολιγος μεν ειην, λινοθωρηξ."

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 47. ‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 36.



ready mentioned: of the Egyptian cavalry we are unable to obtain any satisfactory information; and it now remains to notice the corps of chariots,

which constituted a very large and effective portion of the Egyptian army.

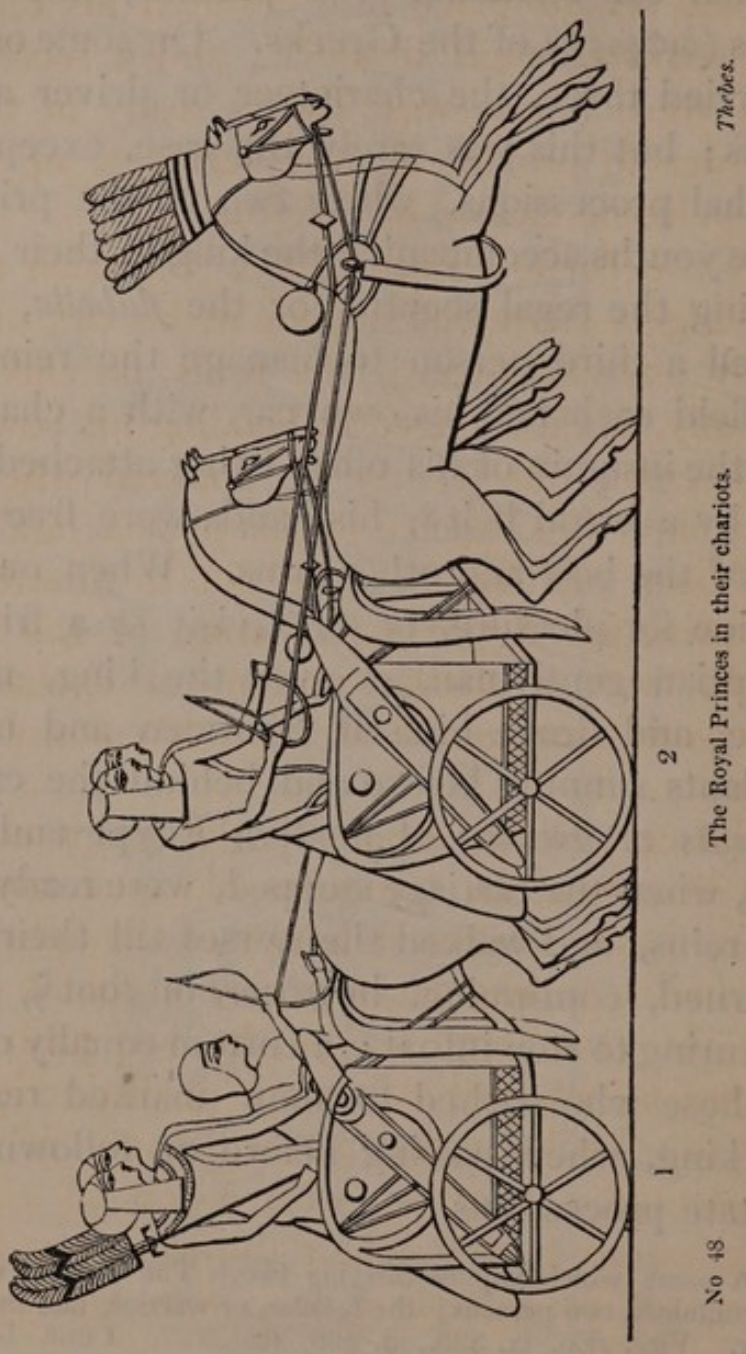
Each car contained two persons, like the diphros (διφρος*) of the Greeks. On some occasions it carried three, the charioteer or driver and two chiefs; but this was rarely the case, except in triumphal processions, when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the regal sceptre, or the *flabella*, and required a third person to manage the reins.† In the field each had his own car, with a charioteer; and the insignia of his office being attached behind him by a broad belt‡, his hands were free for the use of the bow and other arms. When on an excursion for pleasure, or on a visit to a friend, an Egyptian gentleman, or even the king, mounted alone, and drove himself, footmen and other attendants running before and behind the car, (like the *syïs* or grooms of modern Egypt and India,) who, when the carriage stopped, were ready to take the reins, and walked the horses till their master returned, continuing, however, on foot§, and not venturing to step into it; a custom equally observed by those who wished to show marked respect to the king, when passing before or following him, in state processions.

* A name which implies carrying two. The Roman war chariot also contained two persons; the *bellator*, or warrior, and the *auriga*, or driver. Virg. Æn. ix. 330., ii. 469. 624. 737. Conf. Isaiah, xi. 7. "A chariot with a couple of horsemen." Or rather 1 Kings, xxii. 34., and 2 Chron. xviii. 33.; since the former appears to refer to men riding on horses, פרשים. Fares, is also in Arabic, a horseman (or a Persian); and farras, the *mare*, is the horse *par excellence*.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 48. *fig.* 1. ‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 49.

§ Wood-cut, No. 4. p. 46.

In battle, also, many attendants were always in readiness*; and whenever a general dismounted



from his car, to lead his troops over hilly and precipitous heights inaccessible to chariots, to the

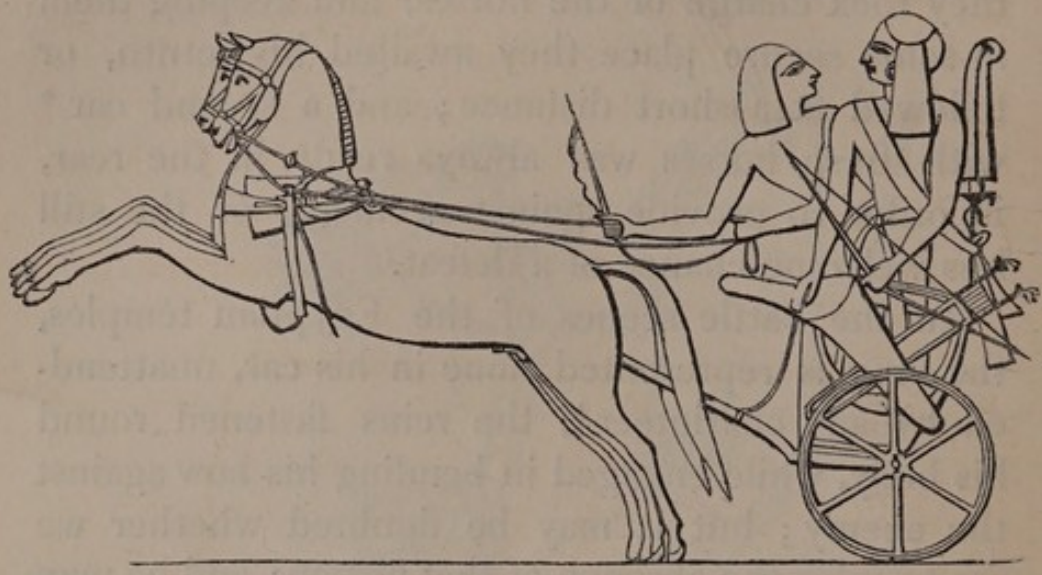
* Conf. Hom. Il. θ, 109. 113.

assault of a fortified town, or for any other purpose, they took charge of the horses, and keeping them in some secure place they awaited his return, or followed at a short distance; and a second car * with fresh horses was always ready in the rear, in order to provide against accident, or the still less welcome chance of a defeat.

In the battle scenes of the Egyptian temples, the king is represented alone in his car, unattended by any charioteer †, the reins fastened round his body, while engaged in bending his bow against the enemy; but it may be doubted whether we are to infer the absence of that person: and he may have been omitted, in order not to interfere with the principal figure and feature of the picture, which, with a similar notion of exclusiveness, they were accustomed to draw of colossal dimensions.

The cars of the whole chariot corps contained each two warriors, comrades of equal rank, both joining in the labours and glory of the fight; and if the charioteer who accompanied a chief ‡ did not hold the same high station, he was probably appointed to the post as a mark of distinction; and from the familiar manner in which one of them is represented conversing with a son of the great Remeses, we may conclude the office was filled by persons of consideration, who were worthy of the friendship they enjoyed. §

* Conf. 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.
† Conf. Homer, gods and heroes, passim.
‡ Conf. Hom. Il. λ, 399.; and μ, 84.
§ Conf. Hom. Il. θ, 120.; and λ, 518.



No. 49. The son of King Remeses, with his charioteer. *Thebes.*

As with the Greeks, the employment was neither servile nor ignoble; and if Hector*, Nestor†, Ulysses‡, and others were not ashamed to act in this capacity, Egyptian officers of note, in like manner, undertook the management of their own cars, and prided themselves on their skill in driving, as in wielding the javelin and bow: but whether the chariot race was instituted in Egypt does not appear; and we may conclude from the absence of the subject in their sculptures, and of the hippodrome in the precincts of towns of early date, that the celebration of games similar to those of Greece was unknown there, previous to the Macedonian conquest: the only hippodromes being at

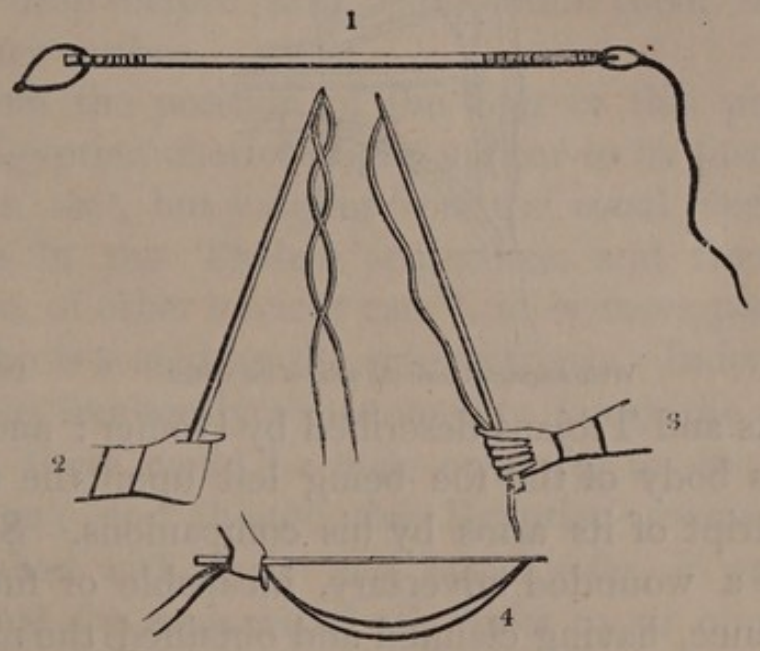
* Il. ο, 352. "(Εκτωρ) μαστιγι κατωμαδον ηλασεν ιππους:" and the gods frequently.

† Il. θ, 116. Nestor mounts the car of Diomed, and takes the reins and whip.

‡ Il. κ, 513.

Alexandria, and at the Roman town of Antinoë, founded by Hadrian, in Upper Egypt.

In driving, the Egyptians used a whip, like the heroes and charioteers of Homer; and this, or a short stick, was generally employed even for beasts of burden, and for oxen at the plough, in preference to the goad. The whip consisted of a

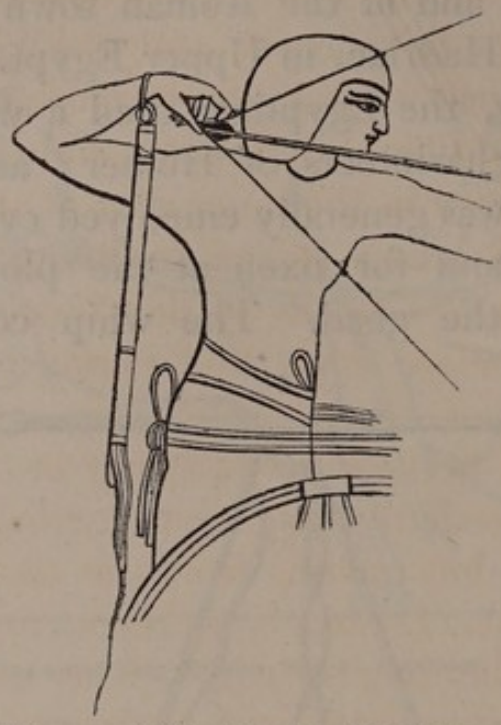


No. 50. Whips. *Thebes.*

smooth round wooden handle, and a single or double thong: it sometimes had a lash of leather, or string, about two feet in length, either twisted or platted; and a loop being attached to the lower end, the archer was enabled to use the bow, while it hung suspended from his wrist.*

When a hero encountered a hostile chief, he sometimes dismounted from his car, and substituting for his bow and quiver the spear, battle-axe, or falchion, he closed with him hand to hand, like the

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 51., next page.



No. 51. Whip suspended from the wrist of the archer. *Thebes.*

Greeks and Trojans described by Homer: and the lifeless body of the foe being left upon the field, was stript of its arms by his companions. Sometimes a wounded adversary, incapable of further resistance, having claimed and obtained the mercy of the victor, was carried from the field in his chariot*; and the ordinary captives, who laid down their arms and yielded to the Egyptians, were treated as prisoners of war, and were sent bound to the rear under an escort, to be presented to the monarch, and to grace his triumph, after the termination of the conflict. The hands of the slain were then counted before him†; and this

* At Karnak king Osirei is represented carrying under each arm two vanquished chiefs; and many inferior captives, bound with cords, follow him to his car.

† In 2 Kings, x. 8., the heads of the seventy sons of the king were brought in baskets to Jehu, who ordered them to be put "in two heaps at the entering in of the gate."

return of the enemy's killed was duly registered, to commemorate his success, and the glories of his reign; a subject which occurs more than once on the walls of Medeenet Haboo; and the great picture, sculptured in the inner area of that building, represents Remeses seated in his car, while the tellers, taking the hands by the thumb, place them in a heap before him, and count them to the military scribes.

From the position of the king in this picture, the Egyptian chariot might appear to be furnished with a seat, but judging from the usual representations in the Theban sculptures, and from the nature of other ancient cars *, it is more probable that he is seated on the side or front. Indeed, for persons frequently accustomed to forego the use of seats, there could be little necessity for its introduction; and though the Egyptian rooms were furnished with chairs and raised sofas, it was not unusual for persons of all ranks to sit upon the ground, crouched like the Nubians on a pedestrian journey, or cross-legged like the modern inhabitants of Eastern countries, when in the house, and even in their carriages.† The same remark applies to the chariots of those enemies with whom they fought; and the representation of wounded war-

* As of the Greeks. The Romans placed seats, or chairs, in their town cars, and the magistrates took with them the sella curulis when going to the senate house. This last folded like our camp stools, and many of the Egyptian chairs.

† Witness the Birmese carriage brought to England, which differs principally from those of Europe in the absence of seats.

riors falling backwards out of their car, frequently occurring in the battle scenes of Thebes, and so forcibly calling to mind the descriptions of Homer *, may be adduced as an additional argument to prove the absence of any seat or bench within it.

In some Egyptian chariots, the bottom part consisted of a frame interlaced with thongs or rope, forming a species of network, in order, by its elasticity, to render the motion of a carriage without springs more easy: and this custom is very prevalent at the present day in Italy and other countries, in carts and carriages used by the lower orders; but it is difficult to determine whether it was adopted in every Egyptian car.

That the chariot was of wood† is abundantly proved by the sculptures, wherever workmen are seen employed in making it; and the fact of their having, at the earliest period of their known history, already invented and commonly used a form of pole, whose introduction into our own country dates only between thirty and forty years‡, is a remarkable instance of the truth of Solomon's assertion, "there is no new thing under the sun §," and shows the advancement they had

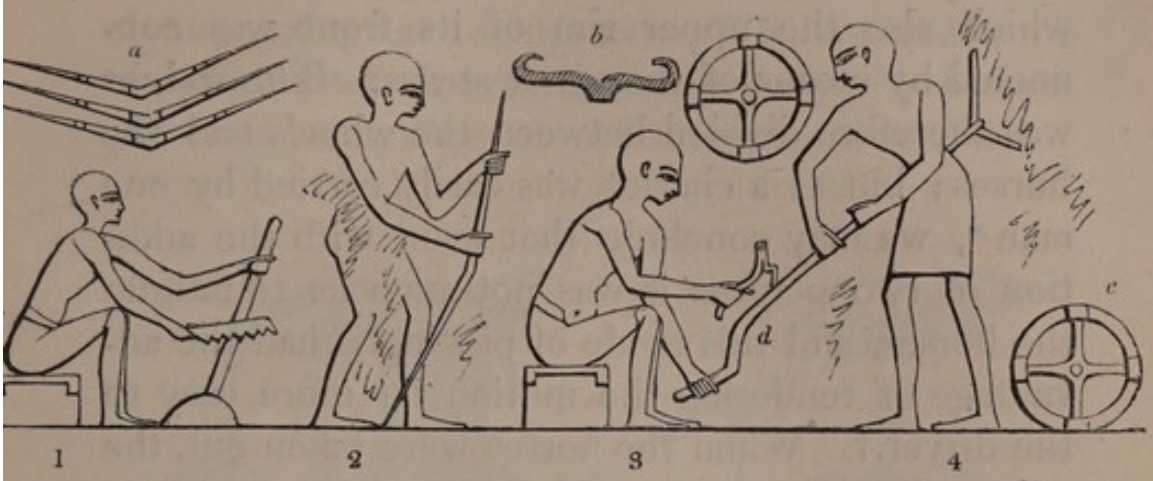
* Iliad, lib. θ, 122.; and ε, 585.: —

"Αυταρ ογ' ασθμαινων ενεργεος εκπεσε διφρου,
Κυμβαχος εν κονιησιν, επι βρεχμον τε καὶ ωμους."

† In Joshua, we read of the Canaanites having "chariots of iron." xvii. 16. Solomon made a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. Sol. Song, iii. 9.

‡ The pole of the Greek chariots was usually straight; but instances are met with of it curved, as in those of Egypt.

§ Ecclesiast. i. 9.



No. 52. Making the pole and other parts of a chariot. *Thebes.*

made at that very remote era, and the skill of their workmen. And that this last was of wood, and not, as some have imagined, of bronze or other metal, we have a decided proof, from the representations of workmen, cutting and fashioning it with an axe.*

The body of the car was exceedingly light, consisting of a wooden framework, strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding, like many of those mentioned by Homer†: the bottom part, on which the charioteer stood, was flat, whether of an entire piece, or of the thongs already alluded to, the whole resting on the axle-tree and lower extremity of the pole, which was itself inserted into the axle. Its centre was not placed directly over the axle, in order to be on an equilibrium, but much more forward, the back part seldom extending behind the middle of the wheel, so that the body pressed considerably upon the pole, to

* Wood-cut, No. 52. *fig.* 3.

† Homer, Il. κ, 438. Resus' car was bound with gold and silver; that of Diomed with gold and tin.

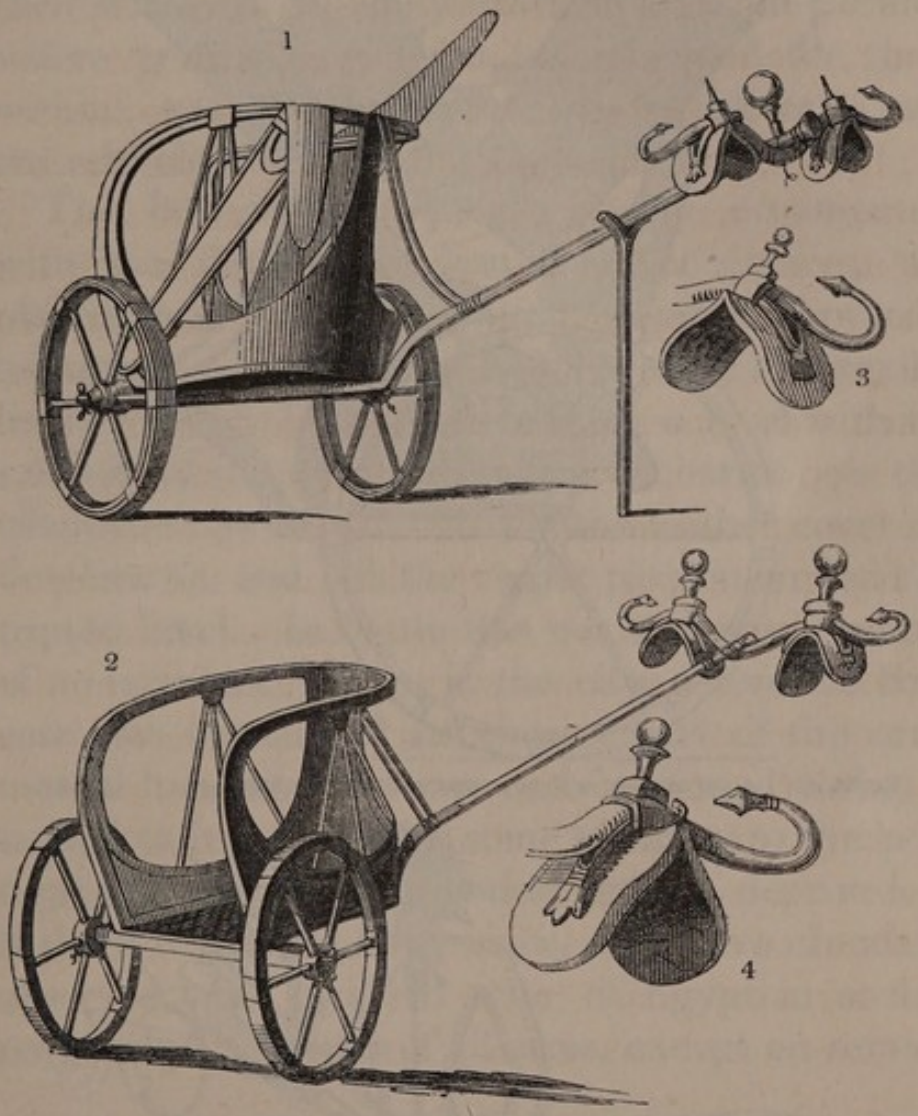
which also the upper rim of its front was connected by means of thongs or straps. The weight was therefore divided between the wheels and the horses; but as a chariot was easily carried by one man*, we may conclude that even with the addition of two persons it was not such as to fatigue the horses, and this mode of placing it had the advantage of rendering the motion far more easy to the driver.† When the horses were taken out, the pole, unless propped up in some manner, fell to the ground; they therefore rested it on a support, which was sometimes a wooden figure of a man, intended to represent a captive, or enemy, who was considered fitted for this degrading office.

The greater portion of the sides, and the whole of the back, were open; the latter indeed entirely so, without any rim or framework above; and the hinder part of the lateral framework commenced nearly in a line with the centre of the wheel, and rising perpendicularly, or slightly inclined backwards, from the base of the car, extended with a curve, at the height of about two feet and a half, to the front, serving as well for a safeguard to the driver, as a support for his quivers and bow-case. To strengthen it, three thongs of leather were attached at either side, and an upright of wood connected it with the base of the front part immediately above the pole, where the straps before mentioned were fastened; as may be seen in those I have already given from the an-

* In the sculptures. Another supports the pole and traces.

† The body of the Greek car was also placed very forward, less so than that of Egypt; but it must have been much heavier.

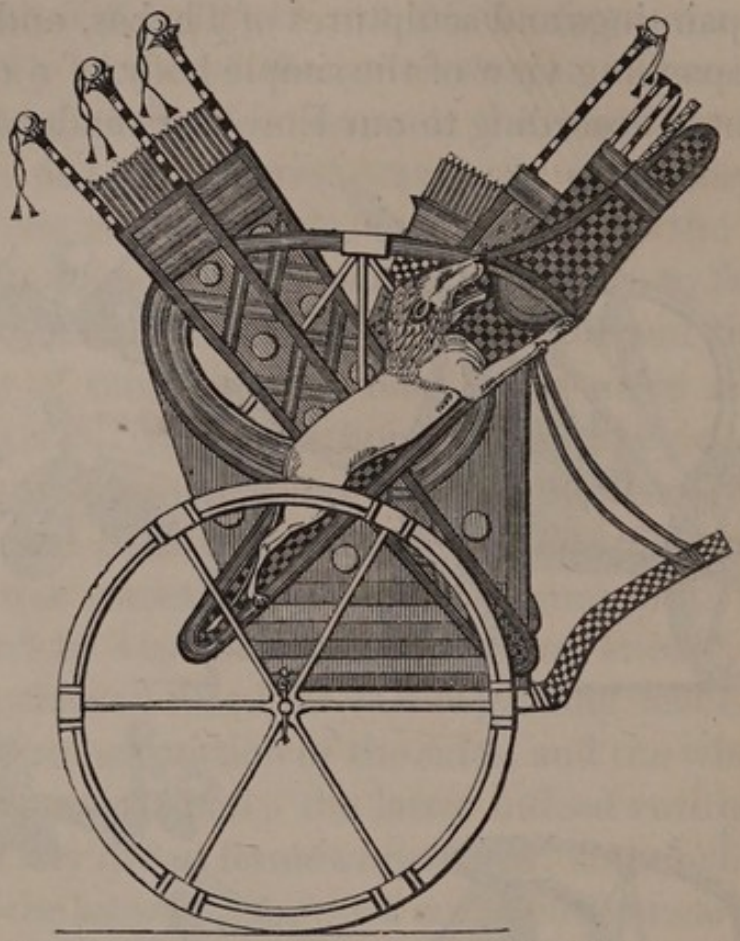
cient paintings and sculptures of Thebes, and in the accompanying view of the simple body of a car, represented according to our European mode of draw-



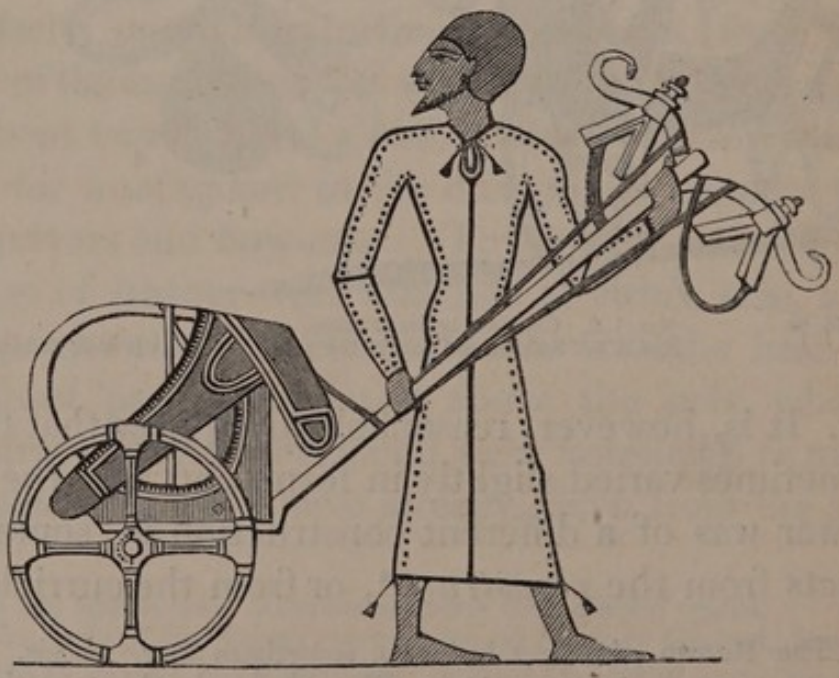
No. 53. *figs.* 1. 2. Chariots, in perspective.
figs. 3. 4. Saddles and part of the yoke. *From different Sculptures.*

ing. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that they sometimes varied slightly in form, and that the car of war was of a different construction in some respects from the *plaustrum**, or from the curricle of

* The Roman *plaustrum* had two, sometimes four, wheels. The waggons, or rather carts, sent by Pharaoh for Jacob are called, in



(No. 53. *a*.) A war chariot, with bow-cases and complete furniture. *Thebes.*



(No. 53. *b*.) Chariot of the Rot-ĥ-no. *Thebes.*

towns; and we not only find the two last destitute of all the cases for weapons except that of the bow, aud sometimes of that also, but the solid portion of their sides was generally lower than in the former, where greater protection was required for those within; and on this account the Greek cars were entirely closed, except at the back.*

The bow-case, frequently richly ornamented, with the figure of a lion or other devices, was placed in an inclined position, pointing forwards; its upper edge, immediately below the flexible leather cover, being generally on a level with the summit of the framework of the chariot; so that when the bow was drawn out, the leather cover fell downwards, and left the upper part on an uninterrupted level. In battle this was of course a matter of no importance; but in the city, where the bow-case was considered an elegant part of the ornamental hangings of a car, and continued to be attached to it†, they paid some attention to the position and fall of the pendent cover, deprived as it there was of its bow, since, as I have elsewhere observed, the civilized state of Egyptian society required the absence of all arms, except on service.

Hebrew, עגלות, wheeled carriages; the chariot was מרכבה, or רכב (une monture). I use *plaustrum* for a two-wheeled chariot drawn by oxen.

* In pl. iii. of Hope's Costumes is a car less closed than usual.

† The following passage of Homer shows that the bow was suspended to the car, and exemplifies what I have before remarked (p. 72.), the severity of filial duties in those times.

" *Αυταρ ὀγ' υἱας αμαξαν ευτροχον ἡμιονειην,*
Ὁπλισαι ηνωγει, πειρινθα δε δησαι επ' αυτης."

Il. ω, 189.; *vide* also lines 253. 267.

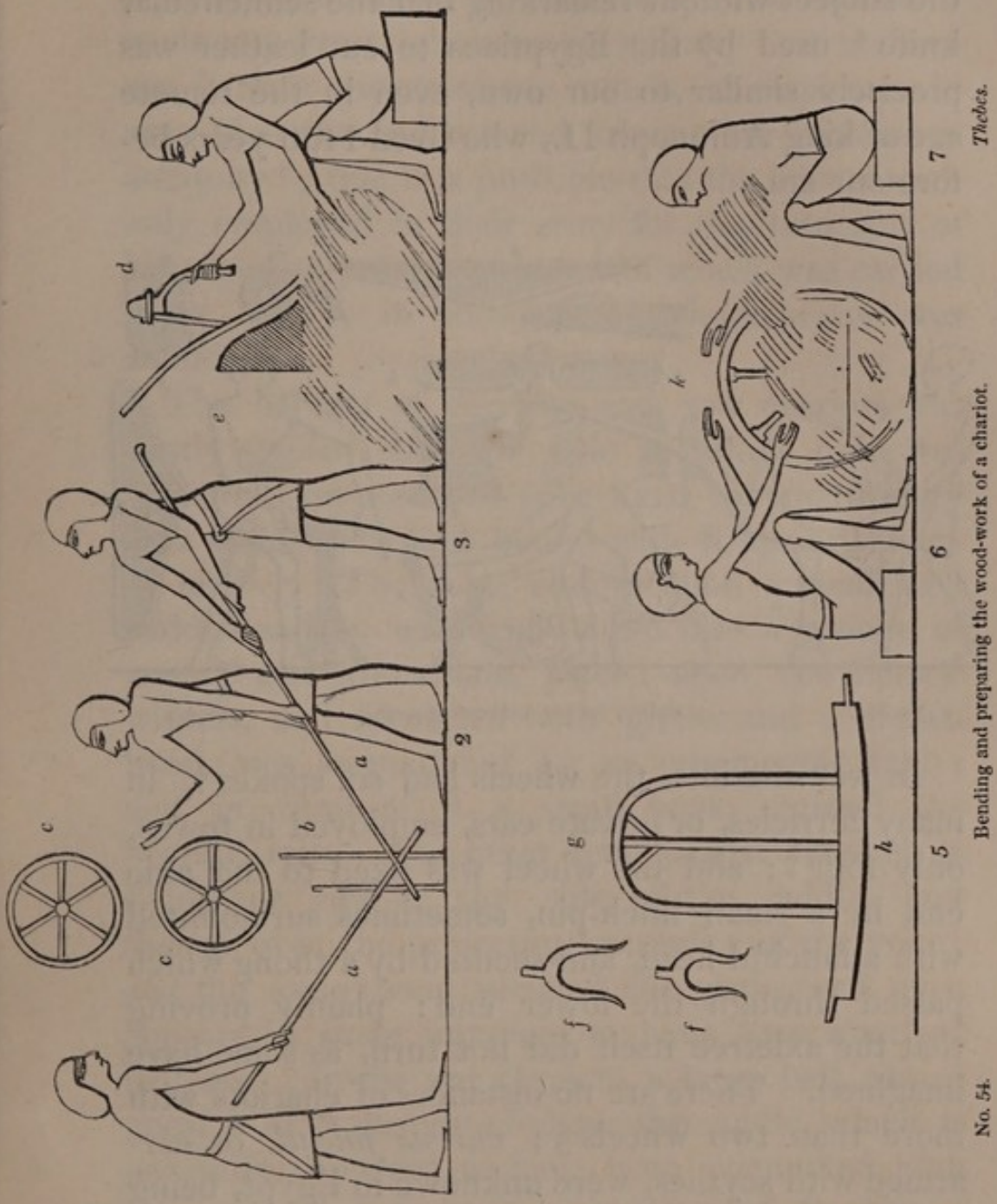
The quivers and spear-cases were suspended in a contrary direction, pointing backwards; sometimes an additional quiver was attached close to the bow-case, with a mace and other arms, and every war chariot containing two men was furnished with the same number of bows.

The framework, as I have stated, was of wood, like the pole, wheels, and other parts of the chariot; and we even find the mode of bending the wood for that purpose represented in the sculptures.* In the ornamental trappings, hangings, and binding of the framework and cases, leather was principally used, dyed of various hues, and afterwards adorned with metal edges and studs, according to the taste of the workman or purchaser; and the wheels, strengthened at the joints of the felly with bronze or brass bands, were bound with a hoop of metal.† The Egyptians themselves have not failed to point out what parts were the peculiar province of the carpenter and the currier. The body and framework of the car, the pole, yoke, and wheels, were the work of the former; the cases for the bows and other arms, the saddle and harness, the binding of the framework, and the coverings of the body, were finished by the currier; and lest it should not be sufficiently evident that they are engaged in cutting and bending the leather for this purpose, the artist has distinctly pointed out the nature of the sub-

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 54., next page.

† Conf. Hom. Il. ε, 724.:—

"Των ητοι χρυσεη ιτυς αφθιτος, αυταρ υπερθεν
Χαλκε' επισσωτρα, προσαρηροτα."

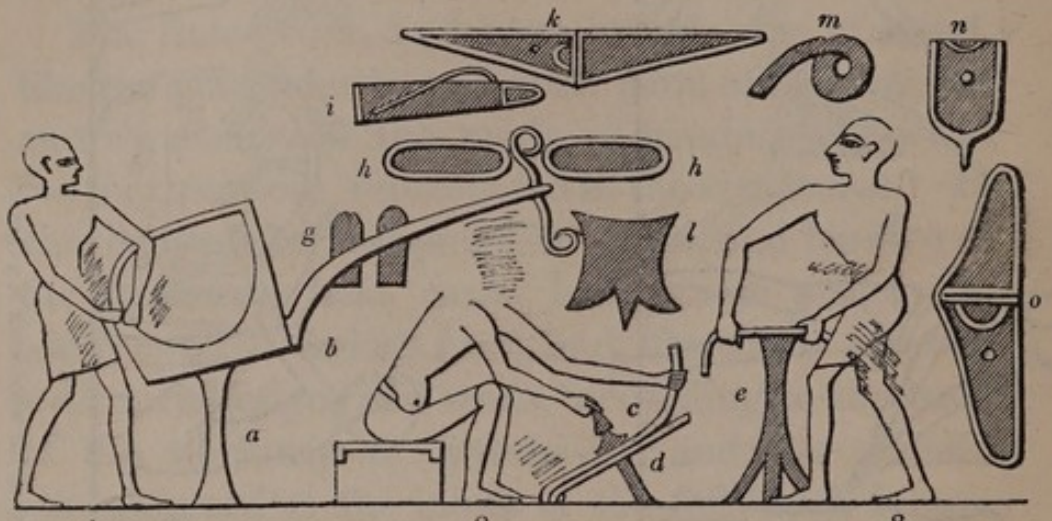


No. 54. Bending and preparing the wood-work of a chariot.

stance they employed, by figuring an entire skin, and the soles of a pair of shoes*, or sandals, suspended in the shop; and no European can look at

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 55. *l* and *g*.

the subject without remarking that the semicircular knife * used by the Egyptians to cut leather was precisely similar to our own, even in the remote age of king Amunoph II., who lived 1450 years before our era.



No. 55. Cutting leather and binding a car. *Thebes.*

In war chariots, the wheels had six spokes †, in many curricles, or private cars, employed in towns, only four ‡; and the wheel was fixed to the axle end by a small linch-pin, sometimes surmounted with a fanciful head, and secured by a thong which passed through the lower end: plainly proving that the axletree itself did not turn, as some have imagined. There are no instances of chariots with more than two wheels §; *currus falcati*, or cars armed with scythes, were unknown in Egypt, being

* It occurs very frequently. *Vide* wood-cut, No. 55., *c*.

† The spokes appear to have been generally round.

‡ Homer gives the car of Juno wheels with eight spokes, "κυκλα . . . οκτακνημα" (Il. ε, 723.), which is the usual number in the Greek sculptures; instances, however, occur of four, six, and twelve. *Vide* Hope's Costumes, pl. iii. 205. and 236.

§ There is only one representation of a carriage with four wheels. *Vide* wood-cut at the end of Chap. V.

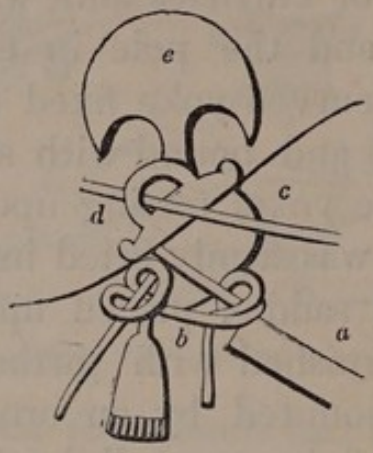
probably contemned by them as by all nations who made any great advances in military tactics; nor was it their custom to use camels, or elephants, in war, like the Indians and some other nations of antiquity*; and it is probable that the former were only employed in their army for the transport of baggage and provisions, much of which was carried upon asses†, in those parts where water was abundant.

The harness of curricles and war chariots was nearly similar; and the pole in either case was supported on a curved yoke fixed to its extremity by a strong pin, and bound with straps or thongs of leather. The yoke, resting upon a small well padded saddle, was firmly fitted into a groove of metal; and the saddle, placed upon the horses' withers, and furnished with girths and a breast-band, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small hook secured the bearing rein. The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke; and the same thong secured the girths, and even appears in some instances to have been attached to them. In the war chariots, a large ball, placed upon a shaft, projected above the saddle, which is generally supposed to have been connected with the reins, and to have been intended to give a

* And even by the Greeks after the time of Alexander.

† Baggage carried by asses is represented at Thebes and other places, but no camels have yet been met with, either in the sculptures or the hieroglyphics; a remark which has been made even by Abd-el Azees, the Arab historian. For this I can give no reason, since we know that animal existed in Egypt in the time of Abraham. Gen. xii. 16.

greater power to the driver*, by enabling him to draw them over a groove in its centre; but there is reason to believe it was added solely for an ornamental purpose, like the fancy head-dresses of the horses, and fixed to the yoke immediately above the centre of the saddle†, or to the head of a pin which connected the yoke to the pole.‡ The same kind of ornament§, though of a different form, is met with in Persian cars; and that it was not a



No. 56. Saddle of a horse yoked in a Persian car. *British Museum.*

necessary part of the harness is shown by the many instances of its omission in Egyptian curricles, and even in some of the chariots of war.‖

The traces were single, one only on the inner side of each horse, fastened to the lower part of the pole, and thence extending to the saddle; but no exterior trace was thought necessary: and no provision was made for attaching it to the car. Indeed the

* Such was my own opinion; but on further examination of numerous drawings of chariots, I am inclined to believe it stood on the yoke or the pole.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 53. *fig.* 2.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 53. *fig.* 1.

§ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 56., at *c*.

‖ *Vide* wood-cuts, Nos. 48. and 49.

yoke sufficed for all the purposes of draught as well as for backing the chariot; and being fixed to the saddle, it kept the horses at the same distance and in the same relative position, and prevented their breaking outwards from the line of draught, a remark which applies equally to the Greek car; and the description given of it by Homer * agrees very

* Il. ε, 722. *et seq.* : —

" Ἡβη δ' αμφ' οχεεσσι θοως βαλε καμπυλα κυκλα,
Χαλκεα, οκτακνημα, σιδηρεῳ αξονι αμφις·
Των ητοι χρυσεη ιτυς αφθιτος, αυταρ ὑπερθεν
Χαλκε' επισσωτρα, προσαρηροτα, θαυμα ιδεσθαι·
Πλημναι δ' αργυρου εισι περιδρομοι αμφοτερωθεν·
Διφρος δε χρυσεοισι και αργυρεοισιν ἱμασιν
Εντεταται· δοιαι δε περιδρομοι αντυγες εισι·
Του δ' εξ αργυρεος ῥυμος πελεν· αυταρ επ' ακρῳ
Δησε χρυσειον καλον ζυγον, εν δε λεπαδνα
Καλ' εβαλε, χρυσει'· ὑπο δε ζυγον ηγαγεν Ηρη
Ἱππους ωκυποδας, μεμαυι' εριδος και αϋτης."

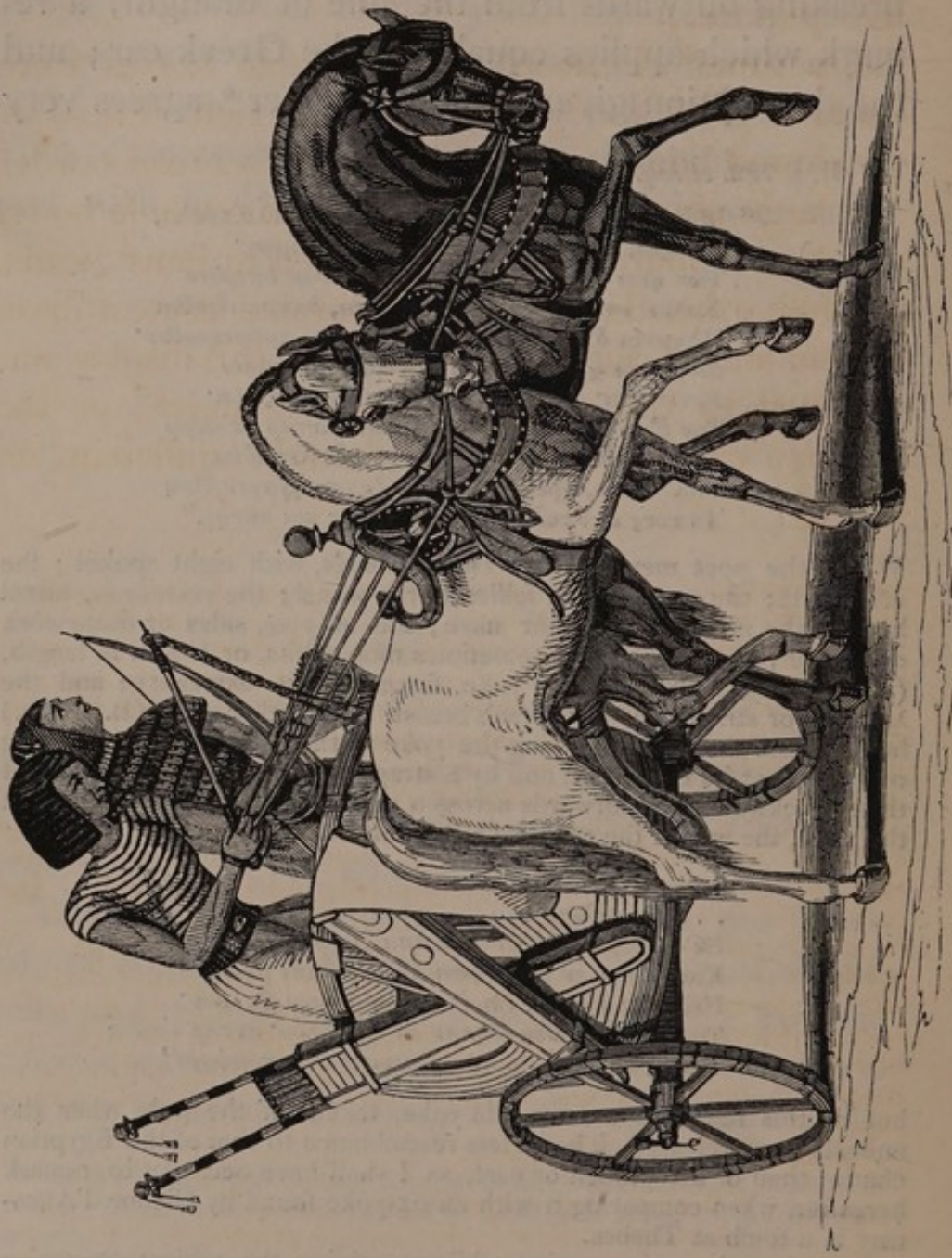
Where the poet mentions the κυκλα, wheels, with eight spokes; the αξων, axle; the ιτυς, wooden fellies of the wheel; the επισσωτρα, metal hoops; the πλημνη, its box or nave; the αντυγες, sides or framework of the car; ῥυμος, the pole, sometimes nine cubits, or 13½ ft. in length, (Il. ω, 270.), with the ζυγον, yoke, fastened at its extremity; and the λεπαδνα, or straps over the horse's breast. In another place (Il. ω, 268.) he describes the mode of fixing the yoke to the pole, by a ring passing over a peg at its extremity, and by a strap nine cubits in length, lashed thrice backwards and forwards across a prominent boss in the centre of the yoke, the end of the strap being tied in a knot below: —

——— " Ζυγον . . .
. . . . ομφαλοεν . . .
Εκ δ' εφερον ζυγοδεσμον ἁμα ζυγῳ εννεαπηχυ·
Και το μεν ευ κατεθηκαν εϋξεστῳ επι ῥυμῳ,
Πεζῃ επι πρωτῃ, επι δε κρικον ἑστορι βαλλον·
Τρις δ' ἑκατερθεν εδησαν επ' ομφαλον· αυταρ επειτα
Ἑξεινης κατεδησαν, ὑπο γλωχινα δ' εγναμψαν·"

but as this refers to a moveable yoke, taken off the pole when the animals were released, it bears less resemblance to that of the Egyptian chariot than of the plough or cart, as I shall have occasion to remark hereafter, when comparing it with an ox-yoke found by Signor d'Anastasy in a tomb at Thebes.

It may not be uninteresting, while examining the subject, to notice the Roman carriages. Besides litters or palanquins, and other modes of conveyance, they had carriages called *unarotum*, with one wheel, drawn

nearly with that used by the Egyptians. In order to render this more intelligible, I shall introduce a pair of horses yoked to a chariot according to



No. 57. An Egyptian car and horses in perspective, designed from a comparison of different sculptures.

by slaves; the *birotum*, and the *quatrirodium*, with two, and four wheels. The *biga* was a car with two horses; the *triga*, with three; and the

the rules of European drawing, derived from a comparison of the numerous representations in the sculptures, omitting only their housings and head-dress, which may be readily understood in an Egyptian picture.

On grand occasions the Egyptian horses were decked* with fancy ornaments: a rich striped or checkered housing†, trimmed with a broad border and large pendent tassels, covered the whole body, and two or more feathers‡ inserted in lions' heads, or some other device of gold, formed a crest upon the summit of the head-stall. But this display was confined to the chariots of the monarch, or the military chiefs; and it was thought sufficient, in

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quadriga with four: we even read of six horses yoked abreast; and Nero once drove a chariot with ten horses at the Olympic games. The two-wheeled quadriga was most generally used, and preferred for the circus; the biga was commonly employed in war; it had also two wheels, and contained a warrior and the driver. The pilentum was a carriage principally intended for matrons, when going to the games; it had four wheels, like the rheda, a large travelling coach, and the petorritum, an open town carriage. The essedum was a light swift car, driven in the city, and adopted from the Gauls; and the plaustrum, properly a cart, with two, and occasionally four, wheels, was intended for heavy burdens, though less cumbrous than the four-wheeled carrus, or waggon. The parts of the chariot were the wheels (rotæ), the body (capsum or ploxemum), the pole (temo), and the yoke (jugum). The nave (modiolus), the fellies (apsides), the spokes (radii), and the metal hoop (canthus), were the parts of the wheel. The yoke was usually of wood, extending over the back of the two horses, of a crooked shape to fit the neck; and it was tied to the pole with leathern thongs, frequently with a pin or ring, as in the Greek and Egyptian cars. *Vide* Hope's Costumes, plate 271.

* Conf. Virg. Æn. vii. 275.: —

> " Instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis,
> Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent."

And Hom. Il. ω, 230.

† *Vide* plate 1.

‡ Probably peacock's feathers.

the harness of other cars, and of the town curricle, to adorn the bridles with rosettes, which resemble, and cannot fail to call to mind, those used in England at the present day.*

Blinkers† were deemed unnecessary, as in many countries of modern Europe; but a severe bit appears to have been employed by the Egyptians‡ as by other ancient people§; though, from their mode of representing it, we should rather feel disposed to consider it a sort of snaffle than a curb.

The head and upper part of the neck were frequently enveloped in a rich covering similar to the housing, trimmed with a leather fringe; and the bridle, consisting of two cheek pieces, a throatlash, head-stall, and the forehead and nose straps, though simple, was not unornamental.

No instance occurs of Egyptian chariots with more than two horses, nor of any carriage furnished with shafts and drawn by one horse; they therefore resembled those in general use among the early Greeks, as described by Homer‖; though the poet occasionally mentions the four-horsed car, answering to the quadriga of the Latins, so

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 57.

† In one or two instances we find something projecting above and at the side of the eyes, which may be intended to represent blinkers.

‡ This I conclude from the appearance of their mouths; and a simple bit may be made very severe.

§ Conf. Hor. lib. i. Od. 8.:—

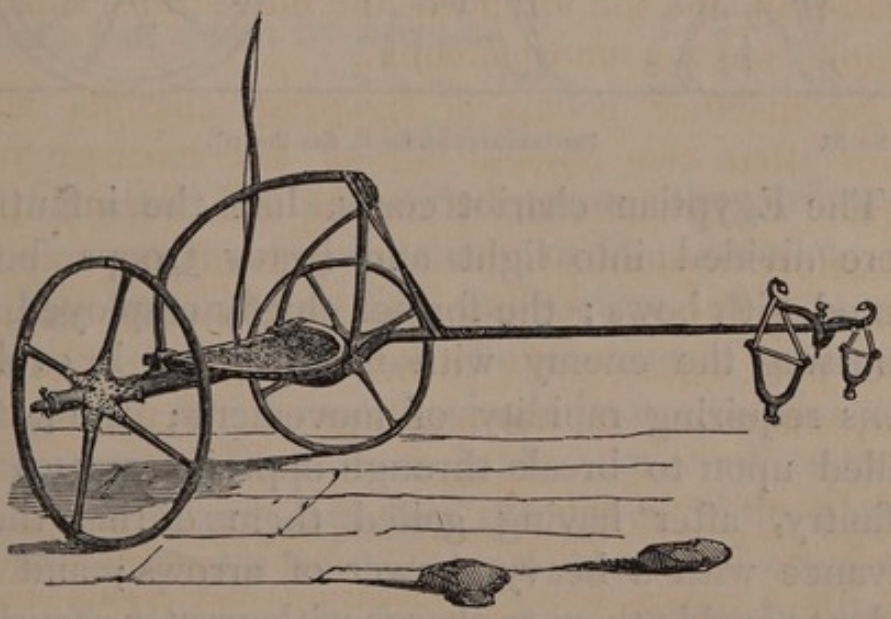
"Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis."

‖ Hom. Il. ε, 195.:—

—— "Παρα δε σφιν ἑκαστῳ ζυγες ἱπποι
Ἑστασιν·"

Like the biga of the Romans.

frequently represented in sculpture and on ancient coins. Those used by contemporary eastern nations, with whom the Egyptians were at war, were not dissimilar in their general form or in the mode of yoking the horses, even if they differed in the number of persons they contained, having usually three instead of the two in Egyptian and Greek cars: as may be seen from an examination of those represented in the paintings of Thebes *, particularly that which is brought with its two unyoked horses, as a present to the Egyptian monarch, by the conquered people of Rot-ñ-no†, and one actually found in Egypt, and now preserved in the museum at Florence, supposed by some to have been taken



No. 58. Car and bow, in the collection at Florence (from the great work of Professor Rosellini).

from the Scythians by the Egyptian victors. The harness of the Persian chariots figured at Persepolis

* *Vide* wood-cut. † *Vide* wood-cut, No. 53. *b.* and plate 4.

is equally simple; and as it is interesting to compare the customs of different ancient nations, it may not be irrelevant to the subject to introduce a copy of one taken from the work of Sir R. Ker Porter.*

No. 59. Persian car (from Sir R. Ker Porter).

The Egyptian chariot corps, like the infantry, were divided into light and heavy troops, both armed with bows: the former chiefly employed in harassing the enemy with missiles, and in evolutions requiring rapidity of movement; the latter called upon to break through opposing masses of infantry, after having galled them during their advance with a heavy shower of arrows; and in order to enable them to charge with greater security they were furnished with a shield, which was not required for the other mounted archers, and a long spear was substituted on these occasions for the

* It may be seen in the British Museum. *Vide* also wood-cut, No. 56.

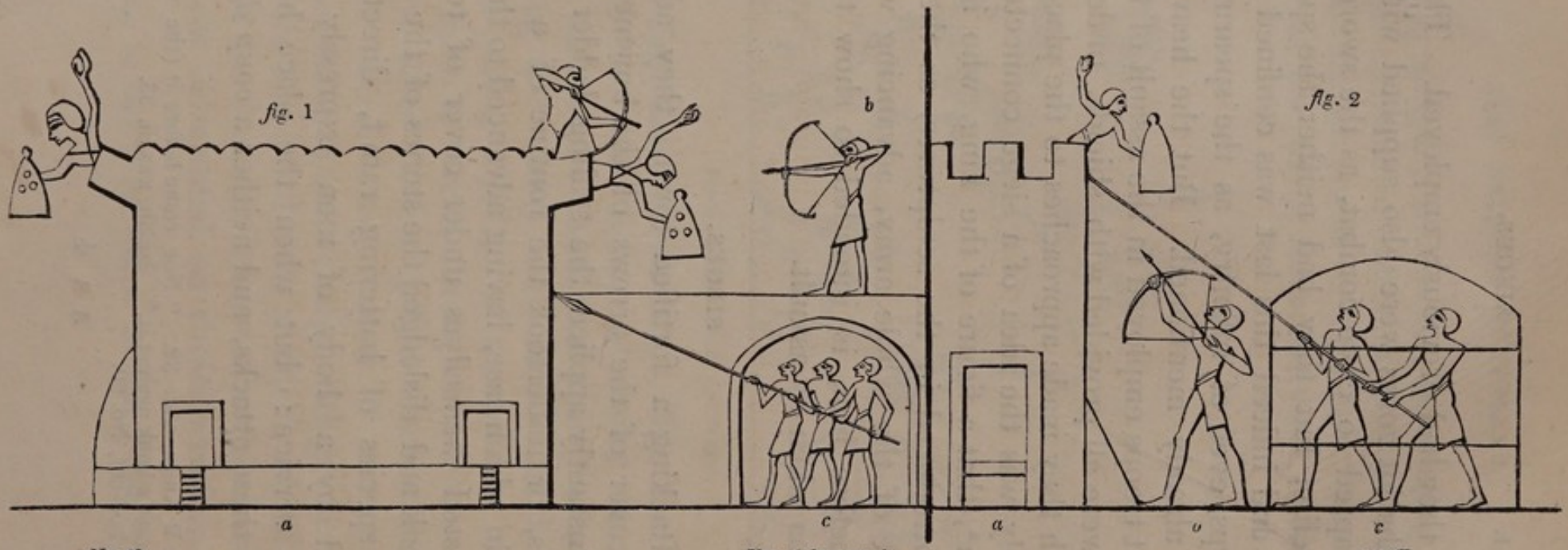
missiles they had previously employed. The light-armed chariot corps were also supplied with weapons adapted to close combat, as the sword, club, and javelin; but they had neither the spear nor shield; and indeed this last was confined to certain corps, even of infantry, as the spearmen and others, already mentioned. But the heavy foot, and light troops employed in the assault of fortified towns, were all provided with shields, under cover of which they made approaches to the place; and so closely was the idea of a siege connected with this arm*, that a figure of the king, who is sometimes introduced in the sculptures, as the representative of the whole army, advancing with his shield before him, is intended to show that the place was taken by assault.

SIEGES.

In attacking a fortified town, they advanced under cover of the arrows of the bowmen; and either instantly applied the scaling ladder to the ramparts, or undertook the routine of a regular siege: in which case, having advanced to the walls, they posted themselves under cover of testudos, and shook and dislodged the stones of the parapet with a species of battering ram†, directed and impelled by a body of men expressly chosen for this service: but when the place held out against these attacks, and neither a *coup de main*,

* Conf. 2 Kings, xix. 32. "Nor come before it (the city) with *shield*, nor cast a bank against it." Isaiah, xxxvii. 33.

† See wood-cut, No. 60.



No. 60.

Use of the testudo.

the ladder, nor the ram, were found to succeed, they probably used the testudo for concealing and protecting the sappers, while they mined the place* ; and certainly, of all people, the Egyptians were the most likely to have recourse to this stratagem of war, from the great practice they had in underground excavations, and in directing shafts through the solid rock.

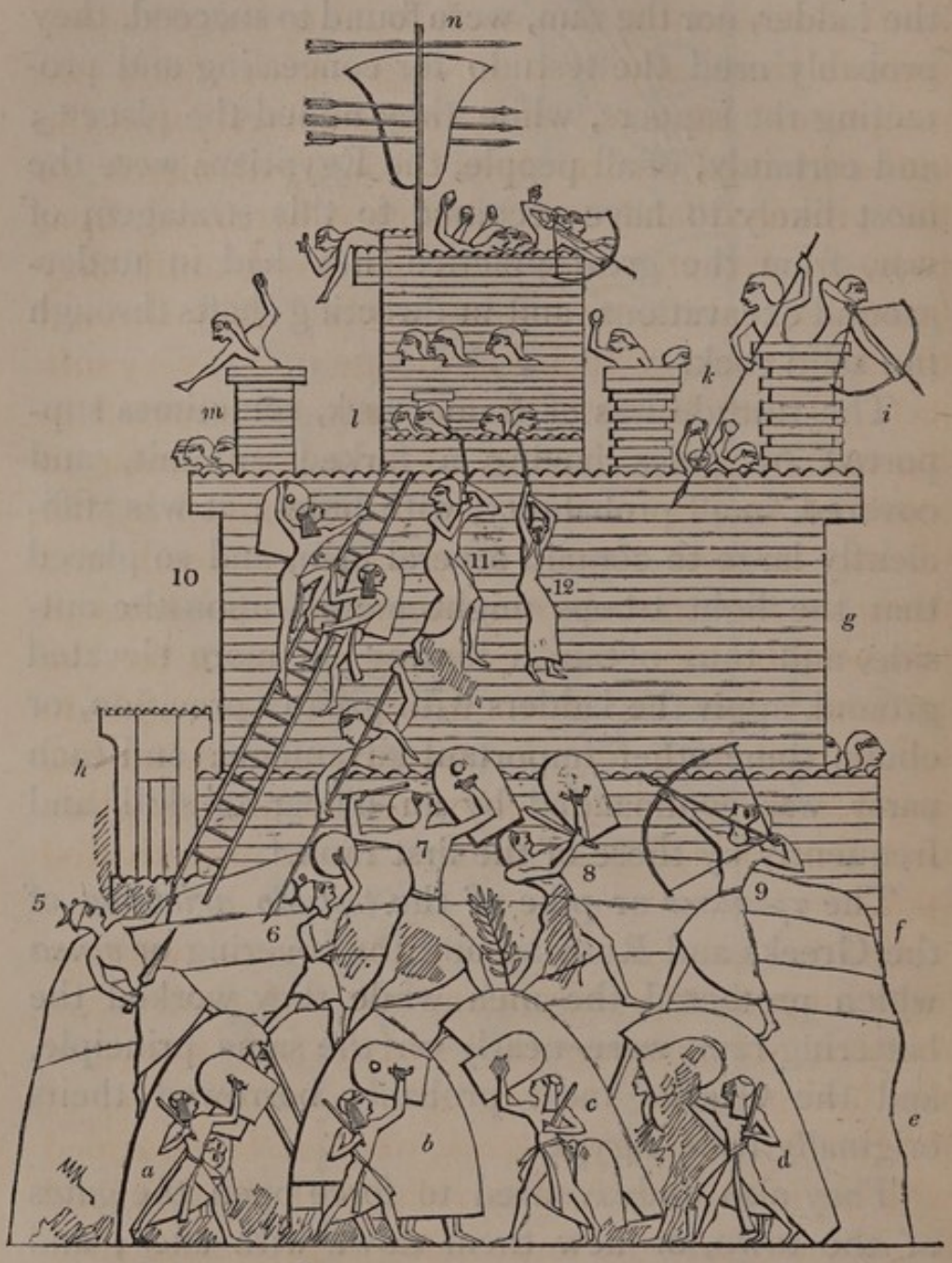
The testudo was of frame-work, sometimes supported by poles having a forked summit, and covered, in all probability, with hides; it was sufficiently large to contain several men, and so placed that the light troops might mount upon the outside, and thus obtain a footing on more elevated ground, apply the ladders with greater precision, or obtain some other important advantage; and each party was commanded by an officer of skill, and frequently by those of the first rank.†

The τρυπανον or pike of the *testudo arietaria* of the Greeks and Romans, and the covering or *vinea* which protected the men while they worked the battering-ram, were nearly on the same principle, and the Greeks most probably borrowed theirs originally from Egypt.

They also endeavoured to force open the gates of the town, or hew them down with axes; and when the fort was built upon a rock, they escaladed the precipitous part by means of the testudo, or by

* The testudo ad fodiendum of Vitruvius, which, he says, the Greeks call ορυξ, ορυγες. Lib. x. c. 21. There was another, quæ ad congestionem fossarum paratur. Lib. x. c. 20. *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 235. note †, and *supra*, p. 67.

† Wood-cut, No. 61. Four of the king's sons command the four testudos, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.



No. 61. Assault of a fort. The testudo and scaling ladder. *Thebes.*

short spikes of metal, which they forced into the crevices of the stone*, and then applied the ladder to the ramparts.

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 61. *fig.* 5.

It is reasonable to conclude that several other engines were employed in sieges with which the sculptures* have not made us acquainted; and the bulwarks used by the Jews†, on their march to the promised land, were doubtless borrowed from those of Egypt, where they had lived until they became a nation, and from whence they derived the greater part of their knowledge upon every subject. These bulwarks being only constructed in the case of a siege, appear to have been similar to some of the mounds or towers employed by the Greeks in later times: they were of wood, and made on the spot during the siege, the trees of the neighbouring country being cut down for the purpose: but the Jews deemed it unlawful to fell a fruit tree for the construction of warlike engines, nor were they permitted to use any other than those which grew wild, or in an uncultivated spot.‡

Besides bulwarks or moveable towers, we may also suppose the Egyptians adopted destructive missiles, for burning the houses and works of the besieged, like the fire-balls, πυροβολοι λιθοι, of the Greeks, or the σκυταλαια, wooden staves, armed with an iron point, and carrying with them lighted fire-brands; and the same mode of protecting their own works, from the assaults of the besieged, was probably resorted to by the Egyptians as by that people.

* The scaling ladder is most frequently represented, and seems to have been very generally used.

† Deut. xx. 20.

‡ "For the tree of the field is man's life." Deut. xx. 19.

The northern and eastern tribes, against whom the Egyptians fought, were armed in many instances with the same weapons as the disciplined troops of the Pharaohs, as bows and spears; they had besides long swords, rude massive clubs, and knives; and their coats of mail, helmets, and shields, varied in form, according to the custom of each nation. They also used stones, which were thrown with the hand, while defending the walls of a besieged town; but it does not appear that either the Egyptians or their enemies threw them on any other occasions, except with a sling. Indeed we seldom find any people armed with stones, except those who have not yet advanced beyond their infancy in the art of war*; and the same remark applies to the Greeks, during the siege of Troy, some of whom are introduced by Homer, fighting with these rude weapons,—an era, when Grecian manners, and military tactics, were only beginning to emerge from a state of primitive simplicity.

THE ENEMIES WITH WHOM THEY FOUGHT.

The most distinguishing peculiarities of some of the nations at war with the Egyptians, were the

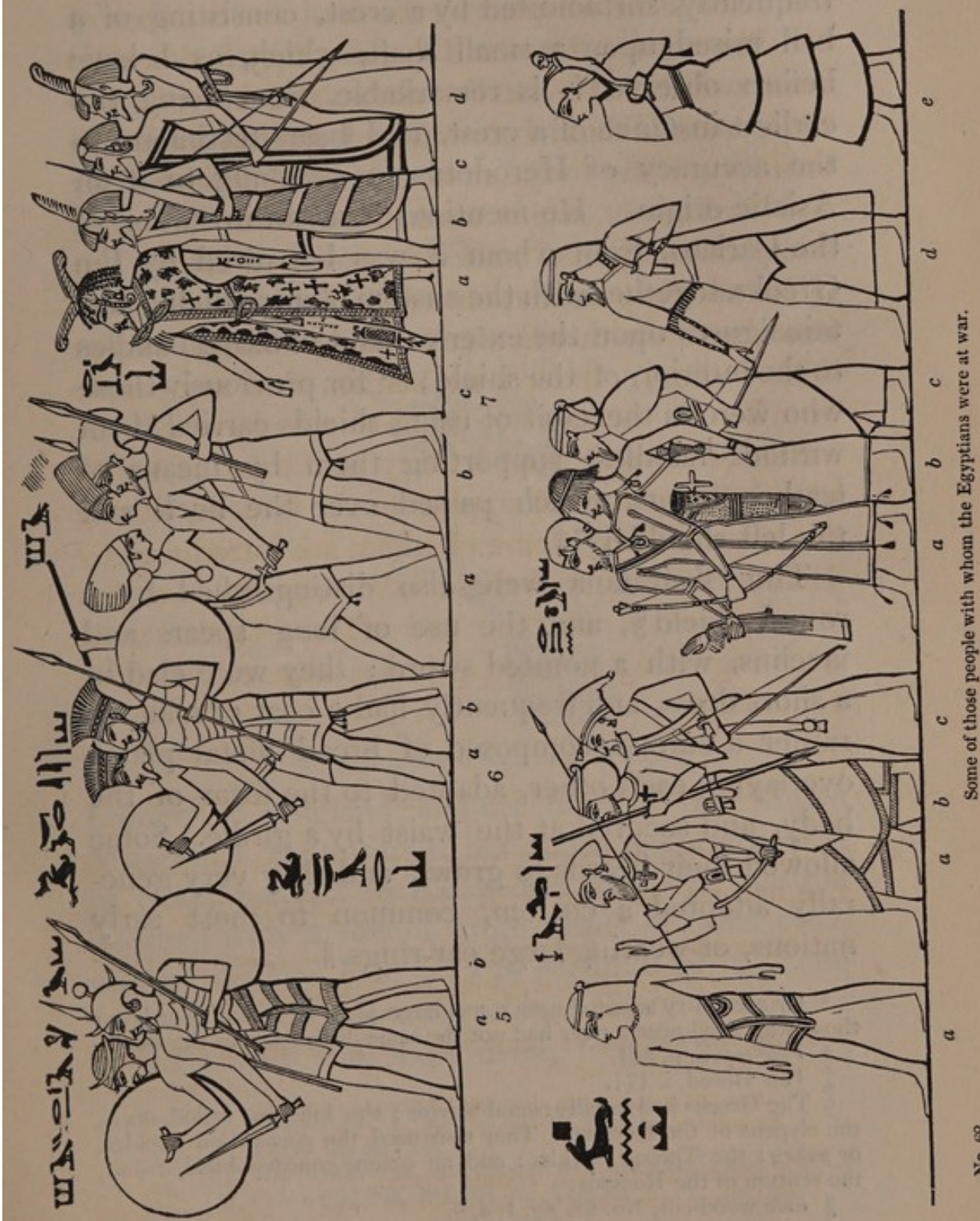
* Horace says, Sat. i. 3. 101.:—

"Unguibus, et pugnis, dein fustibus . . . .
Pugnabant;"

and Lucretius mentions the hands, nails, teeth, stones, and branches of trees, as the earliest weapons:—

"Arma antiqua, manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,
Et lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami.
. . . . . .
Posterius ferri vis est, ærisque reperta,
Sed prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus." Lib. v. ver. 1283.

forms of the head-dress and shield. One of these, the Shairetana, a people inhabiting a maritime



No. 62. Some of those people with whom the Egyptians were at war.

country of Asia*, wore a helmet ornamented with horns, projecting from its circular summit, and frequently surmounted by a crest, consisting of a ball raised upon a small shaft, which, as I have before observed†, is remarkable, from being the earliest instance of a crest, and bears testimony to the accuracy of Herodotus in ascribing to it an Asiatic origin. He mentions it as an invention of the Carians, from whom it was borrowed by the Greeks, together with the custom of introducing certain figures upon the exterior, and of fixing handles to the interior, of the shield; "for previously those who were in the habit of using shields carried them without handles, supporting them by means of leather thongs, which passed over the neck and the left shoulder."‡

The Shairetana were also distinguished by a round shield§, and the use of long spears and javelins, with a pointed sword; they were clad in a short dress, and frequently had a coat of mail, or rather a cuirass, composed of broad metal plates overlaying each other, adapted to the form of the body, and secured at the waist by a girdle. Some allowed their beards to grow; and they very generally adopted a custom, common to most early nations, of wearing large ear-rings.‖

* Or a country situated near some large piece of water, as a lake: those who lived near a river had not the same distinction, as the Sheta.

† *Vide suprà*, p. 331.

‡ *Vide* Herod. i. 171.

§ The Greeks had usually round shields; this kind was called *ασπις*, the clypeus of the Romans. They also used the Amazonian buckler, or *πελτη*: the Theban buckler: and an oblong concave shield, *θυρεος*, the scutum of the Romans.

‖ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 1. *a*, *b*.

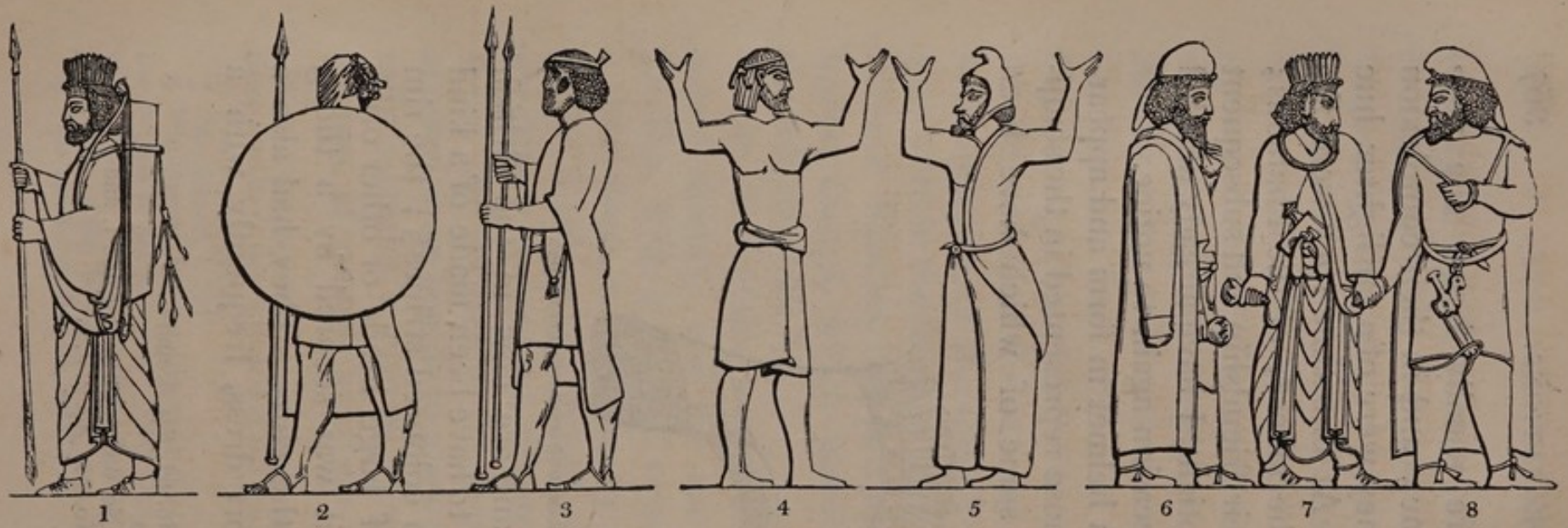
Their features were usually large, the nose prominent and aquiline; and in their complexion as well as their hair, they were of a far lighter hue than the Egyptians. At one time they were the enemies, at another the allies*, of the Pharaohs; and the duration of their friendship and subsequent rupture with the Egyptians, I have already alluded to†, and shall have occasion again to notice.

The Tokkari wore a helmet in form and appearance very similar to those represented in the sculptures of Persepolis, some of which have been

No. 63. Persian head-dress (from Sir R. Ker Porter).

brought to England, and are now in the British Museum.‡ It appears to have been made of a kind of cloth, marked with coloured stripes§; the rim adorned with a row of large beads or other ornamental devices, and it was secured by a thong or riband tied below the chin. They had also a round shield and short dress, frequently with a

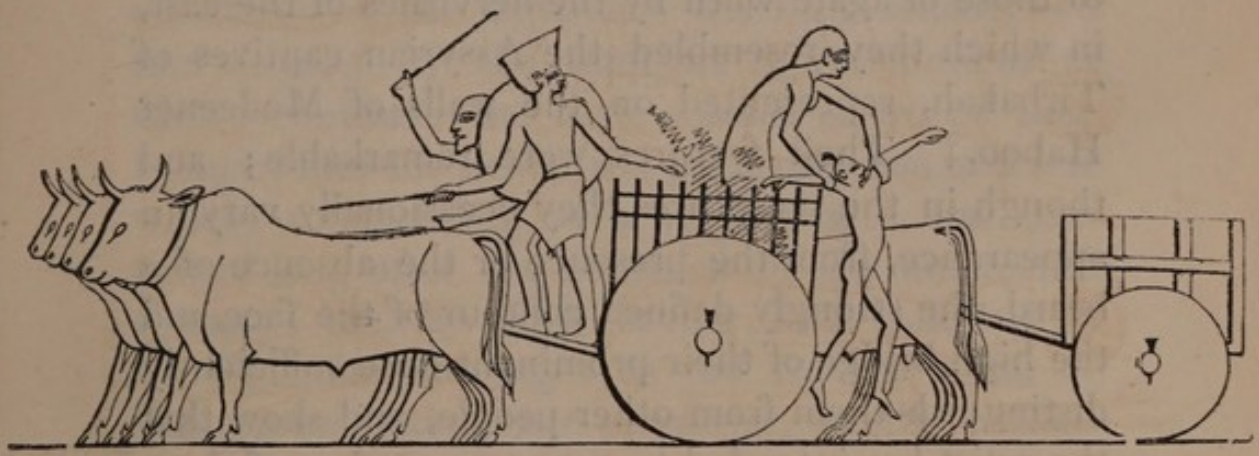
* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 61. *figs.* 5. and 6.
† Pages 68. and 84.
‡ *Vide* wood-cuts, No. 63. and 64., and *figs.* 1. and 7.
§ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 2. *a*, *b*.



No. 64. Persepolitan figures (from Sir R. Ker Porter).

No. 64. *a.* Persepolitan figures. *British Museum.*

coat of armour similar to that of their neighbours, the Shairetana; and their offensive weapons consisted principally of a spear, and a large pointed knife, or straight sword. They sometimes, though rarely, had a beard, which was still more unusual with the chiefs: their features were regular, the nose slightly aquiline; and whenever the Egyptian artists have represented them on a large scale, their face presents a more pleasing outline than the generality of these Asiatic people. They fought, like the Egyptians, in chariots; and had carts or waggons, with two solid wheels similar to the *tympana* of the Romans, drawn by a pair of oxen, which appear to have been placed in the



No. 65. Carts of the Tokkari, at the time of their defeat. *Thebes.*

rear, as in the Scythian and Tartar armies. This circumstance, and that of their women carrying off the children in these carts at the moment of a defeat, might lead us to infer them to have been a roving people, who did not live in towns; which is still farther argued by their taking refuge, when routed by Remeses III., in the ships of their neighbours, the Shairetana, above mentioned; but their

civilised appearance argues against this opinion. They were also at one time allies of the Pharaohs, and assisted them in their long wars against the Rebo.

Another people, whose name is lost *, were distinguished by a costume of a very oriental character, consisting of a high fur cap, not unlike one worn by the ancient Persians, and that of the modern Tartars and Dellee Turks; a tight dress, with the usual girdle; and a short kelt, common to many Asiatic nations, which, apparently divided, and folding over in front, was tied at the bottom with strings. Round their neck, and falling upon the breast, was a large round amulet†, very similar to those of agate worn by the dervishes of the east, in which they resembled the Assyrian captives of Tirhakah, represented on the walls of Medeenet Haboo.‡ Their features were remarkable; and though in the sculptures they occasionally vary in appearance, from the presence or the absence of a beard, the strongly defined contour of the face and the high bridge of their prominent nose sufficiently distinguish them from other people, and show that the artist has intended to convey a notion of these peculiar characteristics.

Their arms consisted of two javelins, a club, and falchion, and a shield like that of the Egyptians, with a round summit. They were on terms of friendship with the third Remeses, and assisted him in

* It begins with the letters Sha . . . . *Vide* wood-cut. No. 62. *fig.* 3.
† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62 *fig.* 3. *a.*
‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 66. *fig.* 1.

his wars against the Rebo; and though they occur among the foreigners who had been conquered by the arms of Egypt, the same feeling of inveterate enmity, resulting from a repeated succession of conflicts, did not exist towards them as towards many other Asiatic tribes. The same remark applies to another people, represented at Medeenet Haboo*, as allies of the Egyptians, whose name has been unfortunately lost: they were clad in a short tight dress, and carried a shield, like the former, with a bow and a heavy club; but of their features we have little or no knowledge, owing to the imperfect state of the sculptures.

One of the most formidable Asiatic enemies encountered by the Egyptians were the Rebo†, — a fact attested by the frequent representations of severe contests; the large masses of troops they brought into the field; the great duration of a war which, commencing at a very remote era, continued long after the accession of the nineteenth dynasty; and by their having been selected in the Egyptian paintings‡ as the type of Asia, or the representation, *par excellence*, of the nations of the East.

One of the principal military events in the glorious reign of the great Remeses was his success against these powerful enemies; and three victories over the Rebo, won with great slaughter, by Remeses III. about a century later, added a far

* *Vide* the allies, in wood-cut, No. 11. *fig.* 3.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 4.

‡ As in the procession of figures — emblematic of the four *quarters* of the world, north, east, south, and west — in Belzoni's tomb.

brighter lustre to his name, than the numerous defeats of other Asiatic people, though they enriched him with immense booty, and considerably increased the extent of the Egyptian conquests. In these encounters several thousand of the enemy were killed, as reported in the Egyptian returns; and the obstinacy of the fight, and the firm resistance they opposed to the highly disciplined and numerous forces of their antagonists, distinctly prove them to have been a nation both powerful and skilled in the art of war. They were defeated, but not conquered; nor would any portion of them submit to become allies of the Egyptians: and from the long duration of the war, the repeated attempts made by the Pharaohs to subjugate their country, their marked hatred of them, and their eagerness to commemorate each victory, we may conclude the Egyptians had also suffered during these campaigns; and though, as might be expected, the sculptured history in the Theban temples merely relates the victories of the Pharaohs, the Rebo themselves had probably reason to record their own successful resistance, and sometimes even the defeat of the invaders.

From the style of their costume, and the lightness of their complexion, it is evident they inhabited a northern* as well as an Asiatic country, very dis-

* Besides colour, we have always a distinguishing mark in the termination of the bands that secure the prisoners; which have an entire edged flower, supposed to be the papyrus, to denote those nations living to the north of Egypt, and the three-leaved flower of another water plant, to point out the African or southern tribes, as may be seen in the woodcut, No. 69. *fig.* 6. of the Asmaor, and *fig.* 10. of a black captive from

tant from Egypt, and of a far more temperate climate. Their dress consisted of an under garment, with the usual short kelt, and a long outer robe, highly coloured, and frequently ornamented with fancy devices, or a broad rich border, which descended to the ankles, and was fastened at the neck with a large bow, or by a strap over the shoulder, the lower part being open in front. It was not bound by a girdle: this was worn beneath it; though the Egyptian artists occasionally represent it as if worn above, or seen through the transparent robe: but the substance of the latter was generally too thick to admit of this, being sometimes of bulls' hide or leather, and sometimes of a woollen stuff. Their girdle was highly ornamented, and the extremity falling down in front terminated in a large tassel*; and so fond were they of decorating their persons, that besides earrings, necklaces, and trinkets, common to Asiatic and other tribes, the chiefs decked their heads with feathers, and some painted or tattooed their arms and legs.

If the costumes of several foreign nations met with in the Egyptian sculptures call to mind those of Persia and Parthia, none perhaps resemble them more than that of the Rebo, or of the Rot-n̄-no, whom I shall presently describe. The hair of the Rebo was not less singular than their dress: it was

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Africa. These two plants, in like manner, are chosen as emblems of the lower or northern, and upper or southern, divisions of Egypt.

* Very like that of a Persepolitan figure in wood-cut, No. 64. *fig.* 3.

divided into separate parts, one of which fell in ringlets over the forehead, and the other over the back of the head; and a plaited lock of great length, passing nearly over the ear, descended to the breast, and terminated in a curled point. In feature they were as remarkable as in costume; and the Egyptians have not failed to indicate their most striking peculiarities, as blue eyes, aquiline nose, and small red beards. Their arms consisted principally of the bow, and a long straight sword with an exceedingly sharp point; and it is probable that to their skill in the use of the former we may attribute their effectual resistance to the repeated invasions of the Egyptians.

Another Eastern nation, with whom the Egyptians were already at war in the remote age of Amun-m̀-gori II.*, or about 1680 years before our era, was the Pount†; who were subsequently compelled to pay tribute to Egypt in the reign of the third Thothmes. Proud of their liberty, they neglected no opportunity to throw off the yoke, and the records of the repeated invasion of their country by successive Pharaohs prove their independent spirit, and their courage in expelling the invaders.

Their features were less marked than those of many Oriental people represented in the sculptures: they shaved their beards, and wore their hair enveloped in a large cap, bound with a fillet,

* Mentioned on a stone found by Mr. Butron in the desert of the Red Sea; where I met with the small temple and station of Wadee Gasoos, mentioned in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 364.

† Or, Pouônt. *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 5.

like many of the tribes of the interior, and the Syrians who bordered upon Egypt. Their dress consisted chiefly of a short kelt, secured with the usual girdle: and though of a lighter hue than the Egyptians, they appear to have inhabited a region lying more to the south than the Rot-ṅ-no or the Koofa, who were also tributary at the same period to Thothmes III. Among the presents brought by them to the Egyptian monarch were the ibex, leopard*, baboon, ape, ostrich eggs and feathers, dried fruits and skins; and exotic shrubs, with ebony and ivory, seem to prove that they lived in a cultivated country as well as a warm climate.†

The Shari‡ were another Eastern or Northern people, against whom the Egyptians waged a successful war, principally in the reigns of Osirei and his son, the great Remeses; and I am inclined to think them either an Assyrian tribe, or the inhabitants of some part of Arabia. The former appears more probable, though the fact of the Arabian Gulf having been called by the Egyptians the Sea of Shari may argue in favour of the latter. Their features were marked by a prominent aquiline nose and high cheek bones: they had a large beard; and their head-dress consisted either of a cap bound, like that of the Pount, with a fillet, or a skull-cap fitting loosely to the head, secured by a

* Very like the hunting leopard of India, or felis jubata.

† *Vide* upper line of figures in plate 4.

‡ M. Champollion was mistaken in supposing them the Bishari, who inhabit the deserts of Nubia, as I have already observed in my Egypt and Thebes, p. 484. I mention this again, because the respectable name of a person like M. Champollion is likely to perpetuate an error which can only have been accidental.

band, and terminating at the end, which fell down behind, in a ball or tassel.* Their dress consisted of a long loose robe reaching to the ankles, and fastened at the waist by a girdle, the upper part furnished with ample sleeves. The girdle was sometimes highly ornamented: men as well as women wore ear-rings; and they frequently had a small cross suspended to a necklace, or to the collar of their dress. The adoption of this last was not peculiar to them; it was also appended to, or figured upon, the robes of the Rot-ñ-no; and traces of it may be seen in the fancy ornaments of the Rebo, showing that it was already in use as early as the 15th century before the Christian era.

Their principal arms were the bow, spear, two javelins, and a sword or club; and their country was defended by several strongly fortified towns. But no want of courage prevented their resisting the Egyptian invaders in the open field; and it was only after severe struggles that they retired to those strong-holds, which were bravely, though unsuccessfully, defended. Some wore a sort of double belt, crossing the body and passing over each shoulder, and this, together with the pointed cap, so much resembling the dress of Tirhaka's captives†, cannot fail to remind us of the Syrians or Assyrians, whose name bears a strong analogy to the one before us.

The Rot-ñ-no‡, supposed by M. Champollion to

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 6. *c.*

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 66. The same may be observed in the Persian figures of the beautiful tesselated pavement lately discovered at Pompeii.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 7.

1 2

No. 66. Prisoners of Tirhaka. *Thebes.*

be Lydians*, were a nation with whom the Egyptians waged a long war, commencing at least as early as, and perhaps prior to, the reign of the third Thothmes. Their white complexion, tight dresses, and long gloves†, decide them to have been natives of a much colder climate than Egypt or Syria; and the productions of their country, which they bring as a tribute to the victorious Pharaoh, pronounce them to have lived in the East. These consist of horses, and even chariots, with four spoked wheels‡,

* It is difficult to decide upon the real names of these people, unacquainted as we are with the ancient geography of Asia; and the indiscriminate use of L for R and D for T, and other letters, in hieroglyphics, increases the uncertainty. Until I can fix the name from their position, or any other reason, I repeat the one I had previously adopted.

† *Vide* plate 4. There are other instances of gloves in Egyptian sculptures; but they are very rare. The expression shoe, in Ruth, iv. 7., is in the Targum "right-hand glove."

‡ *Vide suprà*, wood-cut, No. 53. *b*. The Egyptian town curricle had four spokes; the war-car six.

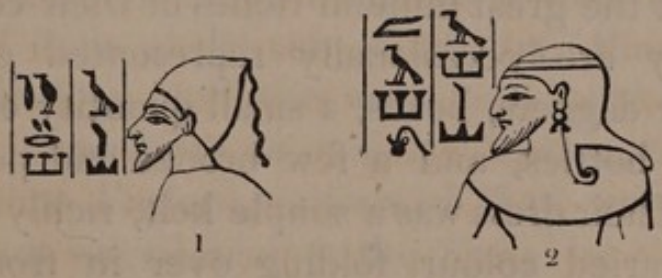
very similar to the Egyptian curricle, rare woods, ivory, elephants and bears, a profusion of elegant gold and silver vases, with rings of the same precious metals, porcelain, and jars filled with choice gums and resins used for making incense, of which a greater quantity was derived from their country than from any other tributary to Egypt. Their features were regular, without the very prominent nose that characterises some Eastern people represented in the sculptures; and they were of a very light colour, with brown or red hair, and blue eyes. Their long dress, usually furnished with tight sleeves *, and fastened by strings round the neck, either closed or folded over in front, and was sometimes secured by a girdle. Beneath the outer robe they wore a kelt: and an ample cloak, probably woollen like the modern *herám*, or blanket, of the coast of Barbary, was thrown over the whole dress †: the head being generally covered with a close cap, or a fuller one bound with a fillet.

The women wore a long garment secured with a girdle, and trimmed in the lower part with three rows of flounces; the sleeves sometimes large and open, sometimes fastened tight round the wrist: and the hair was either covered with a cap, to which a long tassel was appended, or descending in ringlets was encircled with a simple band.‡

The Toersha §, a maritime people, are also mentioned among the enemies of Egypt; and their close

* A dress with sleeves is seen in wood-cut, No. 64. *fig.* 6.
† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 72., and No. 62. *fig.* 7. *d.*
‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 72., and No. 62. *fig.* 7. *c.*
§ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 67. *fig.* 1.

cap, from whose pointed summit a crest of hair falls to the back of the neck, readily distinguishes them from other Eastern tribes. Their features offer no peculiarity; and we have not sufficient data from the sculptures to form any opinion respecting their wars with the Egyptians, though they are introduced among the tribes conquered by the third Remeses. The same applies to the Mashoash*, another Asiatic nation: who resemble the former in their general features, and the shape of their beards; but their head-dress is low, and rather more like that of Tirhaka's prisoners, already mentioned†, descending in two points at the side and back of the head, and bound with a fillet.



No. 67. Other enemies of the Egyptians. *Thebes.*

The people of Kufa appear to have inhabited a part of Asia lying considerably north of the latitude of Palestine; and their long hair, rich dresses, and sandals of the most varied form and colour, render them remarkable among the nations represented in Egyptian sculpture.‡ In complexion they were much darker than the Rot-ñ-no, but far more fair

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 67. *fig.* 2.
† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 66.
‡ *Vide* plate 4., second line from the top.

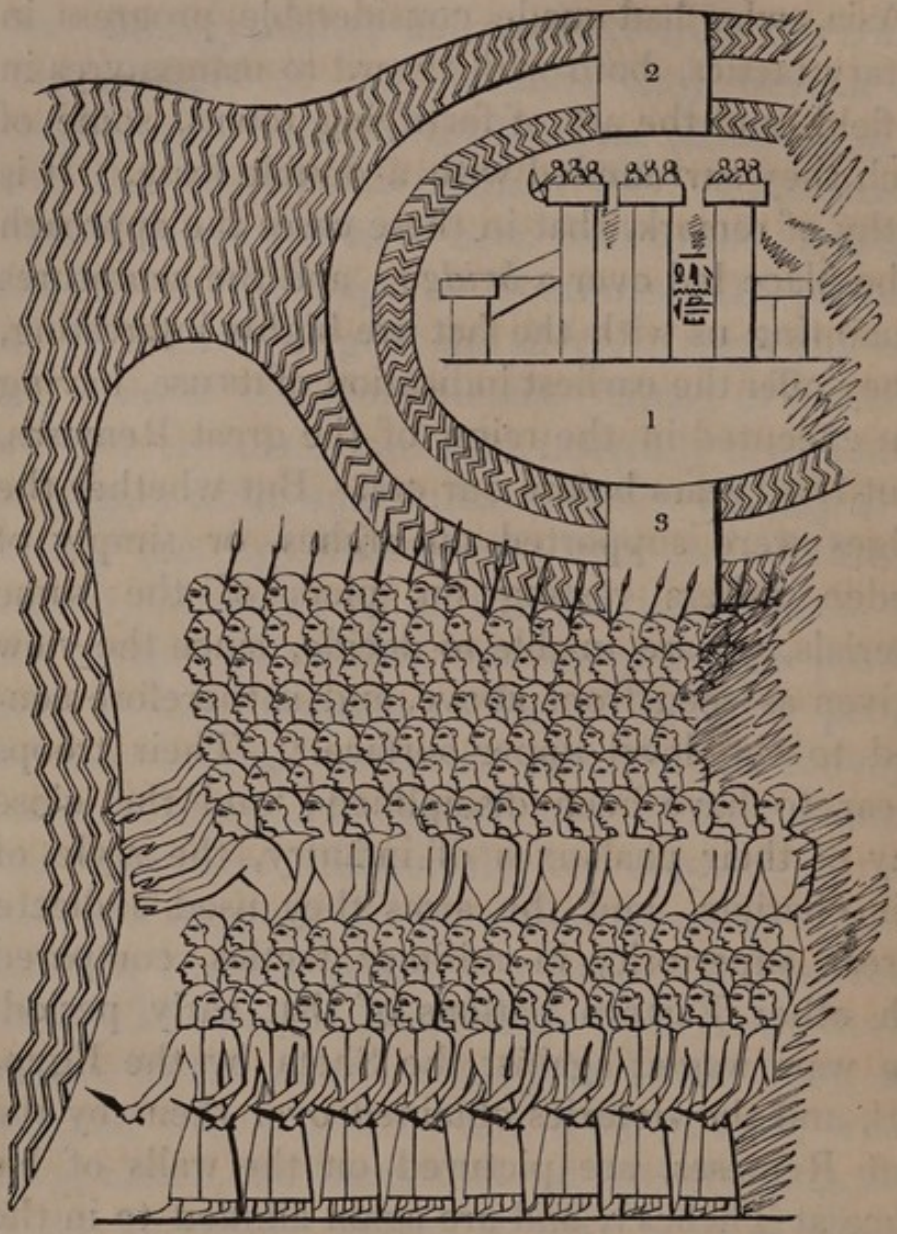
than the Egyptians; and to judge from the tribute they brought to the Pharaohs, they were a rich people, and, like the Rot-ñ-no, far advanced in the arts and customs of civilised life. This tribute, which is shown to have been paid to the Egyptians as early as the reign of Thothmes III., consisted almost entirely of gold and silver, in rings and bars, and vases of the same metals. Many of the latter were silver, inlaid with gold, tastefully ornamented, of elegant form, and similar to many already in use among the Egyptians; and from the almost exclusive introduction of the precious metals, and the absence of animals, woods, and such productions as were brought to Egypt by other people, we may suppose the artist intended to convey a notion of the great mineral riches of their country: and they are occasionally represented carrying knives or daggers, beads, a small quantity of ivory, leathern bottles, and a few bronze and porcelain cups. Their dress was a simple kelt, richly worked and of varied colour, folding over in front, and fastened with a girdle; and their sandals, which, being closed like boots, differed entirely from those of the Egyptians, appear to have been of cloth or leather, highly ornamented, and reaching considerably above the ankle. Their long hair hung loosely in tresses, reaching more than half way down the back; and from the top of the head projected three or four curls, either of real or artificial hair.

The Kheta or Sheta* were a warlike people

* Kheta, Sheta, Getæ, or *Skeethæ* (σκυθαι), Scythians, are the same name. Kh and Sh were sometimes used synonymously by the Egyptians.

of Asia, who had made considerable progress in military tactics, both with regard to manœuvres in the field, and the art of fortifying towns, some of which they surrounded with a double fosse. It is worthy of remark, that in these cases the approach to the place led over a *bridge;* and the sculptures acquainting us with the fact are highly interesting, as they offer the earliest indication of its use, having been executed in the reign of the great Remeses, about 1350 years before our era. But whether the bridges were supported on arches, or simply of wooden rafters resting on piers of the same materials, we are unable to decide, since the view is given as seen from above, and is therefore confined to the level upper surface.* Their troops appear to have been disciplined; and the close array of their phalanxes of infantry, the style of their chariots, and the arms they used, indicate a great superiority in military tactics, compared with other Eastern nations of that early period. The wars waged against the Sheta by the Egyptians, and the victories obtained over them by the great Remeses, are pictured on the walls of his palace at Thebes†, and are again alluded to in the sculptures of Remeses III., at Medeenet Haboo, where this people occurs in the list of nations conquered by the Pharaohs. Their arms were the bow, sword, and spear; and their principal defence was a wicker shield, either rectangular or

* Wood-cut, No. 68. *figs.* 2 and 3.
† Usually called the Memnonium.



No. 68. Phalanx of the Sheta, drawn up as a corps de reserve, with the fortified town, surrounded by double ditches, over which are *bridges* (figs. 2 and 3). *Thebes.*

concave at the sides, and convex at each end, approaching in form the Theban buckler.

Their dress consisted of a long robe, reaching to the ankles, with short sleeves, open, or folding over in front, and secured by a girdle round the waist; but though frequently made of a very thick stuff, and perhaps even quilted, it was by no means

an effectual substitute for armour, nor could it resist the spear or the metal-pointed arrow. They either wore a close or a full cap; and their arms were occasionally decked with bracelets, as their dresses with brilliant colours. Their cars were drawn by two horses, like those of Egypt, but they each contained three men, and some had wheels with four instead of six spokes; in both which respects they differed from those of their opponents. They had some cavalry: but large masses of infantry, with a formidable body of chariots, constituted the principal force of their numerous and well appointed army; and if, from the manner in which they posted their *corps de reserve*, we may infer them to have been a people skilled in war, some idea may also be formed of the strength of their army from the numbers composing that division, which amounted to 24,000 men *, drawn up in three close phalanxes, consisting each of 8000.

The nation of Sheta seems to have been composed of two distinct tribes †, both comprehended under the same name, uniting in one common cause, and probably subject to the same government. They differed in their costume and general appearance; one having a large cap, and the long loose robe, with open sleeves or capes covering the shoulders, worn by many Asiatic people already mentioned, a square or oblong shield ‡, and sometimes a

* At the Memnonium. *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 19.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 69. *figs.* 2, 3, 4, and 5.

‡ The Persian shield was square or oblong, or of the form of a diamond, called γερρον by the Greeks. Strabo, xv.

large beard; the other the dress and shield before described, and no beard. They both fought in cars and used the same weapons; and we even find they lived together, or garrisoned the same towns.

Whether or no they were Scythians, or a nation inhabiting the banks of the Euphrates, I do not yet pretend to decide: the name strongly argues in favour of the former opinion, which is that of the much regretted Champollion; and if any confirmation can be obtained from the sculptures of the accounts given by Herodotus, Diodorus, Tacitus, and other historians, relating to the march of Sesostris or Rhamses *, it is certainly to be looked for in those of the second and third Remeses; and the possibility of such extended conquests is not inconsistent with the known power and resources of ancient Egypt.

Several other nations and tribes, who inhabited parts of Asia, are shown by the monuments † to have been invaded and reduced to subjection by the arms of the Pharaohs; and in the names of some ‡ we recognise towns or districts of Syria, as in Asmaori, Lemanon §, Kanana, and Ascalon.

* *Vide* my Egypt and Thebes, p. 22., and the Introduction. Tacitus says, the Egyptians "over-ran all Libya and Ethiopia, and subdued the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and Scythians, with the extensive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and the Cappadocians; and by this conquest a tract of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea, to the coast of Lycia on the Mediterranean, was reduced to subjection." Ann. ii. 60.

† *Vide* wood-cut, No. 69. opposite page.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 69. *figs.* 6, 7, and 8.

§ I have noticed the frequent use of M for B in Coptic and other languages. *Vide* Egypt and Thebes, p. 192. note 3.

No. 69.

Other enemies of the Egyptians.

The inhabitants of the two first are figured with a round full head-dress, bound with a fillet: and those of Kanana are distinguished by a coat of mail and helmet, and the use of spears, javelins, and a battle-axe similar to that of Egypt.*

Thus we find that the Theban sculptors intentionally maintained a marked difference in the arms and costume peculiar to many of these people, though the same attention was not always extended to their faces. They were frequently conventional; a certain general style being adopted for Eastern nations †, another for those of the North, a third for the Ethiopians, and a fourth for the Blacks of the interior of Africa; and accuracy in portraying the features was dispensed with, except in the larger and more detailed sculptures, or when any remarkable difference was observable, as in the prominent nose of one of their allies. ‡

Some are clad in loose, others in tight dresses, some have shields of a square, others of an oblong, round, or other form, which are merely held by a single handle in the centre, like those now used by the Ababdeh and modern Ethiopians.

The country of Lemanon is shown by the artist to have been mountainous, inaccessible to chariots, and abounding in lofty trees, which the affrighted mountaineers are engaged in felling, in order to impede the advance of the invading army. Having taken by assault the fortified towns on the frontier,

* Wood-cut, No. 69. *fig.* 8. In Joshua, xvii. 16. The Canaanites are said to "have chariots of iron."

† They are sometimes represented tattooed or branded. The Assyrians had this custom.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 11. *fig.* 2., and wood-cut, No. 62. *fig.* 3.

the Egyptian monarch advances with the light infantry in pursuit of the fugitives, who had escaped, and taken refuge in the woods; and sending a herald to offer terms on condition of their surrender, the chiefs are induced to trust to his clemency, and return to their allegiance; as are those of Kanana, whose strong-holds yield in like manner to the arms of the conqueror.

That these two names point out the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon and Canaan is highly probable, since the campaign is said to have taken place in the first year, or soon after the accession, of Osirei, the father of the great Remeses; and the events which previously occurred in Egypt, during the reign of Amunoph III., and the unwarlike character of his two successors, may have given an opportunity to these people, though so near Egypt, to rebel, and assert their independence.

Many black nations were also conquered by the early monarchs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, as the Toreses, the Tareáo, and another whose name is lost*, as well as the Cush†, or Ethiopians. These last were long at war with the Egyptians; and part of their country, which was reduced at a very remote period by the arms of the Pharaohs, was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the conquerors: but whether the name of Cush was applied merely to the lower districts of Ethiopia, or comprehended the whole of the southern portion of that country, I am unable to determine.

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 69. *fig.* 12.

† It is the scriptural as well as the hieroglyphical name. Wood-cut, No. 69. *fig.* 13. *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.

The Blacks, like the Ethiopians, wore short aprons of bulls' hides, or the skins of wild beasts, frequently drawn by the Egyptian artists with the tail projecting from the girdle, for the purpose of adding to their grotesque appearance by this equivocal addition: the chiefs, decked with ostrich and other feathers, had large circular gold ear-rings, collars, and bracelets; and many of the Ethiopian grandees were clad in garments of fine linen, with leathern girdles highly ornamented, a leopard skin being occasionally thrown over the shoulder.* It is reasonable to suppose that the linen was purchased from the Egyptians, whose conquests in the country would naturally lead to its introduction among them; and this is rendered more probable, from its transparent fineness being represented in the same manner as in the dresses of the Egyptians, and from its being confined to the chiefs as an article of value, indicative of their rank.

The Ethiopian tribute consisted of gold and silver, precious stones, ostrich feathers, skins, ebony, ivory, apes, oxen of the long-horned breed still found in Abyssinia, lions, oryxes, leopards, giraffes, and hounds; and they were obliged to supply the victors with slaves, which the Egyptians sometimes exacted even from the conquered countries of Asia. Their chief arms were the bow, spear, and club: they fought mostly on foot, and the tactics of a disciplined army appear to have been unknown to them.

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 69. *fig.* 13. *c*, *d*.

The names of foreign nations who acted as auxiliaries of the Egyptians I have already noticed. The first unequivocal mention of these alliances* are in the sculptures of the great Remeses†, where the Shairetana unite with him in an expedition against the Sheta. They had been previously conquered by the Pharaohs, with whom they entered into a treaty, agreeing to furnish troops and to assist them in their future wars: and firm to their engagements, they continued to maintain a friendly intercourse with the Egyptians for a considerable length of time, and joined the army of the third Remeses, when, about a century later, he marched into Asia, to attack the Tokkari and the Rebo. In the war against the Rebo, Remeses was assisted by another body of auxiliaries, whose high fur cap sufficiently denotes their Oriental origin‡; and a third tribe, whose name is likewise lost, aided the Egyptians in the same campaign.

It is evident that the Tokkari also united with the invaders against the Rebo, and contributed to the successes of the third Remeses; but either a portion of their tribe still remained hostile to the Egyptians, or some cause of complaint alienated their friendship, and we find that they were soon afterwards engaged in war with that monarch. Being joined by many of the Shairetana, to whose country they fled for refuge after their first defeat;

* Perhaps we may also trace them in the time of Osirtasen I.

† At the Memnonium and Aboosimbel. *Vide* wood-cut, No. 61. *figs.* 5. and 6.

‡ *Vide* wood-cut, No. 11. *fig.* 2., the same as *fig.* 3. in wood-cut No. 62.

and relying on the protection promised them by the fleet of that maritime people, they offered battle to the Egyptians: but their combined efforts were ineffectual; they were again reduced to subjection; and Remeses, loaded with booty and a considerable number of captives, returned to Egypt, accompanied by the auxiliary legions of those of the Shairetana, Tokkari, and the other allies, who had remained faithful to him.

MARCH OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

When an expedition was resolved upon against a foreign nation, the necessary preparations were made throughout the country, each province furnishing its quotum of men; and the members of the military class were summoned to muster in whatever numbers the monarch deemed it necessary to require. The troops were generally commanded by the king in person; but in some instances a general was appointed to that post, and intrusted with the sole conduct of the war.* A place of rendezvous was fixed, in early times generally at Thebes, Memphis, or Pelusium; and the troops having assembled in the vicinity, remained encamped there, awaiting the leader of the expedition. As soon as he arrived, the necessary preparations were made; and orders having been issued for their march, a signal was given by sound of trumpet; the troops fell in, and with a

* This was the case when the army was sent by Apries against the Cyreneans. Herod. ii. 161.

profound bow each soldier in the ranks saluted the royal general, and acknowledged his readiness to receive his orders, and to follow him to the field. The march then commenced*; the chariots led the van; and the king, mounted in his car of war, and attended by his chief officers† carrying flabella, took his post in the centre, preceded and followed by bodies of infantry armed with bows, spears, or other weapons, according to their respective corps.

On commencing the attack in the open field, a signal was again made by sound of trumpet. The archers drawn up in line first discharged a shower

No. 70. A body of archers. *Thebes.*

* It is represented at Medeenet Haboo. If the whole of the back part of that temple were cleared, much more might be obtained from those interesting sculptures.

† If he had sons, they held this office, which was considered a very honourable post.

of arrows on the enemy's front, and a considerable mass of chariots advanced to the charge; the heavy infantry, armed with spears or clubs, and covered with their shields, moved forwards at the same time in close array, flanked by chariots and cavalry*, and pressed upon the centre and wings of the enemy, the archers still galling the hostile columns with their arrows, and endeavouring to create disorder in their ranks.†

PRISONERS, BOOTY, AND ENCAMPMENTS.

Their mode of warfare was not like that of nations in their infancy, or in a state of barbarism; and it is evident, from the number of prisoners they took, that they spared the prostrate who asked for quarter: and the representations of persons slaughtered by the Egyptians who have overtaken them, are intended to allude to what happened in the heat of action, and not to any wanton cruelty on the part of the victors. Indeed in the naval fight of Remeses III.‡, the Egyptians, both in the ships and on the shore, are seen rescuing the enemy, whose galley has been sunk, from a watery grave; and the humanity of that people is strongly argued, whose artists deem it a virtue, worthy of being recorded among the glorious actions of their countrymen.

* The chariots are represented in this position, the cavalry I suggest from probability, though not indicated in the sculptures.

† At Medeenet Haboo, in Thebes.

‡ At Medeenet Haboo.

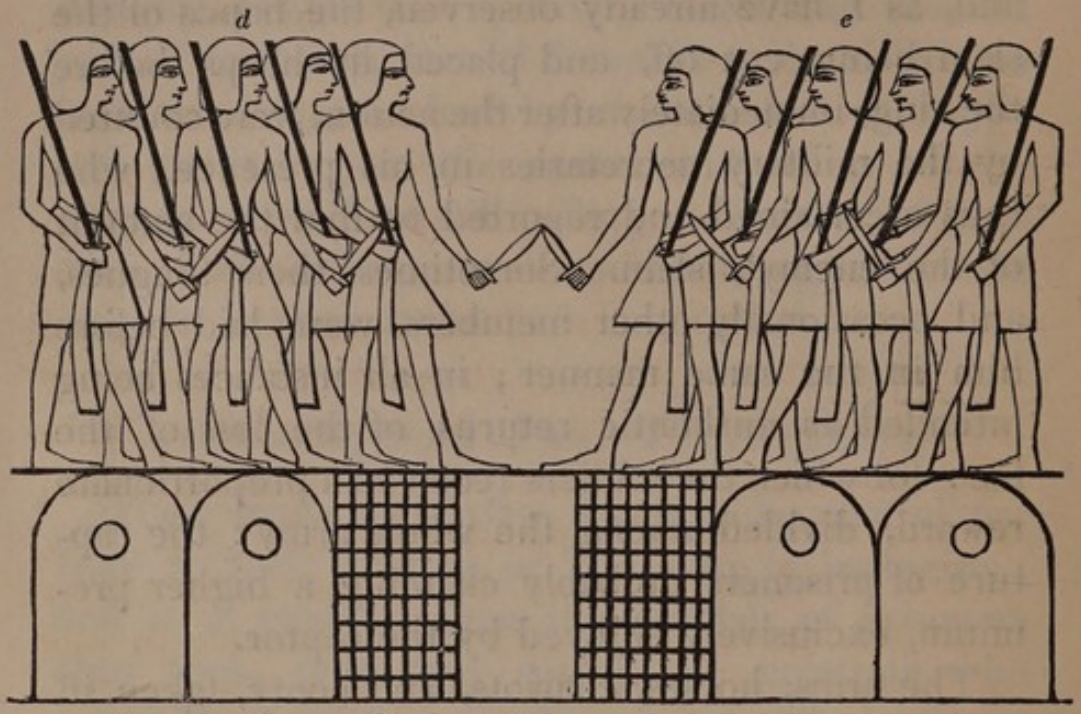
Those who sued for mercy and laid down their arms, were spared and sent bound from the field; and, as I have already observed, the hands of the slain being cut off, and placed in heaps before the king, immediately after the action, were counted by the military secretaries in his presence, who thus ascertained and reported to him the amount of the enemy's slain. Sometimes their tongues, and occasionally other members, were laid before him in the same manner; in all instances being intended as authentic returns of the loss of the foe: for which the soldiers received a proportionate reward, divided among the whole army: the capture of prisoners probably claiming a higher premium, exclusively enjoyed by the captor.

The arms, horses, chariots, and booty, taken in the field, or in the camp, were also collected, and the same officers wrote an account of them, and presented it to the monarch. The booty was sometimes collected in an open space, surrounded by a temporary wall, indicated in the sculptures by the representation of shields placed erect, with a wicker gate *, on the inner and outer face of which a strong guard was posted, the sentries walking to and fro with drawn swords. The subject, from which this is taken†, may serve to show their mode of encamping; for though, after they had been victorious, and no longer feared an attack, the strongly fortified camp was unnecessary, its general

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 71., next page.

† On the N. E. tower of the Memnonium, at Thebes.

form may be hence inferred; and the only difference between this and a permanent station, or



No. 71. A guard at the gates of an encampment. *Thebes.*

regular encampment, (the *castra stativa* of the Romans) probably consisted in the latter being constructed with greater attention to the principles of defence, and furnished with ditches and a strong efficient rampart. Judging from those of El Kab, Hieracon, and other fortified places in the valley of the Nile, distinct from the towns themselves, their fixed stations were surrounded by a massive and lofty wall of brick, whose broad rampart, having a wide staircase, or inclined way, was furnished with a parapet wall, for the protection of the soldiers; and though, from the nature of the ground, or other accidental causes, they were not

strictly confined to the figure of a square, the quadrangular form was always preferred, and no instance occurs of a round camp like that of the Lacedæmonians.

It was forbidden to the Spartan soldier, when on guard, to have his shield, in order that, being deprived of this defence, he might be more cautious not to fall asleep; and the same custom appears to have been common also to the Egyptians, since we find the watch on duty at the camp gates are only armed with swords and maces, though belonging to the heavy-armed corps, who, on other occasions, were in the habit of carrying a shield.*

The field encampment was either a square or a parallelogram, with a principal entrance in one of the faces; and near the centre were the general's tent, and those of the principal officers. In form, it resembled a Roman camp; but the position of the general's tent agreed with the Greek custom mentioned by Homer†, and differed from that of the Romans, who placed the prætorium‡ on the side most distant, or least exposed to attack, from the enemy. The general's tent was sometimes surrounded by a double rampart or fosse, enclosing

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 71.

† Hom. Il. θ, 222.: —

" Στη δ' επ' Οδυσσηος μεγακητεϊ νηϊ μελαινη
Η ῥ' εν μεσσατῳ εσκε, γεγωνεμεν αμφοτερωσε."

" High on the *midmost* bark the king appear'd:
There, from Ulysses' deck, his voice was heard."

Pope, viii. 270.

‡ Or general's tent.

two distinct areas, the outer one containing three tents, probably of the next in command, or of the officers on the staff; and the guards, like the Roman excubiæ, slept or watched in the open air. Other tents were pitched without these enclosures; and near the external circuit, a space was set apart for feeding horses and beasts of burthen, and another for ranging the chariots and baggage. It was probably near the general's tent, and within the same area, that the altars of the gods, or whatever related to religious matters, the standards, and the military chest, were kept; and we find an instance of persons kneeling before certain sacred emblems beneath a canopy, within an enclosure similar to that where the tent stood.

To judge from the mode of binding their prisoners, we might suppose they treated them with unnecessary harshness and even cruelty, at the moment of their capture, and during their march with the army; and the contempt with which they looked upon all foreigners, whom they stigmatised by the name of impure gentiles, did probably lead many of the soldiers to commit acts of brutal severity. They tied their hands behind their backs, or over their heads, in the most strained positions, and a rope passing round their neck fastened them to each other; and some had their hands enclosed in an elongated fetter of wood *, made of two opposite segments, nailed to-

* *Vide* wood-cut, No. 92. at the end of Chap. IV.

gether at each end; such as are still used for securing prisoners in Egypt, at the present day. In the capture of a town some were beaten with sticks*, in order to force from them the secret of the booty that had been concealed; many were compelled to labour for the benefit of the victors; and others were insulted by the wanton soldiery, who pulled their beards and derided their appearance. But when we remember how frequently instances of harsh treatment have occurred, even among civilised Europeans, at an epoch which deemed itself much more enlightened than the fourteenth century before our era, we are disposed to excuse the occasional insolence of an Egyptian soldier; and the unfavourable impressions conveyed by such scenes are more than counterbalanced by the proofs of Egyptian humanity, as in the sea-fight above mentioned. Indeed, I am inclined to think the captives bound beneath the chariot of the conqueror in his triumph† a licence of the sculptors, who, as Gibbon‡ observes, "in every age have felt the truth of a system, which derives the sublime from the principle of terror."

The custom of dragging behind a chariot the murderers of a friend was usual among the Thessalians; and the early Greeks insulted the dead on the field of battle, and mutilated their bodies to

* This is the usual mode in the East of eliciting the truth at the present day.

† At Medeenet Haboo and Karnak.

‡ Gibbon, vol. ii. 64. note.

satiate their revenge. But this shameful practice was afterwards abandoned; and though the Persians had treated the body of Leonidas in a barbarous manner, the Spartans refused to retaliate the insult on a subsequent occasion, when Mardonius was defeated and slain at Platæa. And if Alexander imitated the ungenerous conduct of Achilles, and dragged the body of Bessus behind his chariot, it was a singular instance: and, generally speaking, none but barbarous nations were guilty of similar enormities. I cannot therefore suppose that the Egyptians, who surpassed all others in the practices of civilised life, were in the habit of indulging in wanton cruelty, and much less do I believe that the captives represented on the façades of their temples, bound at the feet of the king, who holds them by the hair of the head, and with an uplifted arm appears about to immolate them in the presence of the deity, were intended to refer to a human sacrifice *: but rather that the subject was a religious allegory, purporting to be an acknowledgment of the victory he had obtained by the assistance of the Deity, — in short, an emblematic record of his successes over the enemies of Egypt; and this is strongly confirmed by the fact of our finding the same subject on monuments erected by the Ptolemies and Cæsars.†

* Herodotus justly blames the Greeks for their ignorance of the Egyptian character, in taking literally their allegorical tales of human sacrifices, ii. 45.

† At E'Dayr, near E'sné, at Dendera, and other places.

RETURN, AND TRIUMPH.

On returning from war, the troops marched according to the post assigned to each regiment, observing the same order and regularity as during their advance through the enemy's country: and the allies who came with them occupied a position towards the rear of the army, and were followed by a strong corps of Egyptians. Rewards were afterwards distributed to the soldiers, and the triumphant procession of the conqueror was graced by the presence of the captives, who were conducted in bonds beside his chariot.

On traversing countries tributary to, or in alliance with, Egypt, the monarch received the homage of the friendly inhabitants, who, greeting his arrival with joyful acclamations and rich presents, complimented him on the victory he had obtained; and the army, as it passed through Egypt, was met at each of the principal cities by a concourse of people, who, headed by the priests, and chief men of the place bearing bouquets of flowers, green boughs, and palm branches, received them with loud acclamations, and welcomed their return.* Then addressing themselves to the king, the priests celebrated his praises; and, enumerating the many benefits he had conferred on Egypt

* *Vide* Mr. Burton's Excerpta, plate 36.

by the conquest of foreign nations, the enemies of his country, they affirmed that his power was exalted in the world like the sun in the heavens, and his beneficence only equalled by that of the deities themselves.*

Having reached the capital, preparations commenced for a general thanksgiving in the principal temple: and suitable offerings were made to the presiding deity, the guardian of the city, by whose special favour and intercession the victory was supposed to have been obtained. The prisoners were presented to him, as well as the spoils taken from the enemy, and the monarch acknowledged the manifest power of his all-protecting hand, and his own gratitude for so distinguished a proof of heavenly favour to him and to the nation. And these subjects, represented on the walls of the temples, not only served as a record of the victory, but tended to impress the people with a religious veneration for the Deity, towards whom their sovereign set them so marked an example of respect. The troops were also required to attend during the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, and to return thanks for the victories they had obtained, as well as for their personal preservation; and a priest offered incense, meat-offerings, and libations, in their presence. † Each soldier carried in his hand a twig of some tree, probably olive,

* Conf. Rosetta Stone, where King Ptolemy is compared to Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, and is called a beneficent deity.

† Such is the subject of a procession I met with at the small temple in the Assaseef, at Thebes.

with the arms of his peculiar corps; and being summoned by sound of trumpet, they marched forwards to the temple, to the beat of drum.

Not only the light infantry, but even the heavy armed troops, presented themselves on this occasion without shields; and we may infer from their absence, and the substitution of a green branch, emblematic either of peace or victory, that the artist intended to convey an idea of the security they felt, under the protecting influence of the Deity, to whose presence they were summoned. It is difficult to decide whether this was a twig of olive, or what peculiar tree among the Egyptians was symbolic of peace or of victory; and if the bay tree was cultivated in Egypt, there is no reason to suppose it bore the same emblematic force as in Greece.*

A judicious remark has been made† respecting the choice of the olive as the emblem of peace. After the devastation of a country by hostile invasion, and the consequent neglect of its culture, no plantation requires a longer period to restore its previously flourishing condition than the olive grove; and this tree may therefore have been appropriately selected as the representative of peace.‡ There is, however, reason to suppose that its emblematic character did not originate in Greece;

* I have seen garlands from Thebes apparently of bay leaves; but though cultivated there, the tree is not indigenous to Egypt.

† By Mr. Bankes.

‡ "Paciferæque manu ramum prætendit olivæ." Virg. Æn. viii. 116.

but that it dated from a far more remote period; and the tranquillity and habitable state of the earth * were announced to the ark through the same token.

It was not customary for the Egyptian soldier to wear arms except on service, when on garrison duty, or in attendance upon the king: nor did the private citizen at any time carry offensive weapons about his person, either in the house or in the street; and this circumstance, as I have already observed, goes far to prove the advanced state of civilisation in that country, at a time when the rest of the world was immersed in barbarism. In Greece, the Athenians were the first to adopt the custom of going out unarmed; but many years elapsed before they were induced to welcome the innovation generally; and it was only finally established as an universal custom by the laws of Solon, six hundred years before our era.

CAPTIVES.

The captives, being brought to Egypt, were employed in the service of the monarch, in build-

* The Arabs have an amusing legend respecting the dove, or pigeon. The first time, it returned with the olive branch, but without any indication of the state of the earth itself; but on its second visit to the ark, the red appearance of its feet proved that the red mud, on which it had walked, was already freed from the waters; and to record the event, Noah prayed that the feet of those birds might for ever continue of that colour, which marks them to the present day. The similarity of the Hebrew words adoom (אדום), red, admeh (אדמה), earth, and Adm (אדם), Adam, is remarkable. A "man" is still called "*A'dam*" in Turkish.

ing temples *, cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments, and other public works: and some, who were purchased by the grandees, were employed in the same capacity as the Memlooks of the present day. Women slaves were also engaged in the service of families, like the Greeks and Circassians in modern Egypt, and other parts of the Turkish empire; and from finding them represented in the sculptures of Thebes, accompanying men of their own nation, who bear tribute to the Egyptian monarch, we may conclude that a certain number were annually sent to Egypt from the conquered provinces of the North and

No. 72. Women of the Rot-ñ-no sent to Egypt. *Thebes.*

East, as well as from Ethiopia. It is evident that both white and black slaves were employed as ser-

* Herodotus and Diodorus state that the prisoners of Sesostris were condemned to perform all the laborious part of the works he undertook on his return to Egypt. Herod. ii. 108. Diod. i. 56. Diodorus here mentions some Babylonian captives.

No. 73. Black slaves, with their women and children. *Thebes.*

vants: they attended on the guests when invited to the house of their master; and from their being in the families of priests, as well as of the military chiefs, we may infer that they were purchased with money, and that the right of possessing slaves was not confined to those who had taken them in war. The traffic in slaves was tolerated by the Egyptians; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as at present, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independent of those who were sent as part of the tribute, and who were probably at first the property of the monarch: nor did any difficulty occur to the Ishmaelites* in the purchase of Joseph from his brethren, nor in his subsequent sale to Potiphar on arriving in Egypt.

MILITARY LAWS AND PUNISHMENTS.

According to Diodorus, the Egyptians were not

* Gen. xxxvii. 28. Conf. also Gen. xliv. 9.

actuated in the administration of punishments by any spirit of vengeance; but solely by the hope of reclaiming an offender, and of preventing for the future the commission of a similar crime. Impressed with this feeling, they were averse to making desertion and insubordination capital offences: the soldier was degraded, and condemned publicly to wear some conspicuous mark of ignominy, which rendered him an object of reproach to his comrades; and, without fixing any time for his release, he was doomed to bear it *, till his contrition and subsequent good conduct had retrieved his character, and obtained for him the forgiveness of his superiors. "For," says the historian †, "by rendering the stigma a more odious disgrace than death itself, the legislator hoped to make it the most severe of punishments, at the same time that it had a great advantage in not depriving the state of the services of the offender; and deeming it natural to every one, who had been degraded from his post, to desire to regain the station and character he had lost, they cherished the hope that he might eventually reform, and become a worthy member of the society to which he belonged." For minor offences, it may be presumed, they inflicted the bastinado ‡, which was commonly employed for punishing servants and other people; but the soldier who

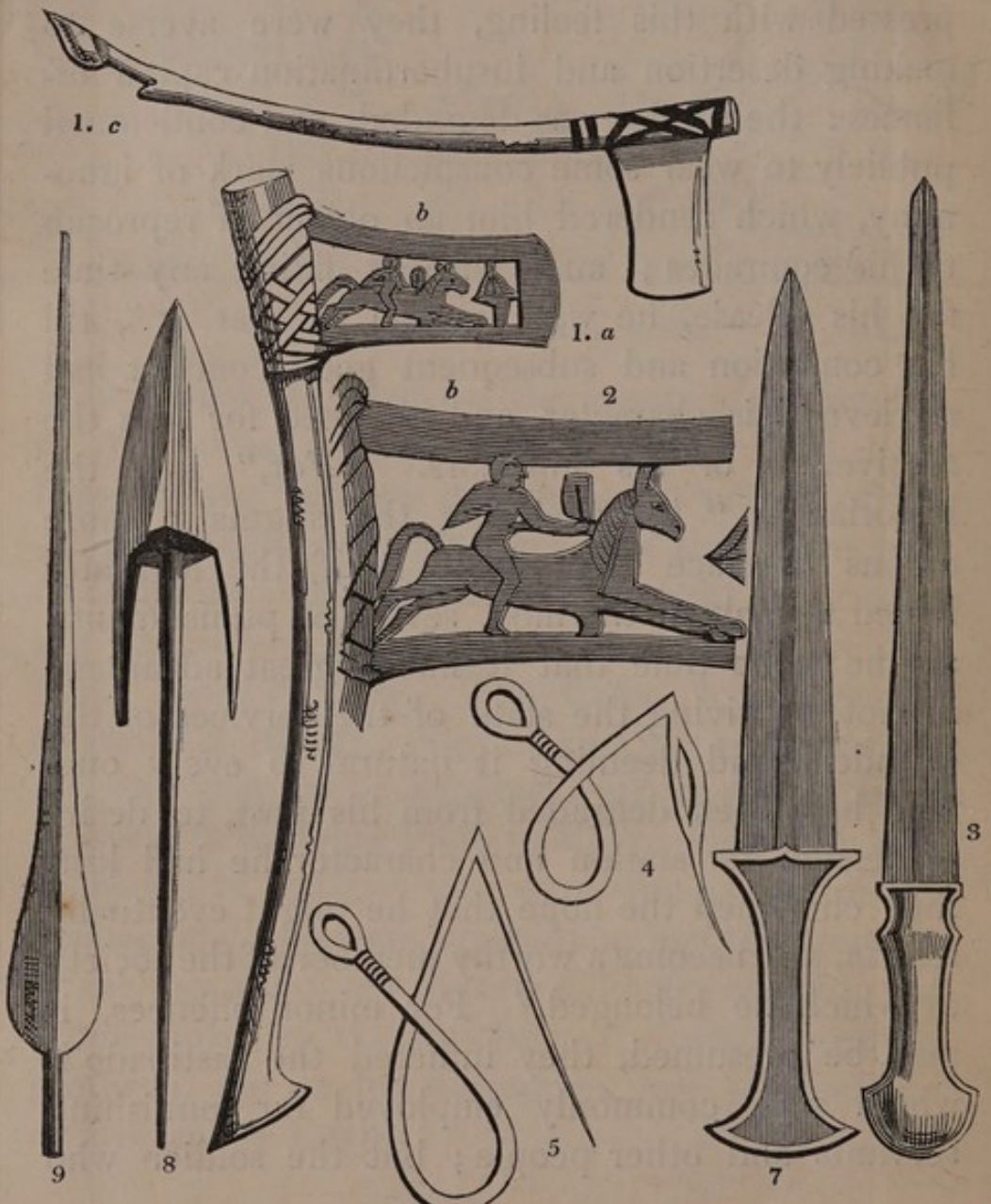
* Many officers regret the discontinuance of similar punishments in our army.

† Diodor. i. 78.

‡ The Greeks flogged their sailors with cords; and deserters had both their hands cut off.

treacherously held communication with the enemy was sentenced to the excision of his tongue.*

* The ancient practice of punishing the offending member.



No. 73. *a.* Egyptian arms. *Collections of S. D'Athanasi and Mr. Salt : and from Thebes.*

Fig. 1. *a*, hatchet, 1 foot 5 inches in length.
Fig. 3. dagger 15⅛ inches in length.
Figs. 4 and 5. slings, from the sculptures.
Fig. 6. is transferred to wood-cut, No. 92.
Fig. 7. dagger 10½ inches long.
Fig. 8. head of dart, 3 inches.
Fig. 9. javelin head 14 inches long.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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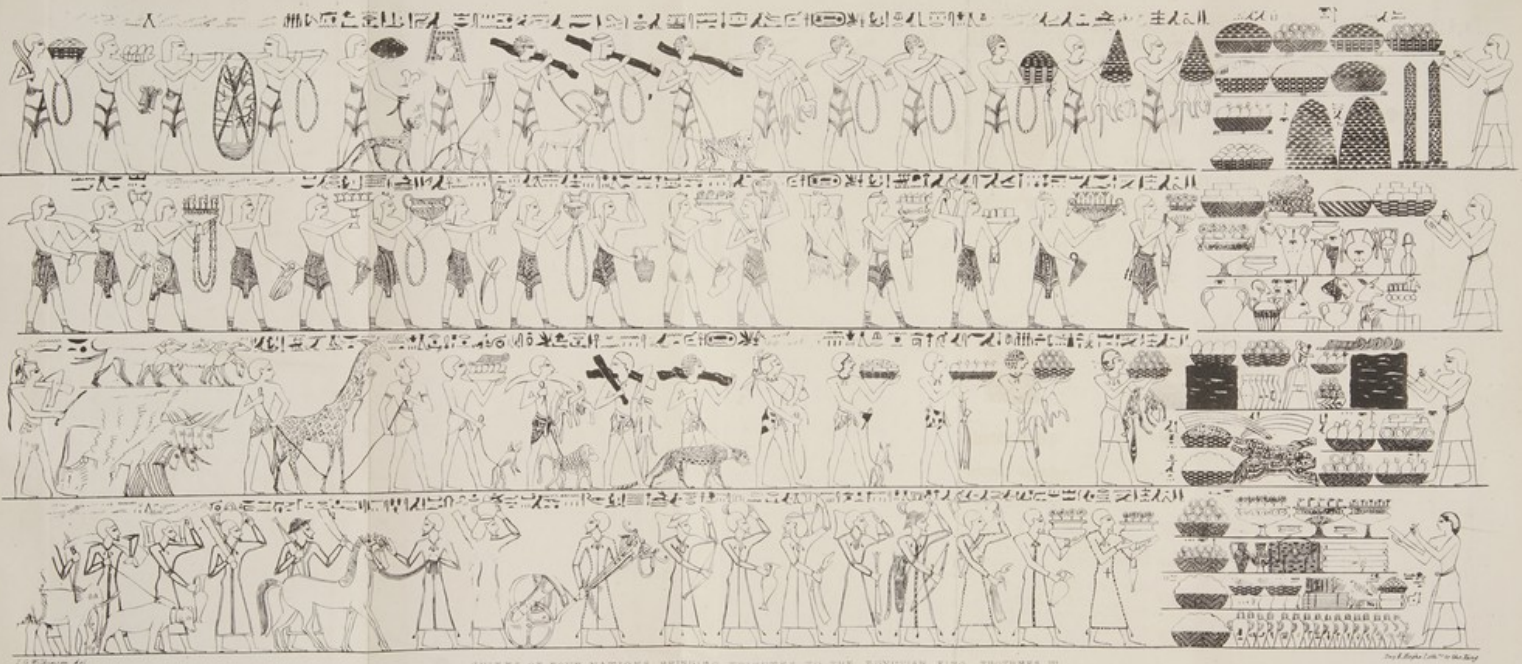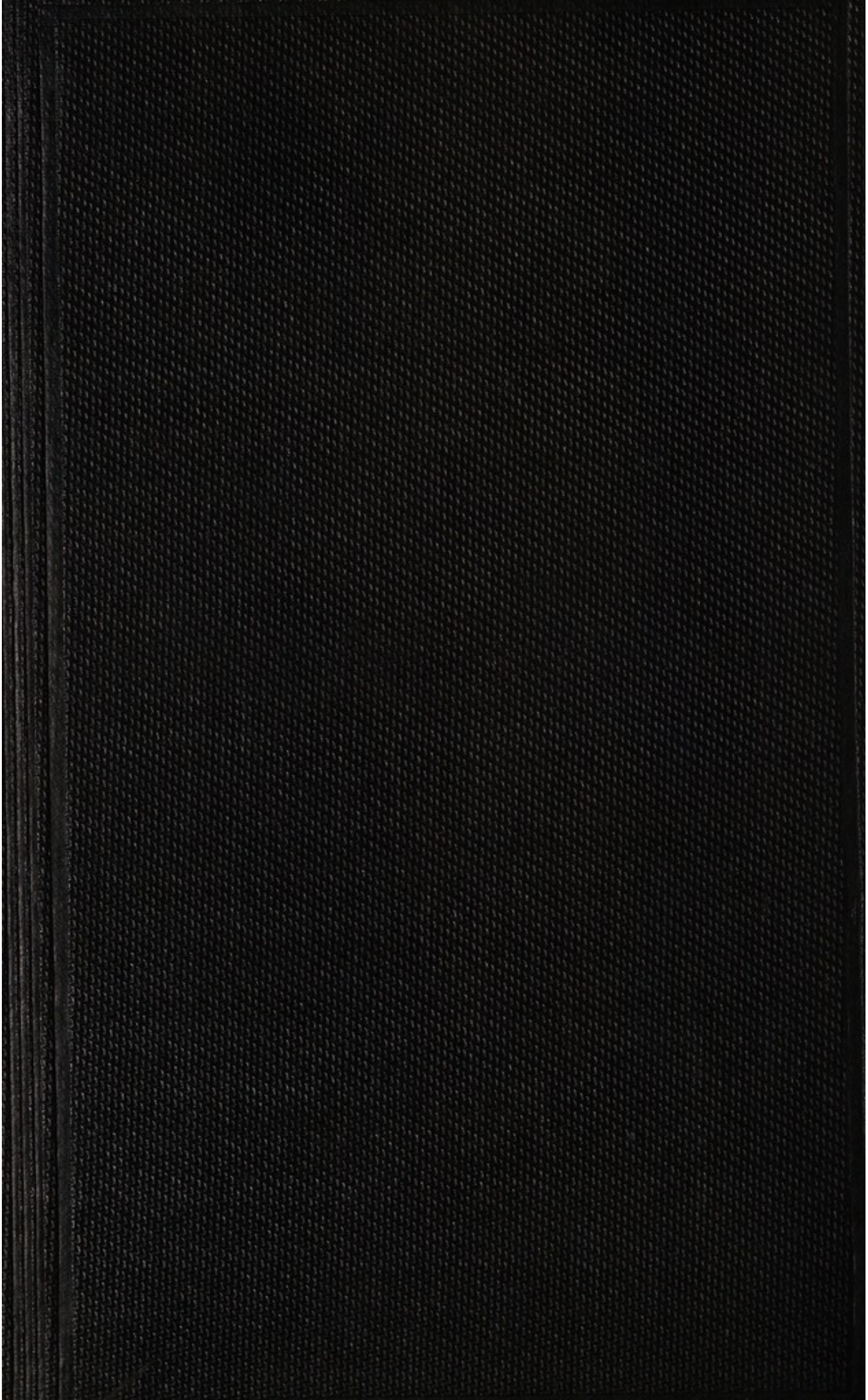
CHIEFS OF FOUR NATIONS BRINGING TRIBUTES TO THE EGYPTIAN KING, THOTMES III.