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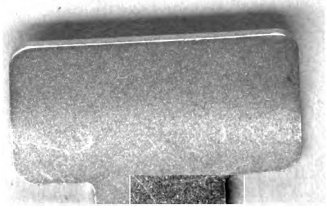

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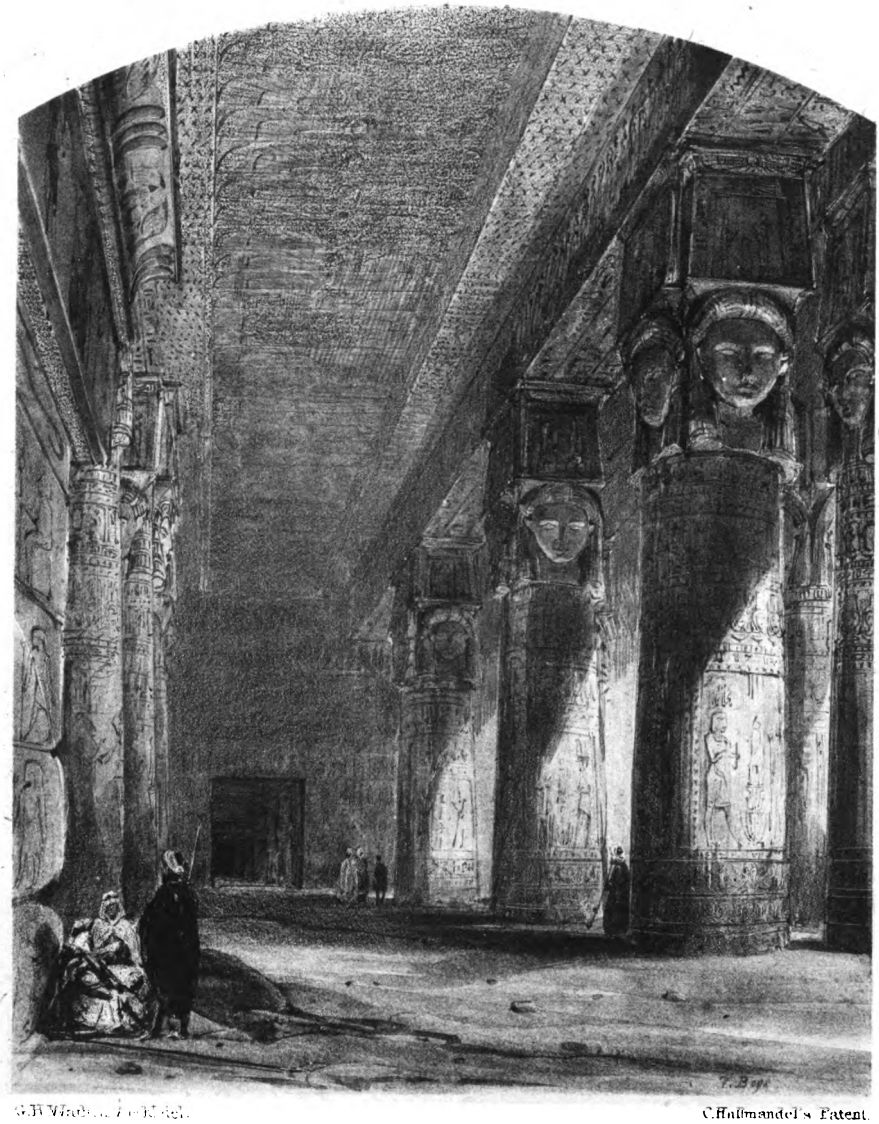

G.H.Wad[illegible] del. C.Hoffmandel's Patent.

TEMPLE OF DENDERAH.

PORTICO.

Longman & Co. London; 1843.

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Egypt - Archaeology
(I.C.)

ARTS, ANTIQUITIES,

AND

CHRONOLOGY

OF

ANCIENT EGYPT:

FROM OBSERVATIONS IN 1839.

46

BY

GEORGE H. WATHEN, ARCHITECT.

With Illustrations from original Sketches.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1843.

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PREFACE.

For two thousand years Egypt has been a region of antiquarian research. So far however from being exhausted, the mine seems still but just opened. From the conquest by the Moslems down to our own century Egypt remained an inaccessible land of romance and mystery, — her vast monumental remains almost unknown, her hieroglyphics the theme of fanciful and cabalistic speculation. At length Young and Champollion, rejecting theories for facts, discovered the long-lost clue to interpretation, and now, graven on the imperishable monuments of the Thebaid, her records faithfully deliver up their secrets, three thousand years after the heroes commemorated have slept in their tombs.

In our own island anything claiming an antiquity of a thousand years is allowed to be *very ancient.* At Rome a monument of this age is *antique* rather than ancient. Two thousand years are there admitted as high antiquity. But in the land of Ham,

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every thing dating within two thousand years is *modern.* There we travel back through thirty centuries, and still see ages of foreign exploit, domestic prosperity, and architectural magnificence beyond. We are carried back to the infancy of the post-diluvian world. Colossal statues that looked down from their thrones upon Moses look down upon us.

My visit to Egypt was partly for professional improvement, and partly to satisfy that curiosity to explore her wonders which, from the times of the venerable historian of Halicarnassus to our own, have attracted so many to her shores.

Personal observation and subsequent research have convinced me of the incorrectness of many current opinions, particularly regarding the age of some of the most interesting monuments in Egypt. Yet however confident of the truth of my own views and arguments, I submit them with diffidence to the tribunal of the public.

For some architectural and other details given in the plates, I am indebted to the great works published by the French and Tuscan governments.

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ANCIENT EGYPT.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

ON THE GENEALOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE ROYAL OVALS.

BEFORE entering on the details of Egyptian chronology, some observations will be necessary respecting the evidence on the subject deducible from the monumental inscriptions and sculptures.

Two important facts have hitherto escaped the notice of Egyptian antiquaries. 1. The construction of the hieroglyphic names and standards of the ancient monarchs bore a remarkable resemblance to the quartering of arms in modern heraldry. On analyzing them we find what is strictly analogous to arms of descent, arms of alliance, arms of adoption, and of dominion. Hence from the names and standards of a king we may often learn his extraction, paternal and maternal, and, when not descended from the reigning family, what was his claim to the throne. 2. Different physiognomies, each characteristic of a different royal family, are distinctly

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traceable in the portraits of the kings preserved on the walls of the ancient monuments. The Egyptian physiognomy, the Ethiopian, and the mixture of the two, may each be plainly recognised. Even the characteristic lineaments of the different families purely Egyptian are accurately given.

The facts deducible from these two sources confirm and illustrate each other. Together they throw a new light on the whole period of monumental history, commencing within a few centuries of the Flood; render plain and certain what was before doubtful and obscure in notices of ancient Egypt scattered in sacred and profane history; and furnish a clue to the mazes of the Manethonian dynasties. We can now understand why the "new king" who arose in Egypt "knew not Joseph" and his family. We can explain how the Ethiopians came to be united with the Egyptians under Shishak's banners in his expedition into Asia, and why Ethiopia was so commonly associated with Egypt by the sacred writers.* We can ascertain with tolerable accuracy which were the eighteen Ethiopians who, Herodotus was told, had reigned in Egypt in ancient times.

* "Art thou better than populous No (Thebes) * * * *? *Ethiopia* and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite." Nahum, iii. 8, 9. "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, *Ethiopia* and Seba for thee." Isai. xliii. 3. "Egypt riseth up like a flood. * * * Come up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the *Ethiopians* and the Libyans." Jer. xlvi. 8, 9. Cush is the monumental as well as scriptural name of Ethiopia.

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We can explain the dissensions between Amenof III. and Amun-Toonh, the supposed Danaus; can satisfactorily account for the omission of the first king of the nineteenth dynasty from the monumental lists; can discover how the great Ramses acquired the traditional name of Sesostris; why Nectanebo, nearly the last of the Pharaohs, assumed the prenomen of Osirtasen I., one of the very earliest; and on what the short-lived dynasty that ruled Egypt in Isaiah's time might have rested their claim to be "the sons of ancient kings." *

Those at all conversant with Egyptian antiquities know very well that in the hieroglyphic inscriptions every king bears two names, each inclosed within an *oval*, ring, or *cartouche*. One of these is supposed to have contained the *titles* peculiar to that monarch; the other to be phonetic, the characters forming his proper name. The former, from its invariable relative position, has been distinguished as the *prenomen*. Its initial character is always a disc, expressing Phre or Phra, the Sun, the first title of all the kings of Egypt, and, as Sir G. Wilkinson has shown, identical with *Pharaoh*. The second name admitted of modification and contraction, but the prenomen almost invariably retained the same characters; and the same prenomen was very rarely adopted by more than one monarch. Hence it was by his prenomen

* Isaiah xix. 11.

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that a king was most readily distinguished, and this alone was admitted into the royal registers. Each of the two ovals is preceded by certain titles never found annexed to the other.*

But these hieroglyphic ovals undoubtedly expressed much more than mere names. They may be compared to two coats of arms. In the first and principal one (the prenomen) were blazoned the bearings derived from the *prenomen* of the father; in the second, those derived from the *second name* of the father, or from the name of the mother, or mother's father, or, in some cases, from the wife, or her father. Princesses had but one oval, but this was similarly indicative of descent.

On comparing the hieroglyphic names, certain characters or bearings will be found always associated with individuals of Ethiopic descent, whilst others indicate a family from Upper or from Lower Egypt. These were probably derived from the name of the native city of the family †, or from the tutelary

* The most common of these titles were, before the prenomen, "King," or "Lord of the world;" and before the second oval, "Son of the Sun," or "Lord of the powerful." In the tables, plate iii., the characters over the kingly ovals express the second of these titles respectively. The title over the queen's names (marked *w*) is "Royal Wife." The bee with its accompaniments (No. 32) is supposed to signify "King;" the goose and the disc (No. 12, *b*) express "Son of the Sun," or rather perhaps "Son of Phre," Phra or Pharaoh, (*i. e.* the Sun,) allusive to the *royal descent* of the monarch.

† As king Anysis from Anysis. Herod. ii. 137.

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gods of that city. Hence we can readily determine that one king was of an Egyptian stock, that another was Ethiopian, and a third of mixed extraction.

The conclusions thus obtained are altogether confirmed on turning to the ancient portraits of the kings. There we find the receding forehead and high ears, peculiar to the Ethiopian or Negro race, accompanying the Ethiopian name, as in the case of Amenenhe or Amun-neitgori; the blander and more Asiatic physiognomy of the descendants of Mizraim, accompanied by the Egyptian name, as in the Thothmes; and again, Cush grafted upon Mizraim, as in the young usurper Amenof III., and "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia," Sennacherib's enemy, mentioned 2 Kings, xix. 9. *

That the hieroglyphic ovals of Egyptian monarchs really had this quasi-heraldic character will be manifest to any one on comparing them severally with

* Examples of these varieties are given in plate ii.: I have borrowed them from the great work published by the Tuscan government, the result of Professor Rosellini's scientific mission to Egypt. The queen, No. 1, is painted *black* on the monuments. The head, No. 5, is a portrait of a young girl of the isle of Eliphantine, on the borders of Egypt and Nubia. The traveller familiar with the hard features and guttural vociferation of the Egyptian Arabs is much struck on arriving in Nubia with the bland physiognomy, the agreeable intonations, and apparent docility of its inhabitants. The Nubians have the best claim to be considered descendants of the ancient race of Egypt; a striking resemblance may be remarked between the face No. 5 and those painted on the cases of female mummies. As to the modern Egyptians, they are the most mongrel race on earth; the blood of Europe, Asia, and Africa mingles in their veins.

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the facts and intimations to be gathered from the monuments and ancient authors. I have given some examples in plate III. sufficient to establish the fact. The interpretation of hieroglyphics originated in deciphering the names of the Ptolemies, and any elucidations on the present subject will be most satisfactorily deduced from the same names, regarding which, and those who bore them, there can be little or no doubt.

The cognomens assumed by the Ptolemies, and by which they are known in history, as Philadelphus, Epiphanes, &c., were in many respects analogous to the prenomens of the ancient Pharaohs. Both were at once *names* and *titles*. The hieroglyphics expressing the Ptolemaic cognomen were, however, always placed *beneath* or *after* the oval of the king to whom it properly belonged: but the characters composing the cognomen of the monarch's father were placed *within* his own prenominal or paternal oval, not so much as a name, as to indicate his descent and claim to the throne. Thus Philopator's prenomen commences with the cognomen of his father, Euergetes, and Euergetes' prenomen with the cognomen of his father, Philadelphus.* It was not the cognomen of his *predecessor* that a king thus blazoned on his escutcheon, but that of his *father*, a fact which proves that these ovals were entirely of a genealogical character. Thus, when the brothers Philometor and

* See Wilkinson's hieroglyphic list of Ptolemies, Egypt and Thebes.

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Physcon succeed each other on the throne, Physcon (see his oval, plate iii. No. 25,) does not quarter the cognomen of his predecessor, Philometor (24), but that of his father*, Epiphanes (23), who had preceded Philometor. Physcon's sons, Lathyrus (26) and Alexander I. (27), follow in succession, and each takes to the bearings of the father (25, *b*). They are succeeded by Auletes (28), who in like manner assumes the cognominal bearings of *his* father, Lathyrus (26, *b*).

Neocæsar, the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, bore two ovals, besides that expressing PTOLEMY. One of these is derived from the second of Auletes, his mother's father. The other would seem to be analogous to what our heralds term arms of succession, or those "taken up by such as inherit estates &c. by will, entail, or donation, which they impale or quarter with their own arms." This oval contains the characters proper to the name of Alexander I., whose son, Alexander II., at his death, bequeathed the kingdom to the Romans; and from the Romans Neocæsar may be said to have received it, having been proclaimed king by Antony.

The prenominal ovals of the Roman emperors exhibit the same genealogical structure. In the ovals

* Physcon or Euergetes II. bore another prenomen, in which the initial group of characters differs from that given in plate iii. But this only corroborates the truth of the theory propounded; for these groups, though different, are equivalent.

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of those of the same family, the title AUTOCRATOR CÆSAR was formed of nearly the same characters, whilst in those of other emperors, different hieroglyphics were employed to express the same sounds.*

On applying this key to the ovals of the kings of the illustrious eighteenth dynasty† we arrive at the following conclusions. Three different families appear successively in possession of the throne. Judging from their ovals and portraits, two of these were of Egyptian origin; the other was Ethiopian, sprung probably from the original royal stock of Ethiopia.

Amosis‡, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, was of an Egyptian family. The Thothmes and others were of the other Egyptian race, descended apparently from the monumental kings Osirtasen I. and II. Amenenhe or Amun-neitgori (pl. iii. 7), the husband of a sovereign queen, Amenof III. (11), and many of the queens were of the Ethiopian family. Ramses I. (12, *a*) claimed descent from the race of Amosis (5, *a*) the first of the line, and the rights of all the royal families appear to have met in Ramses the Great, or Sesostris (14, *a*), by descent or marriage.

* Compare the ovals of Titus with those of his father Vespasian and his brother Domitian, and those of Geta and Caracalla with that of their father Severus. The whole succession is given by Rosellini from the first of the Pharaohs to the last Cæsar whose name has been met with. The Italian Professor sometimes differs from Sir Gardner Wilkinson, but I believe Sir Gardner's list will prove to be the most correct. I have made use of both.

† The 18th of Manetho, but not really the 18th in the succession.

‡ See his prenomen, plate iii. No. 5, *a*.

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From the time of the Great Ramses (B. C. 1461) to the decline of the ancient Theban empire, the throne appears to have been always filled by native Egyptians. The prenomen of Sabaco, the So of Scripture (8th cent. B. C.), confirms Herodotus's account of this usurper. It is altogether unlike those before and after it. His successors, Shebek and Tirhaka (19 and 34), appear however to have been related to the family of the Psammitichi, who followed. The Psammitic dynasty was the last previous to the Persian invasion. If we may believe Pliny, under Amasis, the last but one of the line, Egypt numbered 20,000 flourishing cities. Nectanebo, the head of the last of the Pharaonic dynasties, must have claimed a very ancient pedigree, for we find him assuming the prenomen of Osirtasen I. (1), one of the very earliest of the monumental names.

Many of the conclusions drawn in this way from a mere inspection of the royal hieroglyphic ovals find an interesting corroboration in independent evidence from the monuments and ancient writers. Thus the oval of Ames-nofreari (31), the queen of Amenof I., indicates her descent from Nofre-ftep, or Osirtasen III. (3), a monarch of the Ethiopian race: her portrait* displays the lineaments of Cush, and she is painted *black*. Amun-neitgori's ovals (7) also proclaim his

* See plate ii. fig. 1. She would seem to be the same as the queen of Amosis, or else her daughter.

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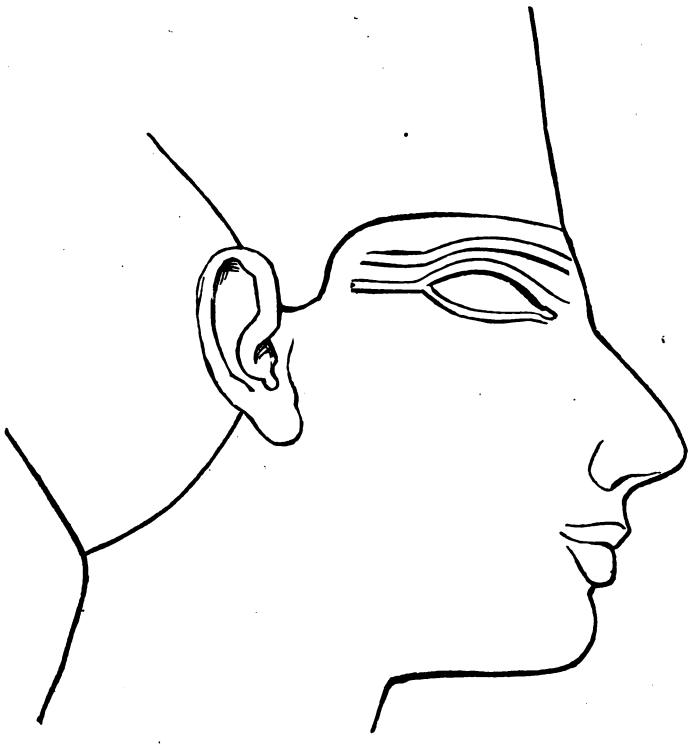
descent from the Ethiopian stock; and this, too, is entirely confirmed by his Ethiopic physiognomy, which is very like that of Ames-nofreari.



AMUN-NEITGORI.

This Amun-neitgori ruled Egypt by right only of his wife. Her claims were publicly recognised in their monumental inscriptions by the use of the feminine pronoun. The name of the queen, however, is still matter of doubt. It appears not improbable that she is the Amesses whom Josephus introduces as a reigning queen after *her brother* Amenof I. Her

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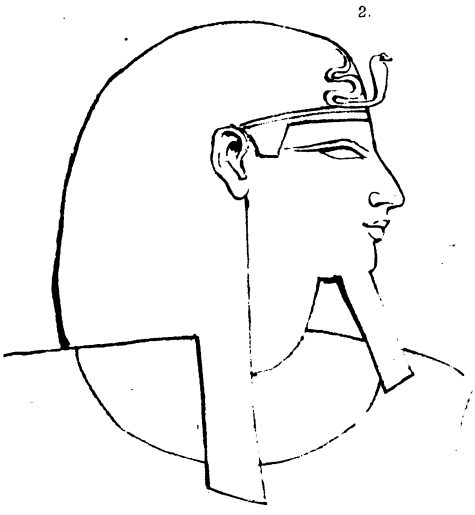

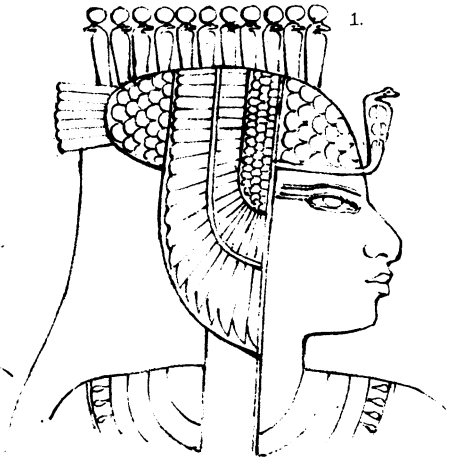

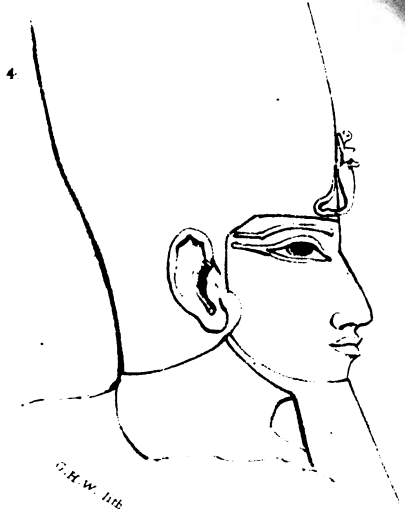

PORTRAITS.

1, AMES-NOFREARI QUEEN OF AMENOF I, ... of Ethiopian Extraction
2, THOTHMES I, ... " Egyptian ... "
3, AMENOF III, ... " Mixed ? ... "
4, TIRHAKA, OF S.S.

5, MODERN NUBIAN GIRL

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husband's name, being used with the feminine pronoun, became in a manner her own.* Some stigma appears to have attached to his memory, for the name was erased from inscriptions by his successors. The similarity of the name Amun-*neitgori*, and the concurring circumstances, favour the conjecture that this is the famous Nitocris, a sovereign queen, whose memory tradition kept alive upwards of a thousand years, and of whom Herodotus heard a story which he took care to preserve for his auditory at the Olympic Games. "The name of this queen was Nitocris. The Egyptians, they say, having slain her brother, their sovereign, she was appointed his successor: afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed a great many Egyptians by the following artifice: — She gave orders that a large subterraneous apartment should be prepared, professedly for a festival, but in reality for a very different purpose. To this place she invited the conspirators, and then by a private canal introduced the waters of the river. They added that, to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in a chamber filled with ashes."† It is very remarkable that there is but one large

* Sir G. Wilkinson makes Amun-neitgori a queen. Rosellini and Champollion suppose him to have been regent during the minority of the third Thothmes (their fourth). The figure accompanying the name is that of a man, and clearly a portrait. This and the Ethiopic character of his ovals are enough, I think, to settle the question, at least of sex.

† Herod. ii. 100.

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subterraneous work, not sepulchral, in Egypt, and that this bears the ovals of Amun-neitgori, half erased by his immediate successors. It is at the base of the hills inclosing the plain of Thebes on the west. The idea of such a work must have been borrowed by Amun-neitgori from his native Ethiopia, where large architectural excavations were common.*

Amenof III. has generally been considered the brother of Amun-Toonh, whom he deposed, and who is supposed by Sir G. Wilkinson, with much probability, to be Danaus, afterwards king of Argos. Amenof's prenomen, however (11), and his Ethiopic physiognomy, declare that he was *not* the brother of Amun-Toonh (10). The latter was the rightful heir of Thothmes IV. (9).

I believe this Amenof to be the "Chencherres, Ethiopian," according to one ancient author, and "Amenophis," according to another, under whom the Exodus was said to have taken place.† His character as an usurper gives fresh emphasis to the address to Pharaoh, when he refused to let the He-

* If these conjectures are right, Josephus's "Amesses sister of Amenof," Herodotus's Nitocris, Rosellini's Amense, and the monumental queen of Amun-neitgori, are all one. Perhaps, too, Ames, wife of Thothmes I. (Amenof I.'s successor,) is the same. She appears in the inscriptions with the uncommon titles of "Royal Sister, Royal Wife." Herodotus would seem to have written "her brother their sovereign," for "her husband (Amun-neitgori) their sovereign," who was evidently disgraced.

† See Chronological Section, p. 80.

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brews go: "In very deed for this cause have I *raised thee up*, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth."* He appears to have been a warlike, ambitious, and haughty young chief,—the Napoleon of the Pharaohs. This may be inferred from facts elicited from the inscriptions, and we can read it in his portrait.† At first he reigned jointly with the rightful sovereign; but he would not long bear a rival on the throne. Amun-Toonh was deposed, perhaps exiled, and his name ordered to be erased from every monument in the valley of the Nile, from the Mediterranean to the far Ethiopia.‡ Amenof III. erected the two colossi on the plain of Thebes, one of which has become so renowned as the musical Memnon; and it was perhaps from his Ethiopic extraction that the statue came to be associated with that fabulous hero of Ethiopia.§

* Exod. ix. 16.

† See plate ii. fig. 3. His Ethiopic profile may be readily recognised in some of the colossal busts in the British Museum.

‡ An example of this general erasure may be seen on the granite lions of the British Museum.

§ Amenof III. appears in the sculptures at Luqsor with his "Royal Mother Mautemwa," who is evidently of semi-Ethiopic extraction. Perhaps she was the daughter of one of the queens of Thothmes IV., (Rosellini's Thothmes V.,) their ovals being very similar, and Amun-Toonh the son of the other queen. This is confirmed by Josephus, who introduces after Thothmes IV. or Horus, "Acenchres his daughter, Rathotis (Amun-Toonh) her brother, Acencheres (Amenof III.), Acencheres II." Syncellus makes these Acencheres Ethiopians, and their portraits support him. Amenof

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The whole of the eighteenth dynasty were probably included among the eighteen Ethiopians who had reigned at a remote period in Egypt.* They appear to have claimed the throne by right of descent from the *Ethiopian* queen (31) of Amenof I. (she is treated with extraordinary honours in the inscriptions,) rather than from Amosis the first in Manetho's catalogue. They frequently intermarried with the royal race of Ethiopia, and some of them were by extraction more than half Ethiopian. Most or all, too, of these monarchs ruled in Ethiopia, where, judging from extant inscriptions, their authority progressively advanced southwards. The eighteenth dynasty would nearly make up the "eighteen" mentioned by Herodotus. If any others were alluded to, they were probably those among their immediate predecessors whose ovals show them to have been of the same Ethiopian stock.†

In the sculptures at the Memnonium, figures of the ancestors of Ramses the Great are introduced, borne by priests in procession. Here the head of the eighteenth dynasty is preceded by a king Menmaftep, and he by Menes, the first king of Egypt; whilst in the complete registers of kings, which formed as it

III.'s paternal oval indicates his descent from Amun-neitgori the Ethiopian. See plate iii. 11, and 7, *a*.

* Herod. ii. 100.

† These may be referred to in Manetho's twelfth "Diospolite" Dynasty.

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were the archives of the nation, the succession was carried back from Amosis to the *Ethiopian* ancestors of his queen Ames. The genealogical structure of the hieroglyphic ovals explains this very satisfactorily. Ramses I. was not only the representative of the royal Theban family by marriage or adoption, but, as his oval shows, also claimed descent from the family of Amosis. Hence, while his predecessors boasted of their Ethiopian pedigree, Ramses II., after tracing up to Amosis, introduced his (Amosis') father or ancestor, Menmaftep.

The name of Pthahmen-Septhah (first of the nineteenth dynasty,) is omitted in the monumental lists, and his prenomen shows that he was not the son of his predecessor. He must have obtained the throne by right of his queen.

The second oval, or proper name of a monarch, seems ordinarily to have been formed from that of his father. But when rights or dominion were derived through the wife or the mother, her name, or that of her father, was often assumed or incorporated. It was then answerable to our "escutcheon of pretence," or "arms of alliance." We have several instances of the first kind of assumption. Thus Ames, the first of the eighteenth dynasty, seems to have taken that name from his queen* Ames-nofretari (5, *w*), a

* I conclude that he borrowed the name from his queen rather than she from him, because their successors, the Thothmes, who in the genealogical lists traced their descent from *her* ancestors, formed their second name from "Ames."

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scion of the ancient Ethiopian royal family. Amenof III. probably took the name from Amenof II., his wife's * ancestor. Amasis was, according to Herodotus, of plebeian, certainly not of royal, birth; and his second oval, AMES-NEITSE (plate iii. 22, *b*), ending with the *goose* with the *feminine* sign †, indicates that his claim to the throne was derived from the princess his wife.

Among the instances of names assumed or formed by right of maternal descent are, that of Amenof II. from Amun-neitgori (7, *b*), his mother's (8, *w*) father, and that of Maimun Ramses III. (16), from Amunmai-Ramses II. or the Great (14), from whom and the queen Nofreari (14, *w*), his mother (15) was descended. ‡

But we have a more interesting example in the name of the illustrious Ramses II. himself. It is now generally admitted that this must be the mighty conqueror upon whom the Egyptians of later ages loved to concentrate the military glory of their ancient empire, under the name of SESOSTRIS. Whence then did Ramses obtain this traditional name? The

* Her oval is formed from that of the queen of Amenof II.

† These characters probably refer to the *daughter* of the king whom he had married. No. 21, plate iii. is the prenomen of his father-in-law, according to Wilkinson. No. 22, *w*, is his queen.

‡ This, learnt from a comparison of ovals, explains the fact that in a hieroglyphic list at the temple of Medeenet Haboo, the name of Ramses the Great *immediately precedes* that of the third Ramses' father, though other kings really intervened. See this series in Burton's Excerpta Hieroglyphica.

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practice of assuming names and bearings indicative of descent, paternal and maternal, offers, I think, a satisfactory explanation. The name appears formed from those of his father, his grandfather, and mother. Ses-os-tris comprises a constituent syllable of each of these three names—his grandfather's, Ram*ses;* his father's, *Os*iri; his mother's, T-se-re, or *T-re-se.**

These examples show with what accuracy it was said of Moses that he refused to be called *the son of Pharaoh's daughter*, who had adopted him. If we may believe Jewish tradition, the reigning king had no son, and Moses, as the adopted heir of the princess, was destined to succeed to the throne.

The characters composing the name of SHESHONK, the Shishak of Scripture, seem to indicate his maternal descent from a family of Lower Egypt, probably of Bubastis, as his dynasty is termed by Manetho "Bubastite." His *prenomen* however shows that he was also descended from the ancient royal family of Thebes, no traces of which are met with in traditional or monumental history for some time previous to his appearance. His prenomen includes what has been thought the crown of Upper Egypt, but which more probably was originally that of Ethiopia.† Hence we might infer his relation-

* Queen of Osiri I.—The SE or SES might however express *son of.*

† As a symbolic hieroglyphic it appears to denote dominion in Ethiopia. It formed a bearing on one of the standards of Thothmes I., who claimed relationship to the royal family of Ethiopia

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ship to the family reigning in Ethiopia, if not his actual possession of the Ethiopian throne; and this is altogether confirmed by his portrait, in which is seen a manifest approximation to the Ethiopic type. Thus, after an oblivion of twenty-eight centuries, the very name of Rehoboam's conqueror witnesses to the accuracy of the sacred historian, who tells us that Shishak's invading host comprised "the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the *Ethiopians*." Shishak's connexion with Ethiopia explains too the presence of the 60,000 horsemen on the same occasion; for cavalry appear to have been but little used in Egypt. The sculptures present scarcely an instance of an Egyptian on horseback, though we have innumerable warriors in chariots.*

Besides his two ovals, every Pharaoh had his own hieroglyphic standard. This was sculptured with his other insignia on the monuments, and is always of the same *oblong* form.† On the obelisks it was

through Ames-nofretari. It was worn by Tirhaka, styled in Scripture "King of Ethiopia." Combined with the crown of "the Lower Country" it formed the *pschent* or double crown.

* "And it came to pass, that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen; and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt—the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians." (2 Chron. xii. 2, 3.) They had been attracted probably by the fame of the immense treasures in the Temple.

† They were probably carried in processions. See plate iii. fig. B, from a papyrus.

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placed over the regal titles, at the head of the vertical inscriptions, and was itself surmounted by a crowned hawk, emblematic of Pharaonic royalty, much as a coat of arms is surmounted by the crest. The hieroglyphics on the standard appear to have been allusive both to lineage and dominion. Thothmes I. bore three of these standards (Pl. iii. 29). It is probable that he ruled in Ethiopia as well as Egypt, for his name and those of his successors are still seen in inscriptions there; and his queen, if not himself, was descended from the Ethiopian royal family. His three standards seem to have reference to his various claims to sovereignty, the bull referring to Memphis or Lower Egypt, and the "crown of the Upper country" to Ethiopia.

Amun-neitgori the Ethiopian and his queen formed their standard (Pl. iii. 30) from the prenomen and name of Osirtasen III. (3), father or ancestor of Ames, wife of Amosis, through whom the whole line claimed descent from the royal race of Ethiopia. This Osirtasen was evidently regarded by these monarchs as the head of their family, rather than Amosis the first king in Manetho's list. At a temple at Samneh, near the second cataract, there is a dedicatory inscription in his honour by the third Thothmes, in which he is treated as a god.*

* Rosellini, I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, part. i. tom. i. p. 191.

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From what has been said it will be evident that the Egyptian practice of combining hieroglyphics in names and standards offers many striking analogies to the blazonry of modern coat-armour. These analogies pervade the whole system. An ancient oval, crested with its ostrich feathers and flanked with the regal basilisks, might almost be taken for a modern escutcheon with its supporters. (See Pl. iii. fig. A.) In all ages indeed it has been common for a city or community to select some animal or other object as its peculiar ensign: thus Athens had her owl, Rhodes her rose, Rome her eagle. This was an obvious and natural practice, and might have had an independent origin in different countries. But a system by which groups of signs are assumed as hereditary insignia by particular families, and methodically combined so as to express lineage, alliance, and adoption, has in it so much of the artificial and conventional, that it is not so easy to suppose it could have thus originated among various nations without intercommunication. Is it then impossible that our heraldic system is an offshoot of the ancient hieroglyphic blazonry of names and banners, adapted to European customs and requirements? Such a conjecture will gain much weight if we can show by what channel "the wisdom of Egypt" might have flowed into modern Europe, if we can establish a chain of communication between our Heralds' College and the ancient colleges of the priests of Isis.

The origin of modern heraldry is lost in the night

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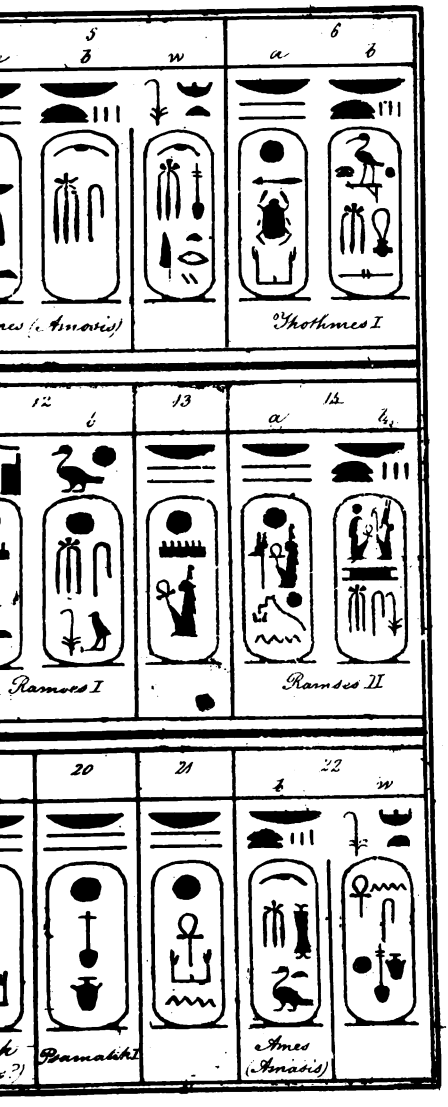

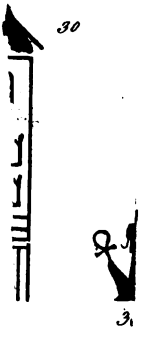

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of the dark ages. We find it emerging with the institution of chivalry out of the moral chaos that followed the irruption of the Gothic nations, and the partition of the Roman Empire. Its first appearance in England as a complete system is referred by most antiquaries to the period of the second Crusade.* An intimate connexion existed between chivalry and the art of blazon throughout the middle ages. The business of the herald was to minister to knightly and hereditary pride, and he appeared invested with all his importance at the joust and the tourney.

A connexion not less intimate subsisted between the orders of chivalry, especially the Knights Templars, and the lodges of Freemasons and other secret societies. So remarkable was this connexion, indeed, that it has been maintained by some that masonry was nothing more than the chivalric institution, moulded to the wants of peaceful men; while on the other hand a member of the masonic fraternity affirms † that the order of the Templars was a masonic rather than a chivalric institution, and that the latter character was probably assumed to screen the society from ecclesiastic interference. This order was first established in the Holy Land, and the knights are known to have been initiated into a secret association then existing in Syria. It was suppressed in France on the allega·

* Clark's Heraldry, 12th edit.

† Encyclopæd. Brit. 4th edit. art. FREEMASONRY.

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tion that impure and sacrilegious observances were practised by the knights at their private meetings; a common charge against such associations.

Thus then there was an alliance and natural connexion between the heralds, the freemasons, and the orders of knighthood, and any available knowledge possessed by one body would soon be communicated to the others. The trading societies of masons were indeed the depositories of nearly all the arts and practical science of those ages. Ranging over Europe in bands, all members of one great fraternity, any new discovery would soon become the property of all. Armorial insignia are so profusely introduced on the edifices of the middle ages, that we may conclude the art of blazonry formed part of the studies of the masons; and such was their ingenuity, their devotion to art, their emulation in improvement, that we may give them credit for having done much towards bringing the heraldic system to perfection. It was through the freemasons, I suppose, the original idea of blazonry may have been borrowed from Egypt. That they acquired some of their lore from Egypt, directly or indirectly, can I think be established beyond doubt. To prove this we need not go back to the confraternity of the Dionysian artificers, who erected edifices throughout Asia Minor and supplied all Ionia with theatrical apparatus, nor to the mysteries and impurities of Eleusis; though probably ignorance of facts alone prevents our proving free-

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masonry a lineal descendant of one or both of those famed institutions.

In the Bodleian Library there is a copy by Leland of a very curious MS. on freemasonry, written by Henry VI. It appears to be an account of an examination of some members of the craft in the king's presence. It is entitled

Certayne Questions wyth Aunsweres to the same, concernynge the Mystery of Maçonrye, writtenne by the hande of Kynge Henrye the sixthe of the name, and faythfully copyed by me Johan Leylande, Antiquarius, by commaunde of His Highnesse. (Henry VIII.).

A copy was sent to Locke, and his annotations have been published with the original document.* It begins with "What mote yt be?" *Answer.* "Yt beith the skylle of nature; the understandinge of the myghte that ys herynne, and its sondrye werkynges, sonderlyche, the skylle of reckonnynges; of wayghtes and metynges; and the true manere of façonynge all thynges for mannys use, headlie, dwellinges and buildynges of all kindes, and all other thynges that make good to manne." In reply to "What dothe the maçons concele and hyde?" several curious "artes" are mentioned: "The arte of fynding out new artes, and that for her owne proffytte and preise:"† "The

* See Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, 1772. App. to Leland, vii.

† "I think that in this particular they show too much regard for their own society, and too little for the rest of mankind."—Locke.

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arte of keeping secrettes, that soe that the worlde mayeth nothinge concele from them;" "The skylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte withouten the holpynges of fere and hope;" "The arte of chaunges:" and, which is more to our present purpose, "The wey of wynning the facultye of Abrac." "Here I am utterly in the dark," writes Locke. The world, however, has since been enlightened by one of the *freres.** "Abrac" is nothing more than an abbreviation of *Abracadabra.* This celebrated cabalistic word was prescribed as a certain charm against diseases, particularly ague. It was to be written as many times as it contains letters, omitting a letter each time, and suspended round the neck by a linen thread.

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Abracadabra was the name of a god worshipped in Syria, where it was also used as a charm. This

* Preston, Illustrations of Freemasonry.

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mystic word will lead us back to Egypt and Egyptian science.

Egypt has ever been the prolific parent of superstition and mysticism. Among the many sects that sprang up here in the first ages of Christianity were the Basilidians, a branch of the great Gnostic heresy and followers of the Egyptian Basilides. Holding that the elect must infallibly be saved, they abandoned themselves to unbridled and abominable sensualities. Their supreme divinity they worshipped under the name of ABRAXAS or ABRASAX. The numerical values of the Greek letters composing this word amount to 365, the number of days in the Egyptian year. This, it has been remarked, shows that the name had reference to the calendar, and renders it probable that it is of earlier origin than the time of the Basilidians. Many gems supposed to be of this era are still extant, having this mystic word in Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, or Hetrurian letters, engraved on one side, and some device borrowed from Egyptian mythology on the other.

The Abrac or Abracadabra of the masons must manifestly have been derived from the Abraxas of the Basilidians. Both were appellations of a god; both were used as a charm against disease, and hung round the neck. The word and its cabalistic import were probably learnt by the masons in Syria during the crusades. The people of Syria who worshipped a divinity under this name, and those into whose mys-

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teries the Templars were admitted, appear to be one and the same—the Druses of Mount Lebanon. Of these singular people, still a flourishing community, very little is known, even by their immediate neighbours on the mountain. They are said to be a Mohammedan sect, founded by a profligate Sultan of Egypt in the tenth century.* Still they maintain a mysterious reserve with all out of their own community, but report on the mountain tells strange tales of their private rites and usages.

We have here then a complete chain of communication between the ancient lore of Egypt and modern freemasonry. The mystic *Abraxas* passes from the Egyptian priests to their worthy successors the Basilidian heretics, who ever prided themselves on their acquaintance with secrets hid from the multitude. From the Basilidians it descends to the licentious followers of Sultan Hakem, with whom it passes over into Syria, whence the Templars, or the trading masons they employed, carry it into Europe. But these secret societies appear to have been always the depositaries of the real secrets of science as well as cabalistic puerilities. "What artes have the Maçonnes techedde mankynde?" "The artes Agricultura, Architectura, Astronomia, Geometria, Numeres, Musica, Poesie, Kymistrye, Governmente, and Religioune†",—in a word, the whole circle of the sciences

* Hakem, A. D. 996. † Leland MS.

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of the middle ages. We may conclude then, that whether from Syria or directly from Egypt, something more descended to the masons from the ancient colleges of priests than "the wey of wynning the facultye of Abrac."

This curious MS. gives the following account of the introduction of masonry into Europe. "Peter Gower, a Grecian, journeyedde for kunnynge yn Egypte and yn Syria, and in everyche Londe, whereas the Venetians hadde plauntedde Maçonrye.... and retournedde and woned (dwelt) yn Grecia Magna .... and here he framed a grate Lodge at Groton, and maked many Maconnes." Here, as Locke observed, *Peter Gower* must be Pythagoras*; the *Venetians* Phœnicians†; and *Groton* Crotona in Magna Græcia, where Pythagoras taught after his travels.

* Corrupted from the French *Pythagore.*

† Possibly there may be some real etymological connexion between Phœnicia and Venetia. To this day the Venetians write *v* where Italians commonly use *b*, as *viglietto* for *biglietto.* So, too, the modern Greeks pronounce β as *v*. The affinity between *b* and *p* is obvious: in Coptic *p* is pronounced *b*. Substituting then *v* for *ph* in Phœnicia, we have a name very like Venetia; and it is remarkable that in this province, some thirty miles south of Venice, were the "Fossiones *Philistinæ.*"

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PART I.

CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

I. AUTHORITIES.

If we would have a distinct view of the rise and progress of the arts in Egypt, we must first learn the respective antiquity of her monuments. This involves a knowledge of the chronology of her ancient dynasties. But here the inquirer is immediately bewildered among conflicting statements and opinions. To unravel the perplexities of the early records of Egypt is, indeed, to untie the very Gordian knot of ancient chronology. If we attempt to trace other states to their origin, the glimmerings even of tradition soon fail, and leave all beyond in impenetrable obscurity. But not so in Egypt. Here we are perplexed by the diversity of lights, which, glancing over the track of ages, make the same objects appear under different aspects, and very differently associated. Hence modern chronologers, with the same authorities in their hands, widely differ respecting the dates of some of the most important events and personages of Egyptian history. Sir Isaac Newton, supposing Sesostris to be Shishak, placed the great hero of Egypt about the middle of the tenth century before our era. Usher fixes him at B.C. 1489. According to one

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chronologer the epoch of Menes, the first king, is determined by extant Egyptian records at about B.C. 2231. Champollion deduces from the same authorities that he lived 6000 years before the time of Mohammed. Perplexed with such discordant opinions, and lost in a labyrinth of thirty-one dynasties and innumerable kings, the inquirer for TRUTH is ready to throw up his search in despair.

From these materials, however, a chronology may be deduced, approaching much nearer the certainty of demonstration than might be supposed. An investigation in which all the sagacity and learning of Newton* and Marsham have been engaged without success, may indeed well be approached with hesitation. But we have a guide which they had not. We have now monumental catalogues of kings coëval with the monarchs themselves. These have authenticated and given a degree of fixity to many of Manetho's dynasties; and the Egyptian chronicler, whose statements had long been looked on with suspicion, has been reinstated as a genuine source of historic truth.

Besides the monumental inscriptions, our chief and almost only original authorities for the early history of Egypt are, 1. Manetho, Eratosthenes, and the "Old Egyptian Chronicle;" 2. Herodotus and Diodorus; and 3. Scripture. The three first were pro-

* Newton is said to have devoted, at intervals, thirty years to his work on Chronology, and to have copied it out sixteen times.

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fessedly derived from ancient records then extant. Herodotus and Diodorus relate what they *heard* from the priests and others, much of which, especially as to the extravagantly long succession of early kings, they seem not to have credited themselves.

Manetho, one of the chief priests of Egypt, wrote his history at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who ascended the throne B. C. 284. It was compiled, he said, from ancient records preserved in the temples. That Ptolemy should have chosen him to be the historian of his kingdom is sufficient proof of his learning and competency; and his high sacerdotal rank must have given him every facility for consulting the national archives. Though Manetho's own work is lost, abstracts and fragments have been preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus, and Syncellus.* Their lists of kings are, however, often at variance, especially in the early dynasties. Manetho's history was divided into three books, and an abstract of the whole, down to the time of Alexander the Great, is given by Eusebius and J. Africanus. The aggregate duration of the dynasties in each book is stated, and the whole series made successive.

Eratosthenes, who was keeper of the Alexandrian

* Josephus was born A. D. 37., Julius Africanus wrote in the third century, Eusebius in the fourth, and Syncellus at the end of the eighth. Some other writers pretend to give lists from Manetho, but their authority is more doubtful.

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Library, wrote his history by command of Ptolemy Euergetes. A fragment has come down to us, comprising a list of thirty-eight "Theban" kings. Here, as in all the other catalogues, Menes is made the first; but of the names that follow, scarcely any are found in Manetho.

This canon has been much esteemed by some modern chronologers. At first sight it appears an isolated fragment, obstinately irreconcileable with the other authorities; yet it will be found, in fact, to present so many coincidences with a canon formed on the authority of the Old Chronicle and Manetho, and to develope a chronology so precisely similar, that it becomes very probable that most of its kings are identical with some of those in that selected list. Every Egyptian monarch had several names; Eratosthenes appears generally to have given cognomens or titles; Manetho, proper names.

The *Old Chronicle* is a very valuable summary of dynasties, from the earliest times to the last of the native Egyptian dynasties. This brief record also at first appears irreconcileable with Manetho; but when analyzed and collated with other authorities, very strong marks of its authenticity become manifest. Though full of anachronisms as it has come down to us, I think it may be almost demonstrated that these have been caused by the distortions of transcribers, anxious to bring it into better *apparent* harmony with other lists, and that, when restored to its original in-

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tegrity, it furnishes the groundwork for a consistent fabric of Egyptian chronology. It is as follows.

OLD CHRONICLE.

" Among the Egyptians there is a certain tablet called the Old Chronicle, containing 30 dynasties in 113 descents, during the long period of 36,525 years. The first series of princes was that of the Auritæ; the second was that of the Mestræans; the third of Egyptians. It runs as follows:

THE REIGN OF THE GODS

ACCORDING TO THE OLD CHRONICLE.

To Hephæstus no time is assigned, as he is apparent both by night and day.

Helius, the son of Hephæstus, reigned 30,000 years.

Then Cronus and the other twelve gods reigned 3,984 years.

Next in order are the demigods, eight in number, who reigned 217 years.

After these are enumerated fifteen generations of the Cynic cycle, which extend to 443 years.

The sixteenth dynasty* is of the Tanites, eight in descent, which lasted 190 years:—

17th of Memphites	-	4 in descent	-	103 years.
18th of Memphites	-	14 in descent	-	348 years.

* The dynasties before the sixteenth relate probably to the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs, down to the accession of the first king, Menes.

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19th of Diospolites	-	5 in descent	-	194 years.
20th of Diospolites	-	8 in descent	-	228 years.
21st of Tanites	-	6 in descent	-	121 years.
22nd of Tanites	-	3 in descent	-	48 years.
23rd of Diospolites	-	2 in descent	-	19 years.
24th of Saites	-	3 in descent	-	44 years.
25th of Ethiopians	-	3 in descent	-	44 years.
26th of Memphites	-	7 in descent	-	177 years.
27th of Persians	-	5 in descent	-	124 years.
28th				
29th of Tanites	-	— in descent	-	39 years.
30th a Tanite	-	1 generation	-	18 years.

In all, 30 dynasties and 36,525 years. Which number of years, resolved and divided into its constituent parts, that is to say, 25 times 1461 years, shows that it relates to the fabled periodical revolution of the zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks; that is, its revolution from a particular point to the same again, which point is the first minute of the first degree of that equinoctial sign which they call the Ram, as it is explained in the Genesis of Hermes, and in the Cyrannian books." *

Such are the chief original authorities for the early history of Egypt. We will now analyze and compare them. To arrive at a satisfactory result we must advance from the known to the unknown, as in the solution of any other problem;—first ascertain some fixed points or epochs, and then take these as guides

* Syncel. Chron. 51. See Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 89. 2d edit.

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to the chronology of the intervening periods, and tests to determine the comparative value of the different canons. Scripture will help to fix the dates of events interwoven with Hebrew history, and the narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus guide us through the later ages. To begin with Manetho.

II. MANETHO.

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

The commencement of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty is an important epoch in Egyptian history. However much they differ in other respects, his copyists are nearly agreed as to the names and order of succession of this and the first kings of the nineteenth dynasty. Their lists are entirely corroborated by the hieroglyphic registers. There we find several similar names occurring in the same order: almost throughout the two dynasties the correspondence is incontrovertible.

The reigns of these monarchs comprise, in fact, the most brilliant period of Egyptian history. Under their rule Thebes reached her zenith in arts and arms. While they carried the terror of the Egyptian name into Abyssinia on the south, and Assyria, Asia Minor, and perhaps even Thrace on the north, they executed vast public works at home. Nearly all the stupendous edifices of Thebes, as their inscriptions attest, were erected by this line of princes; and their battles,

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sieges, and triumphal marches back to Egypt, are still beheld in sculptural picture on their temples and propyla. The rocks of Silsilis and Syene were quarried for their palaces, and the mountains that wall in the desert valley of Biban el Molook were hollowed into vast subterranean saloons to receive their dead. It is certain, then, that Manetho's eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties reigned over Egypt, and that the nation was at that time opulent, warlike, and powerful. The duration of their rule was about five centuries.

THE SHEPHERD DYNASTY.

That the "seventeenth" dynasty really preceded the eighteenth appears no less certain. All Manetho's copyists agree in the main characteristics of this race. They represent them as a foreign tribe of shepherds; and though their lists do not perfectly harmonise, there is quite enough similarity to establish the identity of most of the kings. Josephus, extracting from Manetho, enters minutely into the history of their expulsion by Tethmosis or Amosis, who afterwards became sovereign of Egypt, and founder of the great eighteenth dynasty. They were forced, he says, to retire into a place called Avaris (near Pelusium) in the Delta, where they fortified themselves, stood out a long siege, and at last capitulated on condition that they should be allowed to withdraw into Syria, where,

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he adds, they founded Jerusalem. Eusebius calls them Phœnician shepherds. Probably they were a branch of the family of Ham, who, having made a successful descent upon Egypt from Syria, gradually obtained possession of the northern part of the country, but were ultimately driven back to their original settlements by aid of the forces of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia.

THE EXODUS.

The expulsion of these Shepherds was strangely confounded by Josephus or Manetho with the Exodus of the Israelites. The identification is manifestly false. In one case the emigrants had been lords and oppressors of Egypt; but the grand event of Hebrew history was a miraculous deliverance from a cruel bondage there. The expelled people are said to have founded Jerusalem. If this proves anything, it is that they were not Israelites, for Jerusalem was built and occupied long before Joshua's invasion; nor were the Canaanites dispossessed of the citadel till the reign of David.

Eusebius places the Exodus of Israel in the time of Chencherres, a king of the 18th dynasty, who reigned about 200 years after Amosis, the first of the line. Josephus, too, gives from Manetho the narrative of an event, subsequent to the expulsion of the Shepherds, which corresponds with the Scripture account of the

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Exodus much more nearly than that expulsion does. A certain king Amenophis, he says, *was ordered by the gods* to cleanse Egypt of a multitude of lepers and other unclean persons, then abounding in the country. Many of these were *drowned*, and a vast number sent to work in the quarries. They continued in great distress till the king was petitioned to set apart for them the city Avaris, which had been left vacant by the expelled Shepherds.* Having established themselves here, they elected a chief, and bound themselves by oath to obey him. The name of their leader was Osarsiph, but this was afterwards changed to Moyses. He began by enacting several laws directly hostile to the customs of Egypt, — that they should not worship Egyptian gods, nor abstain from the sacred animals. After a time, the Shepherds, urged by an embassy, came to their aid with a vast army. Amenophis at the head of 300,000 men marched against the enemy. He did not, however, attack them, thinking this would be to war upon the gods, but retreated into Ethiopia, where he was hospitably received by the reigning prince. Here he remained thirteen years, according to a prophecy,

* The land of Goshen, "the best of the land," was perhaps the region where the shepherd tribe had their possessions, and whence they had probably been recently driven when Jacob's family arrived in Egypt. This would account for its being then unappropriated. It seems likely that such was the real transaction upon which this part of the story, the king's granting the city Avaris, was founded.

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and then returned to Egypt, drove out the enemy, and recovered his throne.* Lysimachus, alluding to the same event, says that the unclean multitude were led forth into the desert; that their leader Moyses encouraged them to march forward; that they arrived after extreme hardships in an habitable country, where they burnt the temples and plundered the natives; at length they settled in Judæa.†

As Diodorus's account of the migration of the Jews from Egypt to Palestine is very similar to this, we may safely conclude that all are narratives of the Exodus disguised by Egyptian vanity, and therefore that Eusebius's synchronism of this event is much more to be trusted than that of Africanus, who, perhaps on Manetho's authority, also seems to confound it with the expulsion of the Shepherds, as he places it under Amosis the head of the dynasty. It will afterwards be seen that Eusebius has other evidence in his favour.‡

There were in fact two distinct emigrations,—first that of the Shepherds; subsequently that of the Israelites. Both appear to be alluded to by the pro-

* Joseph. contr. App. lib. i. c. 26.

† See Cory's valuable collection of Ancient Fragments.

‡ We have a similar instance of a falsified account of a real event in the Egyptian version of the discomfiture of Sennacherib's host. The Egyptian monarch, deserted by his army, is miraculously preserved by a swarm of rats, which enter the Assyrian camp at night and destroy their bowstrings. Herod. ii. 141.

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phets Amos and Jeremiah. "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor?" "For the Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor."* This "remnant of Caphtor" seems to be no other than the Shepherd race, so renowned in the early annals of Egypt. The Shepherds on reaching Syria would doubtless attempt to seize upon the possessions of some tribe on the border, such as the Avims; and this the Caphtorims actually did. Their proceedings on arriving in Syria are thus briefly recorded by Moses:—"And the Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorims, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead."†

THE LAST TWELVE DYNASTIES.

The last twelve dynasties, excepting the 20th, from the concurrent testimony of the transcribers and other evidence, appear to be substantially authentic.

* Amos ix. 7., Jer. xlvii. 4.

† Deut. ii. 23. The Caphtorim have been supposed by some to be identical with the Philistines; but this seems impossible, for CASLUHIM, the progenitor of the Philistines, and CAPHTORIM are mentioned as *different* sons of Mizraim. 1 Chron. i. 12. Probably the Caphtorim, after having exterminated the Avites, became incorporated with the Philistines, so that at length the two names were used indifferently, just as the Philistines gave *their* name to the whole of Palestine.

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The 20th has no list of names assigned it, which renders it somewhat doubtful. It may have been a weak dynasty of the Ramses race, reigning at Thebes contemporaneously with the new monarchy that sprang up in the Delta on the decline of the Theban empire.

In the 22d dynasty, the first king is "Sesonchosis or Sesonchis." The name suggests that this is Shishak, who took Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam; and that such is the fact is proved by a memorial of this event discovered by Champollion among the innumerable mural sculptures at Karnak. A king *Sheshonk* is presenting captives of various nations to his god as trophies of victory. One of these, distinguished by a long beard and Jewish physiognomy, bears the hieroglyphic title IOUDAH MALEK, *The Kingdom of Judah.*

The 24th dynasty lasted only forty-four years; from this to the end of the succession the lists generally harmonize, and are corroborated by Scripture, the Greek historians, and the inscriptions.

THE FIRST SIXTEEN DYNASTIES.

In regard to the first sixteen of the thirty-one dynasties there is much more room for doubt. That they did not reign successively is manifest. This would give the first king the extravagant antiquity of near 6000 years before our era, incompatible

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alike with the Old Chronicle, monumental evidence, and Scripture. Indeed, as they appear in the copyists they are strongly marked with an apocryphal character. Josephus does not give them. Syncellus excludes them, and inserts instead a list of 25 kings, from Menes to the first of the Shepherd race or *Hucsos*. Eusebius and Julius Africanus differ as to their names and durations (sometimes by centuries), and to most no lists of kings are given. From all this we may conclude that the greater part of these dynasties either refer to petty *contemporary* princes of a remote period*, or are altogether spurious.

III. OLD CHRONICLE.

On comparing the OLD CHRONICLE with Manetho's canon, we find many striking coincidences. The names of its fifteen dynasties of mortal kings will be found nearly the same with those of the first, third, seventeenth, and following to the thirtieth of Manetho, as given by Eusebius, excluding the anonymous twen-

* Many facts tend to prove, that in very early times Egypt was divided into independent sovereignties. Some authorities expressly refer to contemporary princes. In the neighbouring Syria no less than thirty-one kings were expelled by Joshua from the small territory occupied by the Israelites west of Jordan. (Josh. xii. 24.) Kings are styled in the inscriptions "Lord of the Upper and Lower Countries," and the Hebrew name of Egypt, *Mitzraim*, in the dual form, (as pointed by the Masorites,) recognises the same general division.

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tieth.* This correspondence will be best shown by ranging them in parallel columns.

OLD CHRONICLE.	MANETHO (*Eusebius*).
16th Tanites.	1st Thinites.
17th Memphites.	3rd Memphites.
18th Memphites.	17th Shepherd kings who took Memphis.
19th Diospolites.	18th Diospolites.
20th Diospolites.	19th Diospolites.
	20th Diospolites.
21st Tanites.	21st Tanites.
22nd Tanites.	22nd Bubastites.
23rd Diospolites.	23rd Tanites.
24th Saites.	24th a Saite.
25th Ethiopians.	25th Ethiopians.
26th Memphites.	26th Saites.
27th Persians.	27th Persians.
28th ——	28th a Saite.
29th Tanites.	29th Mendesians.
30th a Tanite.	30th Sebennites.
	31st Persians.

Most of the discrepancies between these two lists are merely verbal or unimportant. Thus, as the "Shepherd Kings" (the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho,) reigned at Memphis (which doubtless they did after taking it), they are styled "*Memphites*" in the Old Chronicle. Manetho's twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties appear to have been transposed; for the identity of his twenty-third with the twenty-second of the Old Chronicle, is shown by the corre-

* It was omitted by Scaliger.

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spondence of their names and durations; and that his Bubastite twenty-second is the same as the Dospolite twenty-third of the Chronicle, is confirmed by the fact that the names of the kings of his twenty-second are found on the monuments of Diospolis or Thebes: they were then probably called Bubastites by Manetho, because descended from a Bubastite family, but Diospolitan in the Chronicle, from their having reigned at Diospolis*, while the succeeding dynasties held their court in Lower Egypt. The differences in the latter part of the parallel involve no chronological difficulty, as the period under which they occur comes within the steady light of history.

Besides this agreement in the names, there is a coincidence in the *durations* of the dynasties in these lists; all the durations assigned to the dynasties of the Old Chronicle, or others very nearly correspondent, are found in the catalogue selected from Manetho. These durations do not, however, occur in the same order, and are not affixed to the same dynasties. This suggests that their original order in one or the other has been changed. The durations of Manetho's dynasties are verified by their being the sums, or nearly so, of the several reigns set down under each; and in some cases the inscriptions confirm his statements as to the length of particular reigns. We are

* They also appear to have been of mixed descent. — See Preliminary Chapter.

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left then to suppose that the order in which the several durations were originally stated in the Old Chronicle has been changed by some copyist or editor. This conjecture becomes more than probable, when we find that *such transposition would produce a greater apparent harmony* with Manetho than existed before. As the lists stand at present, similar durations are assigned to dynasties designated by the same numbers. Thus, for instance, in both lists the duration of the 18th dynasty is 348 years, of the 19th 194 years, and so on. But as the *same dynasties* are distinguished in the two lists by *different numbers*, — the 18th of Manetho agreeing with the 19th of the Chronicle and the 19th with the 20th, — it is obvious that dynasties bearing the *same number* in the two catalogues ought to have *different durations*. The transposition, therefore, produced an apparent correspondence, but a real discrepancy.

IV. RESTORATION OF THE OLD CHRONICLE.

To restore then the Old Chronicle to its original state, we must retain the order of its dynasties, but change that of their durations, in this taking Manetho for our guide. A slight correction is also required near the end; six years, the duration of the 28th dynasty, having been transposed to the 26th dynasty, and the 28th left blank, whilst the 26th is stated six years in excess. The Old Chronicle thus restored

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will almost perfectly harmonise with the list selected from Manetho, which, it is to be remembered, includes all of what may be called his verified dynasties*, except that of Suphis or Cheops. This will be manifest from the following parallel†, in which the names and sums remain unaltered, the several durations in the Old Chronicle being alone *transposed*, and thus restored, as I believe, to their original order. It will be found that the durations of the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th dynasties of the Old Chronicle, as it has come down to us, correspond respectively with the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of Manetho's canon. It was, I have no doubt, to produce this superficial harmony that some transcriber shifted the durations from the dynasties to which they really belonged.

* Namely, the 1st, from its being that of Menes, universally allowed to have been the first king of Egypt; the 17th, or that of the Shepherd kings; the 18th and 19th, whose names are found on the monuments; the 22nd, containing the name of Sesonchis or Shishak; the 24th and following to the end, as corroborated by Scripture and the Greek historians.

† See next page.

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EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

Old Chronicle, from Syncellus.			Old Chronicle restored.			Manetho's Dynasties, from Eusebius.		
	Generations.	Durations. Years.		Generations.	Durations. Years.		Kings.	Durations. Years.
16th Tanites.	8	190	16th Tanites.	8	228	1st Thinites.*	8	228
17th Memphites.	4	103	17th Memphites.	8	190	3rd Memphites.	8	197
18th Memphites.	14	348	18th Memphites.	4	103	17th Shepherd kings who took Memphis.	4	103
19th Diospolites.	5	194	19th Diospolites.	14	348	18th Diospolites.	16	348
20th Diospolites.	8	228	20th Diospolites.	5	194	19th Diospolites.	5	194
21st Tanites.	6	121	21st Tanites.	6	121	21st Tanites.	7	130
22nd Tanites.	3	48	22nd Tanites.	3	48	23rd Tanites.	3	44
23rd Diospolites.	2	19	23rd Diospolites.	2	19	22nd Bubastites.	3	44
24th Saites.	3	44	24th Saites.	3	44	24th a Saite.	1	44
25th Ethiopians.	3	44	25th Ethiopians.	3	44	25th Ethiopians.	3	44
26th Memphites.	7	177	26th Memphites.	7	171	26th Saites.	9	171
27th Persians.	5	124	27th Persians.	5	124	27th Persians.	8	120 4 m.
28th ———	—	—	28th ———	—	6	28th a Saite.	1	6
29th Tanites.	—	39	29th Tanites.	—	39	29th Mendesians.	4	19 4 m.
30th a Tanite.	1	18	30th a Tanite.	1	18	30th Sebennites.	3	38
						31st Persians.		9†

* The duration of this dynasty is stated by Eusebius at 252 years, but the real sum of the 8 reigns he assigns it is 228.

† Africanus.

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V. THE REAL AGE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

The entire duration of its thirty dynasties of gods and mortals is stated by the Old Chronicle as 36,525 years. * The real sum, however, of the several durations assigned to these dynasties is 36,341 years; there is, therefore, an omission somewhere of 184 years.

This deficiency, so far from invalidating, may I think be shown very much to substantiate the general authenticity of this ancient record, and to be closely connected with circumstances that have led to more than half the perplexities of Egyptian chronology.

I believe this chasm to have been occupied by the reigns of Cheops and his successors, the founders of the eternal pyramids, and that this detested race were expunged from the public registers. Cheops and

* This is an astronomical cycle, framed by multiplying 1461, the number of years in the great *Sothiacal* period, by 25, the years of the *lunar* cycle, for adjusting the solar and lunar motions together. The Sothiacal period (from Sothis, the Egyptian name of the Dog star) was for adjusting the Egyptian civil war of 365 days to the true solar year of 365¼ days; 1460 solar years exactly comprising 1461 civil years. Its existence proves the accurate astronomical knowledge of the priests, and furnishes an interesting illustration of a statement which Herodotus heard in Egypt and recorded, but did not understand; that in the period between Menes and the priest-king Sethos (comprising about 1500 years) "the sun had twice risen where it now sets, and twice set where it now rises" (ii. 142.): meaning that the beginning and end of the solar year had twice passed through the same points of the civil year. See Hales, v. i. p. 39.

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Cephren, during their long reigns, together more than a century, treated the national religion with contempt, and their subjects with the most oppressive rigour. They shut up the temples and forbade sacrifice. Was it then improbable that the priests should revenge themselves, and give a lasting lesson to future monarchs, by blotting the names of these tyrants from the records of their country? Is not this conjecture entirely confirmed by Herodotus's remark, that the memory of these monarchs was held in such abhorrence that the people were unwilling even to mention their names? That unwillingness becomes quite intelligible if we suppose that the priests had by a public decree consigned the race to oblivion. Thus then this dynasty came to be altogether omitted in the Old Chronicle—a public record preserved by the priests in the temples; and Manetho, compiling from such records, passed them over in silence in their proper place. But though omitted in the national registers, the real era of these princes was very well known, and traditions respecting the construction of their pyramids were long current. Hence we may, I think, infer that the narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus, collected in Egypt from hearsay and local legends, introduced them in their true place in the succession, while the Egyptian chroniclers either omitted or transposed them.*

* Herod. ii. 128. Diodorus says that Cheops and Cephren, when dying, desired their attendants not to bury them in their

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Such erasures from public registers and monuments were by no means unknown to antiquity. Pthahmen-Septhah, first king of the 19th dynasty, and Amun-neitgori of the 18th, were both excluded from the hieroglyphic lists, and their names erased from monuments.* The name of Amun-Toonh, who for some time reigned jointly with Amenof III., has been erased from every inscription in Egypt and Ethiopia; and the parallel case of Geta and Caracalla may occur to all. But that the dynasty of Cheops was thus expunged is more than conjecture. Every thing seems to concur in proving it fact.†

The mystery which has for ages enveloped the origin of the pyramids offered antiquarian theorists a tempting field for speculation. Some have supposed they were erected to perpetuate the memory of great events by external inscriptions. Some that they were astronomical observatories—observatories near 500

pyramids, as the exasperated people threatened to drag their bodies from the tomb and throw them to the dogs.

* That of the former from his tomb, of the latter from several inscriptions.

† Dr. Hales, in his restoration of the Old Chronicle (New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iv. p. 403), makes up its deficient 184 years by introducing from Manetho 6 years under the 28th dynasty, which is blank, and adding 63 years to the duration of its 16th, and 115 to that of its 17th dynasty. The latter alterations have not even the appearance of Manetho's support. Neither is there any real chasm in the chronology of the latter part of the Old Chronicle, the deficiency of one dynasty being supplied by the greater length of another. Perhaps the 28th dynasty was left blank as a tacit recognition of the omission of Cheops's line.

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feet high in the midst of a vast plain! Others again would persuade us that the few dark chambers within these mountains of masonry were the *granaries of Pharaoh*—built by Joseph's royal patron as a magazine for the corn that was to supply *the whole nation* through a seven years' famine!

In opposition to these baseless conjectures and others still more chimerical, an examination of the pyramids themselves and the analogies of other Egyptian works entirely confirm the more probable statements of ancient writers, that they were built as the mausolea of their founders. There seems no reason to doubt—especially since Col. Vyse's recent investigations on the spot—that they were really erected by the three successive kings called by Herodotus Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, by Diodorus Chembes or Chemmis, Cephren, and Mycerinus; and by Manetho Suphis, Suphis II., and Mencheres, to whom they respectively attribute them.* The era of these monarchs has however hitherto remained within the debateable ground of antiquarian research.

Most modern writers are agreed in referring these extraordinary works to an extremely remote age. According to some they are anterior even to Abraham. Most imagine that Cheops and his successors reigned at that early period: some however, on the authority of the Greek historians, give this dynasty a much later

* The identity of these kings is shown by the uncommon length of the reigns of the first two, as well as by the similarity of name.

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date, but, resolved that the pyramids shall have an excessive antiquity, will not allow that they founded them. Yet Herodotus and Diodorus, both drawing their information from original Egyptian sources, distinctly state that these were the founders, and that they lived in an age which nearly coincides with that of Solomon. Diodorus, who flourished under Julius Cæsar, says that the Great Pyramid was built about 1000 years before his time; and if we count back the reigns of the successors of Cheops as given by Herodotus, the accession of this king will likewise fall into the 10th century before our era. It must not be forgotten, too, that though the slight notices given by these authors of the earlier ages of Egyptian history are extravagant, discordant, and interrupted by long chasms, yet after the accession of Cheops their narratives are continuous, consistent in themselves, and upon the whole harmonious with each other and with scripture history. A circumstance related by Herodotus seems conclusive against the notion of the patriarchal antiquity of this dynasty. He tells us that the body of the daughter of Mycerinus, the founder of the third pyramid, (not a tyrant like his two predecessors,) was deposited in a wooden heifer placed within a superb hall at Sais, that *when he visited Egypt* costly aromatics were still burnt before it by day, while it was nightly honoured with a splendid illumination.* Is it conceivable that thi

* He adds that every year the heifer was brought out from its

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wooden heifer, with its golden ornaments and purple trappings, could have withstood the corroding breath of a thousand or fifteen hundred years, or that the honours paid the beloved daughter of Mycerinus should have survived all the revolutions of those long ages?

The opinion then which, in opposition to such evidence, assigns to the pyramids a date within a few centuries of the flood, ought to be supported by unanswerable arguments; and such I believe are nowhere to be found. There is in truth an atmosphere of mystery overspreading Egyptian antiquity, tincturing every object with the hues of the marvellous, and predisposing us to refer objects and events to the most remote antiquity until the falsity of the assumption has been demonstrated. The early civilization of the country, the colossal scale of its public works, the interest with which they have been visited and examined in every age, and yet the obscurity in which they have till recently been involved, all conspire to this result. Thus Larcher constructed his laboured scheme of Egyptian chronology, carrying back the origin of the nation to an extravagantly remote age: his hollow foundation soon sank, and his whole fabric came tumbling to the ground. Thus too when Denon found the famous zodiac and planisphere at Denderah, how eagerly the French *savans* caught at the new

apartment, to comply with the dying request of the princess that once a year she might behold the sun. Herod. ii. 132.

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argument which so triumphantly proved that Egypt was a civilized country long before the Mosaic era of the creation. And how soon did that argument vanish under the keen gaze of philosophic truth!

That the great pyramids are works of a very early age is argued, 1st, from the fact that the names of the kings who founded them occur in the *fourth* of Manetho's thirty-one dynasties; and that three names somewhat like these occur in the list of Eratosthenes not very far from the beginning*: 2d, from an incidental remark of Herodotus, that the Egyptians, detesting the memory of the founders, called their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis who at that time fed his cattle in those parts; a statement which, combined with certain Hindoo traditions, has been supposed by some to connect these works with the ancient Shepherd Kings: 3d, from the (supposed) absence of hieroglyphics upon them; whence it has been imagined they were built before the custom of inscribing public monuments, so universal in the Thebaid, came into use.

As Manetho's own work is lost, and his canon, as given by his copyists, is guilty of the egregious error of carrying back the history of Egypt to a period long before the creation, it is certain that none of the statements attributed to him are to be entirely relied on. Regarding the early dynasties, especially,

* They are the 15th, 16th, and 17th in his list; the names Saophis, Saophis II., and Moscheres.

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the copyists are obscure and discordant. Can these transcribed fragments then be deemed of sufficient authority to outweigh the concurrent testimony of two of the best historians of antiquity, especially as to events which these writers place in the later ages of Egyptian history?* Herodotus wrote about two centuries before Manetho, and within four centuries of the period to which he assigns the founder of the Third Pyramid. The discrepancy between the Greek and Egyptian historians is at once explained by the supposition that the names of this hated race had been expunged from the registers, a conjecture strongly supported by the entire omission of their dynasty, and the period of its duration, in the Old Chronicle. Manetho, compiling his history from the national records, would naturally so far follow them as not to introduce Cheops and his successors in their right place; yet wanting all, and more than all, the kings who had ever reigned in Egypt to fill up his thirty-one dynasties, he would introduce them elsewhere in the succession. In fact, the Egyptian chronicler himself seems to hint at the transposition. Of this dynasty he observes, they were Memphites "of a *different race.*" This remark, which is made of no other of the thirty-one dynasties, appears to isolate it from those before and after it. That a succession of

* It is true Diodorus notices an obscure tradition that the pyramids were the work of a much earlier age, but he lays little tress on it.

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kings were not of the same family as their predecessors in the list would be sufficiently indicated by placing them as a different dynasty. Why then this emphatic notice before introducing the line of Cheops? Let us suppose the dynasty transposed from its true place in the series, and placed among those really anterior to it by many ages, and we see at once that to the learned Egyptian reader these words were full of meaning.

As to the canon of Eratosthenes, if Saophis I., Saophis II., and Moscheres were intended for Cheops and his successors, which seems probable, the explanation of Manetho's transposition is equally applicable here. But I have elsewhere shown that the dynasties comprised in this list were probably identical or contemporary with certain others of Manetho. If so, Cheops could properly have had no place in the catalogue. Eratosthenes' canon is said to be of "Theban" kings, and the builders of the pyramids certainly reigned in Lower Egypt.*

The second argument for the high antiquity of the pyramids would attribute them to the Shepherd race. It is based on a vague remark of Herodotus, that the Egyptians, hating the memory of the founders, called the pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis who then fed his cattle in that part of Egypt.

* All authorities except Eratosthenes agree in assigning to the first two of these kings very long reigns. Their chronological position may be as incorrectly given in his list as their reigns.

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This, it is supposed, is confirmed by two traditions given by Lieut. Wilford from the Hindoo Vedas. One states that the Pali (Shepherds), an Indian race, being expelled their country by a neighbouring prince, migrated to Ethiopia and settled in a district which corresponds to that of Meroè.* The other legend is of a more fabulous cast. There was once a king, it says, who lived for a hundred years in a dark cavern on the banks of the Cali or Nile in Ethiopia, practising every kind of religious austerity. He had a son Tamovatsa, warlike, ambitious, and devout. Tamovatsa, hearing that Misrasthan or Egypt was suffering from the despotism of a tyrant, marched against him with a body of chosen troops, attacked and subdued him, and then reigned himself with perfect equity. His son devoted himself to religious contemplation, but his grandson, Rucmavatsa, who also tenderly loved his people, improves the country and amasses such immense treasure that he raises three mountains, Rucmadri, Rajatadri, and Retnadri, or the mountains of gold, of silver, and of gems.†

From these legends it is inferred that Rucmavatsa was the founder of the pyramids, and that the invasion of his grandfather was no other than that of the famous Shepherds. According to Josephus, TIMAUS was the name of the Egyptian king whom the Shepherds *conquered:* it is maintained that he is

* Asiatic Researches, vol. 3. p. 317.

† Ibid. p. 437.

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identical with TAMOVATSA, the *conqueror* in the Hindoo legend,—a singular transposition truly. Indeed the whole appears a happy specimen of a specious hypothesis fabricated from a patchwork of vague statements and unconnected, equivocal legends. The argument from the tradition of the shepherd Philitis is completely answered by the very authority whence it was taken. Herodotus himself fixes the erection of the pyramids to a period posterior by ages to the expulsion of the old Shepherd kings. He also distinctly affirms that they were built by Cheops and his two next successors; and it was the memory of two of *these* kings that was so hateful to the Egyptians. As to the Indian legends, one would look with suspicion on any hypothesis formed out of such materials, though opposed by no positive testimony; but here they are wrought into a theory which has all the weight of historic evidence against it. Greek and Egyptian authorities alike attribute the pyramids not to the Shepherd, but to another dynasty. The three "mountains" of the Indian tale are raised by *one* prince, who is emphatically declared to have loved his people. The three great pyramids were built by *three* kings, the two first of whom are as emphatically marked out as detestable tyrants. The other tradition which, though totally distinct, is coupled to the first to eke out the analogy, says that the settlements of the Pali were in Ethiopia; but all accounts

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agree in making the Shepherd invaders come from the north.*

According to the legend, the conqueror's grandson raises three mountains, of gold, silver, and precious stones. This has very much the air of oriental fable. The conqueror's father, Panyavati, lived in a cavern in the *Black Mountain*, and another tradition alludes to the *Golden Mountains* of Ethiopia. But had the analogy between the "three mountains" and the three great pyramids been much more striking, surely it would be more natural to suppose that the fame of these mighty works had floated over from Egypt to India, and that they were subsequently attributed to one of their wandering heroes, than to conclude that Indian tradition is right and Egyptian history wrong. In truth, the barbarian chiefs of the Shepherd horde were probably the least likely of all Egyptian kings to erect monuments of such vast magnitude and finished workmanship. Enormous blocks of granite are here put together with the nicest accuracy. That granite too must have come from the quarries at the southern extremity of the country; but the Shepherds appear never to have gained possession of the Thebaid.

The last argument, derived from the absence of

* Little weight can be attached to the resemblance between *Philitis* and *Pali*. Traces of a people of a name similar to this are found in India, in Palestine, in Epirus, and in the north-east of Italy. These ubiquitous Pali are called in to help out many a halting theory; they are invaluable to speculative antiquaries.

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hieroglyphics, was never of much weight when properly considered, and it has been almost entirely disposed of by the facts brought to light in Col. Vyse's operations in 1837. Hieroglyphics have at length been found within the mysterious penetralia of the Great Pyramid. True they are scrawled upon a rough walled-up chamber,—a mere void in the masonry, formed to lessen the load over the roof of the chief apartment. Yet these rude inscriptions fully prove that the hieroglyphic system was in use and perfected when the pyramids were erected. It cannot be answered that they may have been written in an after age, for this chamber was in the midst of solid masonry; the explorers forced their entrance with gunpowder. The hieroglyphics within must therefore be coeval with the structure itself. They appear indeed to have been traced on the stones before these were set in the building. "Still," it may be urged, "the tombs at Thebes are covered with hieroglyphics and symbolic paintings, yet the walls of the passages and finished apartments of the pyramids present not a trace of either." But how different is the Theban tomb from the Memphian pyramid. In a royal sepulchre at Thebes we have spacious halls and corridors excavated in the mountain and entered through a wide external doorway. Here was no grand front to receive the commemorative inscriptions of the founder. He was therefore obliged to place them on the walls *within*. Light entered through

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the doorway, and threw a glimmering far into the interior. The pyramids, on the contrary, rearing their broad fronts to heaven, offered a magnificent field for *external* hieroglyphic blazonry, which it is not strange the founders preferred to the dark chambers far-recessed within, or excavated in the rock beneath the building. We have Herodotus's testimony that the Great Pyramid in his time bore the inscriptions of Cheops, and some remains of the inclined exterior or casing* on which these were doubtless graven, but which was removed by the Saracens, have recently been discovered at the base.

That the pyramids date from the patriarchal age, or are the work of the migratory *Hucsos*, rests then upon arguments utterly insufficient to invalidate the contrary testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus. That the princes who founded them were powerful and opulent is proved by their having been able to erect such structures. That they governed the whole of Egypt may be inferred from their employing the granite of the quarries of Syene at the southernmost limit of the country. That before their time the art of building had long been practised in Egypt and on a mighty scale, is shown by the difficulties of construction encountered and overcome, and in the excellence of the workmanship,—vast blocks being raised hundreds of feet and put together with admirable

* This was not formed of slabs, but of massive blocks in successive horizontal courses.

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precision. A careful comparison of the Old Chronicle and Manetho's canon with scriptural and hieroglyphic evidence will, I think, entirely confirm the statements of the Greek historians, fix the accession of this dynasty to within half a century after the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak, and thus let in light upon this obscure period of Egyptian history, and fill up a hiatus which modern chronologers have been obliged to admit about this time.

CHASM BETWEEN SHISHAK AND SO.

Sesonchis, Sheshonk, or Shishak, the first king of Manetho's 22nd dynasty, took Jerusalem B. C. 971. Sabaco or So *, the founder of the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty, we learn from sacred history was on the throne B. C. 725. We are ignorant how long either king had reigned before he appears in Jewish story, but we may take the interval between these dates, or 246 years, as an approximation to the period which elapsed between their accession, or between the commencement of Manetho's 22nd and 25th dynasties. The aggregate duration of the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th dynasties, in other words the interval between Shishak and So according to Manetho's canon, is 132 years. But it appears that the 22nd and 23rd have been transposed,

* Mentioned 2 Kings xvii. 4.

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and that the 22nd, or Shishak's dynasty immediately preceded the 24th.* Thus corrected Manetho's canon gives only 88 years as the interval between Shishak and So, or 158 years less than Scripture.

There is a similar discordance between sacred chronology and the Old Chronicle. The duration of its 23rd and 24th dynasties, or the interval between Shishak and So, is 63 years. The Bible history gives 246 years as the interval. There must then be a chasm of about 184 years between the 23rd and 25th dynasties of the Old Chronicle. And this is *exactly the deficiency* before shown to exist in it on comparing its own statements with each other; it is the difference between the duration assigned its dynasties *collectively*, and the real sum of their several durations.† Such a coincidence is strongly corroborative of the authenticity of this ancient record. Let us on the authority of Herodotus and Diodorus fill up this chasm with the dynasty of Cheops, and the Old Egyptian Chronicle will exactly harmonize with sacred history. The corresponding chasm in Manetho's canon may of course be similarly explained.

Whatever evidence can be elicited from the inscriptions at Thebes points to the same conclusion, and confirms the statements of the Old Chronicle generally. After the long line of powerful princes corresponding to Manetho's 18th and 19th dynasties

* See p. 42. † See p. 47.

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the monumental history becomes almost a blank. During a long interval no grand works appear to have been undertaken; no brilliant achievements were recorded by the sculptor. Every thing indicates either that the seat of government had been removed to Lower Egypt, or that the Theban monarchy was rapidly on the wane. If the latter, we may suppose that the provinces of the Delta would not long submit to a distant enfeebled administration. Some powerful noble would probably assume the chief command and found a new dynasty. Whether then the Theban family had removed their court to Memphis or not, it seems very likely that during this hiatus in the monumental history of Thebes a succession of kings were reigning in Lower Egypt. On turning to the Old Chronicle, accordingly, after the two long lines of Diospolite princes we find two dynasties of Tanite kings, reigning together 169 years. The cities of Lower Egypt having been totally destroyed, none of their buildings remain.

At length the ancient capital appears again to have become the residence of the sovereigns of Egypt. Shishak marched out against his Asiatic neighbours, and upon his victorious return, Egyptian sculptors were once more called upon to commemorate the exploits of Egyptian conquerors on the walls of Theban temples. Here too the Old Chronicle harmonizes with hieroglyphic evidence: at this point it

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introduces a dynasty of Diospolite princes. Another long monumental blank — without royal names — distinguished by no architectural work — intervenes between this period and that of the Ethiopian Sabaco or So. This exactly synchronises with the chasm shown to exist in the Old Chronicle and Manetho. It may be similarly explained. Cheops and his successors were then reigning in Lower Egypt. They were exhausting all the resources of the kingdom upon their stupendous pyramids, and had neither men nor money to spare for erecting temples or palaces at Thebes.*

STATE OF EGYPT ON THE ACCESSION OF CHEOPS.

Shishak took Jerusalem B. C. 971; and as the Old Chronicle gives 19 years for the duration of his dynasty, the next, that of Cheops, was probably established about the middle of that century. We know little of Egypt at this period, yet enough to perceive that it must have been a favourable juncture for a daring adventurer to seize upon the royal authority; and such, not improbably, was the origin of this

* One name occurs between the Shishak race and Sabaco, namely Pehor, whom Sir G. Wilkinson has shown to be Bocchoris. He reigned immediately before Sabaco. Assuming on the authority of the Old Chronicle that Manetho's 22d dynasty immediately preceded the 24th, and filling up the hiatus with the names of Cheops's line, we have an almost unbroken monumental succession from the time of Shishak to the Roman emperors.

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dynasty: the most heartless despots have commonly been usurpers. About the year 941 B. C. "Zerah the Ethiopian" invaded Judea with his host of a million.* Whether this personage was king of Egypt as well as Ethiopia, or, which is more probable, a hostile Ethiopian chief who first subjugated Egypt and then advanced into Asia, it is manifest that a natural result of the total overthrow of his vast army by King Asa would have been an interregnum or anarchy in Egypt. In that case, the vacant throne would probably have become the prize of the most daring or fortunate of the nobles.

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

It thus appears that in Manetho's canon, in the Old Chronicle, and in the lists formed from the Theban monuments, there is a chasm of about a century and a half between Shishak, B. C. 971, and So, B. C. 725; that this period is filled up in the narratives of Diodorus and Herodotus with the dynasty of Cheops; and that though these kings are differently placed by Manetho, we have reason to conclude he has transposed them, the chronicler himself appearing to intimate as much by observing that they were "of a different race" from those before them. It has been shown too that about the middle of the

* 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

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10th century before our era, the internal state of Egypt must have been favourable for the establishment of a new dynasty. There is then, I think, every reason to conclude that Cheops's family really reigned at this period; that as a posthumous punishment for the oppressions and impiety of the first two kings, the whole dynasty was erased by the priests from the public registers; that this caused the chasm in Manetho and the Egyptian chronicles at the period in question; while the transference of the seat of government to Memphis, and the concentration of the resources of Egypt upon the erection of the pyramids, occasioned the contemporaneous blank in the monumental history of Thebes.

HIEROGLYPHIC EVIDENCE.

Such are the considerations that persuaded me that the great pyramids, so far from being the most ancient, are almost the latest of the existing works of the Pharaohs,—that the line of Cheops, instead of having been anterior to Abraham, was one of the last of the native dynasties before the Persian invasion. This conclusion is altogether confirmed by whatever evidence can be derived from the structure of hieroglyphic inscriptions at this period. I have shown that the royal ovals were methodically formed, as armorial bearings with us, from those of the monarch's ancestors, or from his wife's or her ancestors. A

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correspondence in their ovals indicates that kings were consecutive, or that the interval was occupied by those of the same family. It is true we meet with some exceptions: one of the last of the Pharaohs took the titular oval of one of the earliest; but these rare exceptions do not invalidate the rule. We have here then a chronological test. If Cheops's dynasty really ruled at the period I suppose, we might expect to trace a connexion between the regal ovals of his era and those of the kings who, we are sure, lived in the next age. And this may be done very satisfactorily. A name found within the masonry of the Great Pyramid—probably that of Suphis or Cheops—occurs again in a tomb in the vicinity *next in order** to another oval, which, with the addition of one character, is precisely that of Shebek† (probably Herodotus's Sethos), who lived in the 8th century B. C., and was contemporary with Tirhakah. ‡

But not only the royal ovals of the Cheops age resemble those of the later dynasties; the hieroglyphic phrases, titles, and usages then in vogue also present

* See pl. iii. No. 18, *A* and *B*. If not of Suphis, it must be of a king of the same period and family. Some have thought it "Sensaophis," the successor of Saophis I. in Eratosthenes' list. No. 32, "*Shufo*," was found scrawled in an adjoining chamber in the Great Pyramid, and without doubt is the name of Suphis.

† Pl. iii. 19.

‡ A royal oval in an inscription at Meroe, in Ethiopia, appears formed from those of Cheops and Tirhakah. See Hoskins's Ethiopia, p. 287.

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a striking similarity to those of the dynasty of Psammitichi, which immediately preceded the Persian invasion. Thus in Skafasonkh, the name of a private person of the Cheops era*, we have a king's name used in composition with other symbols, an occurrence, observes Mr. Birch, not uncommon at this period (of Cheops), and often adopted during the era of the Psammitichi. In one of the inscriptions in the Great Pyramid reference is made to some particular office, which is alluded to in an inscription on the coffin of the queen of Amasis, and is peculiar to the dynasty of Cheops and that of the Psammitichi. If the received opinion be right, these periods were separated by an interval of more than a thousand years. Mr. Birch explains the correspondence by imagining a revival of the practices of the ancient dynasty of the Pyramids. "An affectation," he says, "for the archaic names, titles, customs, and, to a certain extent, an imitation of the works of art of that remote epoch, seems to have arisen under the rule of the Psammitichi, and to have been continued till the Ptolemaic era."†

But why thus separate by an interval of a thousand or fifteen hundred years periods linked together by similar customs and practices, and declared by

* See observations on the legends found in the Pyramids, by Mr. Birch of the British Museum, published in Colonel Vyse's "Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh."

† Vyse's Operations at the Pyramids, App. p. 136.

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two of the best historians of antiquity to be nearly consecutive? Why resort to the hypothesis of a revival of customs long buried in the dust and oblivion of ages, — an hypothesis so improbable in all that relates to the language of a nation — when it may be shown that these customs were regularly handed down to the Psammitichi by their immediate predecessors ?

VI. THE PYRAMIDS BUILT WITH THE SPOILS OF THE TEMPLE.

At the period to which I assign Cheops, Egypt must have been overflowing with wealth. A few years before (B. C. 971), Shishak had rifled the temple of its immense treasures, amassed during the reigns of Solomon and David. According to one estimate, the sum David had collected amounted to 800 million pounds sterling.* It was the possession of these treasures probably that caused Rhampsinitus, the predecessor of Cheops according to Herodotus, to be distinguished as the richest of Egyptian kings.† It

* See 1 Chron. xxix. 4—7. — "The weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold, beside that which chapmen and merchants brought." "So Shishak took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all." 2 Chron. ix. 13, 14, and xii. 9.

† Herod. ii. 121. Rhampsinitus it seems loved to amass gold rather than to spend it, — witness the famous treasure-house with

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was then the spoils of the temple that furnished Cheops and his successors with the means of raising successively those wonderful structures, the erection of one of which might have drained a kingdom of half its wealth. Thus viewed they assume a new and deeper interest. They are no longer mere tombs of forgotten kings. They are monuments of the unbounded wealth of Solomon — of the magnificent garniture of the first temple. They record how rich the presents and tribute that then poured into Judea from powerful allies and subject kingdoms. The offerings of the Queen of Sheba, after being treasured up in the temple — carried off by Shishak — hoarded by Rhampsinitus, are now beheld in the indestructible masses of the Pyramids!

VII. TABLES OF DYNASTIES.

The results of these observations are exhibited in the following tables, in which it is attempted to harmonise the canon of Manetho with that of the Old Chronicle, and both with Scripture history, the hieroglyphic lists, and the credible portion of the narratives of the Greek historians. The Old Chronicle, restored as I believe to its original state, forms the

which Herodotus has associated one of his best stories. Rhampsinitus, if not Shishak himself, must have been one of his immediate successors,—perhaps Sheshonk II., whose prenomen is nearly the same as that of the great Ramses.

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basis of the chronology. Thus modified its dynasties of mortal kings seem to present a faithful summary of the princes who reigned over Lower Egypt from the earliest period to the last reduction of Egypt by the Persians, B. C. 341, nine years before Alexander the Great conquered Persia.

All these dynasties did not, probably, govern the whole of Egypt. During the early ages of the first three dynasties other contemporary kings seem to have been reigning in Upper Egypt*, perhaps even in the Delta. While, too, the 21st Tanite dynasty was ruling in Lower Egypt, the Ramses race appear to have preserved some remains of royal authority at Thebes; unless indeed these monumental Ramses are identical with the "Tanites" of the chroniclers.

* The names of some are found in inscriptions, and they were inserted in the genealogical registers of a subsequent period. Several ancient remains, including two obelisks and a very interesting painted tomb, are attributed on the authority of their inscriptions to one of these kings, Osirtasen I. I believe however the inscriptions will prove to be merely commemorative of or allusive to Osirtasen, and in fact of a very much later age. Nectanebo, the last of the monumental Pharaohs, *assumed the prenomen of this Osirtasen;* hence, from what has been advanced in the first chapter, we may conclude that he claimed descent from that ancient monarch. In this single fact, illustrated by other considerations, we have I think the clue to explain, or rather grounds for rejecting, much that has appeared extraordinary in the early history of Egyptian art and civilisation as promulgated by recent writers and now generally received. *Joseph's brethren* at Beni Hassan dwindle into Nectanebo's Persian prisoners! See *Grottoes of Beni Hassan.*

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Their tombs are in the Valley of the Kings in the Theban Necropolis.

Of Manetho's thirty-one dynasties, the last fifteen, excepting the twentieth, are included in the first table or summary of dynasties, and synchronised with others in the Old Chronicle. The twentieth has no names assigned it. Perhaps it included the later monumental Ramses; or it may be spurious, and introduced to make up for the deficiency caused by the transposition of Cheops and his successors. Of the first sixteen dynasties of Manetho, three are included in the table, two of which are clearly referred to by the Old Chronicle: the other is that of Cheops. Of the remaining thirteen, (namely the second, and the fifth to the seventeenth,) seven or eight have no lists of kings assigned, and many are very differently stated, both as to names and duration, by Eusebius and Africanus; all which strengthens the probability that they were interpolated or very obscurely introduced by Manetho;— perhaps equivocally mentioned the better to conceal the fraud of their insertion. If not altogether spurious, they may refer to petty contemporary princes, to the *genealogies* of real sovereigns, or to the successions of high priests.*

* See Herod. ii. 142.

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EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

Those under which the chief existing monuments were founded are printed in Capitals.

	Old Chronicle restored.*					From Manetho (Eusebius).				
	Dynasties.		Generations.	Years.	B.C.	Dynasties.		Kings.	Years.	
I.	16th	Tanites	8	228	2222	1st	Thinites	8	228	
II.	17th	Memphites	8	190	1994	3rd	Memphites	8	197	
III.	18th	Memphites	4	103	1804	17th	Shepherds who took Memphis	4	103	
IV.	19th	**DIOSPOLITES**...	14	348	1701	18th	**DIOSPOLITES**...	16	348	
V.	20th	**DIOSPOLITES**...	5	194	1353	19th	**DIOSPOLITES**...	5	194	
VI.	21st	Tanites	6	121	1159	21st	Tanites	7	130	
VII.	22nd	Tanites	3	48	1038	23rd	Tanites	3	44	
VIII.	23rd	Diospolites	2	19	990	22nd	Bubastites	3	44	
IX.		[Interregnum, after which **MEMPHITES**]	[3]	[184]	971	4th	**MEMPHITES** "of a different race"†	[3]	[154]	
X.	24th	**SAITES**	3	44	787	24th	**SAITE**	1	44	
XI.	25th	Ethiopians	3	44	743	25th	Ethiopians	3	44	
XII.	26th	Memphites	7	171	699	26th	Saites	9	171	
XIII.	27th	Persians	5	124	528	27th	Persians	8	120	4m.
XIV.	28th	———	—	6	404	28th	Saite	1	6	
XV.	29th	**TANITES**	—	39	398	29th	Mendesians	4	19	4m.
XVI.	30th	Tanite	1	18	359	30th	**SEBENNITES** ...	3	38	
						31st	Persians‡	3	9	
				1881					1893	8m.
	Persians - - -			9						
				1890						
	Alexander conquers Persia,			332 B.C.		Alexander conquers Persia,			332 B.C.	
				2222 yrs.					2225 yrs.	
	PTOLEMIES.									
	CÆSARS.									

* See page 46.

† The three preceding dynasties bring down the succession 30 years later than the corresponding ones in the Old Chronicle; the chasm is therefore 30 years less. The establishment of Cheops's dynasty was probably consequent upon the defeat of Zerah by King Asa, B.C. 941, 30 years after the termination of Shishak's dynasty as fixed by the Old Chronicle. There was perhaps an interregnum, at least in Lower Egypt, during these 30 years, and this may have caused the discrepancy.

‡ The duration of this dynasty is from Africanus: it is variously stated in the different versions of Eusebius. That the duration here given is correct may be

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After adding to the Old Chronicle its deficient 184 years, (as in the table,) on counting back from the end we find the accession of Menes the first king fixed at B. C. 2222. This singularly coincides with an authority quite independent, the canon of Eratosthenes, which determines it at B. C. 2220.*

The chronology of the table is also in remarkable accordance with a statement of Syncellus, that the conquest of Cambyses happened in the reign of the 86th king of Egypt, after the monarchy had lasted 2211 years. This reckoning evidently ascends to the epoch of the termination of the fabulous reigns of the gods, and includes the "8 demigods" and "15 generations of the Cynic Cycle," which in the Old Chronicle immediately precede the first dynasty of kings. These added to the dynasties from Manetho in my table, (excluding the expunged dynasty of Cheops,) make up the totals of reigns and years, which must have been counted thus,

ascertained from the known date of Alexander's conquest, B. C. 332, compared with that of the reduction of Egypt by Cambyses, B. C. 525. The Old Chronicle must have dated the reign of Cambyses from his accession to the Persian throne, which Ptolomy's canon places in the same year. The antedating the accession of Cambyses three years was compensated by deducting from the duration of the reign of Amasis and omitting that of his successor. This is proved by an extant inscription dated in the *forty-fourth* year of Amasis, though Manetho only allows him 42 years.

* See page 90.

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From the Old Chronicle	8 Demigods - -	8	217 yrs.
	15 Generations of the Cynic Cycle -	15 gen.	443
Totals* of dynasties from Manetho in the table, from Menes the first king to Cambyses		67 kings.	1552
		90 kings.	2212 yrs.

It seems impossible that this double coincidence could have been accidental.

The authenticity of the above table of dynasties is thus confirmed by three independent proofs. 1. Its agreement (excluding Cheops's dynasty) with this statement from Syncellus. 2. Its harmony with Eratosthenes as to the epoch of Menes, the first king. 3. Its exact harmony with the Old Chronicle restored to its full complement of years.

It will be seen too that in almost every instance where Hebrew history is interwoven with Egyptian, the chronology thus developed harmonizes remarkably with that of the sacred writers, as determined by Archbishop Usher and given in the English Bible. Thus, Usher's date for Peleg "in whose days the earth was divided" (1 Chron. i. 19.) is B. C. 2247; that of Menes, the first king of Egypt, is here fixed

* Reckoning the 22nd dynasty at 49 years, the sum of its reigns. The total of kings exceeds by four the number mentioned by Syncellus. The latter reckoning probably excluded the first four of the 26th dynasty; as Herodotus makes Psammitichus, the fifth in Manetho's list, the founder of this dynasty. The first four were probably among the twelve petty kings, who, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, divided the country between them before Psammitichus obtained possession of the whole.

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at B. C. 2222, which will allow time for the migration of Mizraim's family from the central hive to Egypt, and the establishment of a government. The date of the Exodus in the English Bible is B. C. 1491. The end of the reign of Chencherres, in whose time this event is placed in Eusebius's canon, falls in my table B. C. 1489. Shishak took Jerusalem B. C. 971. His accession is fixed by the table at B. C. 990. So, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, was reigning B. C. 725. His accession falls B. C. 743. Pharaoh-Nechoh slew Josiah at Megiddo B. C. 610. His accession is here determined at B. C. 618. This correspondence is not forced. The table is not manufactured for the purpose. Not one date is assumed but the fundamental or final one, namely the last year of the last of the Pharaohs, 9 years before the conquest of Persia by Alexander, as determined by J. Africanus and the canon of Ptolomy. The Old Egyptian Chronicle being first restored upon a groundwork of strong probabilities and internal evidence, the date of the commencement of each dynasty is regularly evolved by counting back from the end; the several reigns are then inserted from Manetho's lists.

If therefore the validity of this scheme of chronology, deduced from Egyptian records, be admitted, it will not only clear away a cloud of obscurity from the early history of this interesting country, but also form a new and important testimony to the correctness of the dates of the Masorete Hebrew text of the Scrip-

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tures *, the basis of Usher's system, but which Hales and some other chronologers have rejected for the longer computation of Josephus and the Septuagint.

The first dynasty in the table is that of Menes, generally allowed to have been the first king of Egypt. The third dynasty in the list is that of the foreign Hucsos or Shepherd kings, who were expelled by the founder of the fourth dynasty, or 18th of Manetho's catalogue.

In the following tables of this and the other principal dynasties, the names of the founders of the chief existing monuments are printed in capitals. The notices of their works are chiefly from Sir G. Wilkinson and Professor Rosellini. The date of the commencement of each dynasty is taken from the general summary in the last table; the Manethonian names and length of the reigns from Eusebius.†

III. DYNASTY OF PHŒNICIAN SHEPHERD KINGS.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.
	Years.	
1. Saites. The shepherds built a city in the Sethroite nome, whence they invaded and conquered Egypt - -	19	1804
2. Bnon - - - - - - -	40	1785
3. Archles - - - - - - -	30	1745
4. Apophis - - - - - - -	14	1715 to 1701

* Of course only as regards the postdiluvian ages.

† Generally following Hieronymus's old Latin version. For Dynasties I. and II. see Manetho's canon in the Appendix.

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IV. EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Names from the Monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
1. Amosis	25	1701	Ames.	Amosis expels the Shepherds. Joseph prime minister in this reign?
2. Chebron	13	1676		
3. Amenophis.....	21	1663	Amenof I.	
4. Mephres	12	1642	Thothmes I.	Joseph dies B. C. 1635.
			AMUN-NEITGORI (Amenenhe of Rosellini.)	The new king who knew not Joseph? His name is not in the hieroglyphic lists. He was an Ethiopian, husband of a sovereign queen, perhaps the Nitocris of Herodotus. Founded the excavated temple under the western hills at Thebes. Erected the great obelisks at Karnak. His reign probably included in that assigned to Thothmes II.
5. Misphragmuthosis	26	1630	Thothmes II.	
6. Tuthmosis	9	1604	**THOTHMES III.** (Thothmes IV. of Rosellini.)	Founded the hall with reversed capitals at Karnak. (Plate vi. E.) The two obelisks of Alexandria, others at Rome, and one at Constantinople, bear his name.
7. Amenophis..... He is supposed to be the Memnon of the vocal statue.	31	1595	Amenof II.	Cecrops founds the kingdom of Athens 1556.
8. Orus	38	1564	Thothmes IV. (Thothmes V. of Rosellini.)	
9. Achencherres.....	12	1526	Mautemwa.	Mautemwa was Amenof III.'s mother. Achencherres was daughter of Orus. (List of Josephus.)
10. Achoris.....	7	1514	Amun-Toonh.	Reigned jointly with Amenof III., who seems to have deposed him. Excluded from the hieroglyphic lists,—was probably Danaus, said to have fled from Egypt B. C. 1511. (Parian Chron.)
11. Chencherres..... At this time Moses led the Jews out of Egypt.	18	1507	**AMENOF III.**	Probably the Pharaoh of the Exodus, B. C. 1491. Founded temple of Luqsor, and added to Karnak. The "Vocal Memnon" is a statue of Amenof III. The granite lions of the British Museum are of this reign.
12. Acherres	8	1489	Amenmen. (Horus of Rosellini.) Ramses I.	The head of the Ramses family.

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	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Names from the Monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
13. Cherres.....	15	1481	**MENEPTHAH I.** or Osiri I.	Added the great hall to the palace of Karnak. Founded the palace at Abydos.
14. Armais..... who is Danaus, was expelled by his brother Ægyptus.	5	1466	**RAMSES.**	Brother of Ramses the Great,—not admitted into the hieroglyphic lists. His sculptures at the Bayt el Wellee, a hewn temple in Nubia.
15. Ramesses..... who is Ægyptus.	68	1461	**RAMSES II.** (Ramses III. of Rosellini.)	Sesostris of the Greeks. Subdues distant Asiatic nations; his exploits are sculptured at Thebes and in Nubia. His name found on buildings or blocks throughout Egypt and Nubia. Founded the "Memnonium" at Thebes, and the excavated temple of Aboo Simbel and others in Nubia. Added the first court, pylon, and obelisks at Luqsor, and the first court and pylon at Karnak. His name on a colossus at Memphis and many fragments of statues. The miscalled "Memnon" of the British Museum is a bust of this king.
16. Amenophis.....	40	1393 to 1353	Pthahmen or Menepthah II.	

The king under whom Joseph rose to power was probably Amosis, the first of the 18th dynasty, or his father. Though he appears to have come into Egypt during the rule of the Shepherd race, his royal patron, if king of all Egypt, must have reigned subsequent to their expulsion, for at that time shepherds were "an abomination to the Egyptians,"—doubtless from the memory of their recent oppressive yoke.

The new king who "arose and knew not Joseph" appears to be Amun-neitgori or Amenenhe. The Bible narrative intimates that the persecutions com-

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menced not long after the death of Joseph*, and Amun-neitgori's reign, according to my table, happened immediately after that event. His not knowing Joseph may be readily explained. He was not sprung from the royal family of Egypt. The characters forming his hieroglyphic names and his extant portrait† declare him to have been an Ethiopian. He ruled Egypt by right only of his wife, and the *feminine* pronoun was used in their inscriptions.

Amenof III. I believe to be the Pharaoh under whom the Exodus took place. Eusebius tells us that Chencherres, an Ethiopian, was the monarch then reigning; and Josephus, also compiling from Manetho, in a relation of what must be the departure of the Israelites, makes Amenophis the name of the king. Chencherres and Amenophis ought then to be one. My table identifies Chencherres with Amenof III. of the inscriptions, whose name and portrait‡ show his extraction to have been Ethiopian, or at least mixed. The date too agrees with that of the Exodus.

It is remarkable that the monarch whose severities to the chosen people were so heavily chastised appears to have been of the family, probably a descendant, of him who "knew not Joseph" and began to oppress them§; and that neither of these was rightful sovereign of Egypt. Amun-neitgori's name has been erased from the monuments and is excluded from the

* Exod. i. 6, 7, 8. † See wood-cut, p. 10.

‡ See Plate ii. fig. 3.

§ This is shown by their portraits and ovals.

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royal lists, and Amenof III. usurped the crown from the legal heir, Amun-Toonh.

It is worth remarking, too, that of the five kings whom Eratosthenes* introduces between these arch-oppressors, two should have acquired the name of THE TYRANT. "*They made their lives bitter with hard bondage.*"

Amenof III. is the earliest king whose tomb has been found at Thebes. Most or all of the obelisks now at Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria, which were probably taken from towns in the Delta as nearest the sea, are of a date prior to this reign. Hence we might infer that previous to the accession of Amenof III., some city in Lower Egypt, perhaps Heliopolis (or On), was the seat of government: and the Mosaic narrative seems to assume, if it does not state, that Pharaoh's court was not very far from the land of Goshen.

The deposed Amun-Toonh at first shared the throne with Amenof III. This fact and the similarity of name make it probable that he and not Armais was Danaus.† According to the Parian Chronicle, Danaus fled from Egypt B.C. 1511, and the table gives B.C. 1507 as the end of the reign of Amun-Toonh.

The first Ramses of the monumental lists appears to have been omitted in Manetho's catalogue. I believe his name occurs nowhere as a then living monarch. At his tomb it is accompanied by a title

* See his list in the Appendix; and p. 90.

† Wilkinson, Egypt and Thebes, p. 511.

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which shows he was deceased. (See plate iii. 12, *a.*) Perhaps he never actually reigned, or only jointly with his predecessor, and was introduced in the monumental lists as the head of the Ramses family, through whom they derived their right to the crown.*

V. NINETEENTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Name from the monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
1. Sethos.....	55	1353	Pthahmen-Septhah. Menepthah III. Uerri? or Remerer?	Not in the hieroglyphic lists. Perhaps Mœris, who lived about this time. Herod. ii. 13.
2. Rampses.....	66	1298	**RAMSES III.** (Ramses IV. of Rosellini).	Attacks distant Asiatic nations, and returns in triumph to Egypt with captives and spoil. He was the last great conqueror of this line. Founded the temple-palace of Medeenet Haboo at Thebes.
3. Amenephthis.....	8	1232	Ramses IV.	
4. Ammenemes	26	1224	Ramses V.	
5. Thuoris, called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, in whose reign Troy was taken	7	1198 to 1159	Ramses VI. There are other kings of this name, but their order becomes uncertain, and the monumental succession continues doubtful or blank till the time of Shishak.	Troy taken B. C. 1184.
Together	194†			

* He seems to have married into the Theban royal family, and may be *Rampses*, the (adopted) son of Amenof III., mentioned by Josephus.

There is some doubt respecting the Ramses identified in the table with Armais. Sir G. Wilkinson supposes him the same with Ramses II. or Ægyptus. Rosellini makes them brothers, which appears more probable. Their names occasionally occur on the same works. Perhaps they for a time reigned jointly, which would account for the erroneous identification of Armais with the expelled Danaus.

† The entire duration is said to be 194 years, as in the Old Chronicle, though the sum of the reigns given is only 162.

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A review of the military character and conquests of the Egyptians in the age immediately subsequent to the Exodus suggests an interesting question. At that period Egyptian armies appear to have made repeated descents upon Asia. They traversed extensive regions, crossed mountain barriers, penetrated to the distant parts of Asia Minor. Yet while thus attacking remote nations, we hear of no aggression upon their immediate neighbours the Israelites. They seem generally to have marched peaceably along the coast of Palestine, and an inscription of the great Ramses on one of these occasions is still seen on the rocks near Beyroot.* To what are we to attribute this remarkable forbearance? The Egyptians could have entertained no friendly feeling towards a people who had caused the devastation of their country, and the death of the firstborn of every family. At the end of Solomon's prosperous reign Jerusalem appears to have been captured without difficulty by Shishak. What an easy conquest then would Palestine have offered to the veterans of Egypt in those earlier days

* What may be another memorial of these distant expeditions has recently come to light. Mr. Hamilton, in his tour in Asia Minor, found at Euyuk, a village in the ancient Galatia, about a hundred miles south of the Black Sea, two large stone piers, on the front of each of which was sculptured a figure strongly marked with Egyptian character. They seem to represent monsters, half man and half bird. (See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 382.) Euyuk is some hours distant from Tchorum, and not very far from the site of the ancient Tavium. It would have been in Sesostris's line of march from Thrace to Colchis.

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when, as the sacred historian observes, "every man did what was right in his own eyes" in Israel.

The most satisfactory explanation is found perhaps in a passage in Manetho already referred to. In an account of what was manifestly the Exodus he says, that when the Egyptian monarch, with an army of 300,000 men, came up with the enemy (the Israelites), he did not attack them, thinking this would be *to fight against the gods*. It was to an apprehension of this kind, probably, that the Israelites owed their security from their powerful and warlike neighbours. The hail—the three days' thick darkness—the river running blood—the destroying angel—the catastrophe at the Red Sea—all were doubtless long remembered in Egypt. Egypt was unwilling to risk again offending the God of the Hebrews; and therefore, during the long suite of conquests by the Ramses family, we have no hint from Scripture or the Egyptian monuments that an inroad upon Judea was ever undertaken. On three different occasions during their history we find the Jews engaged in hostilities with armies from the valley of the Nile. The first was the invasion by Shishak, 500 years after the Exodus. The rich booty carried off by the Egyptian monarch soon attracted another military adventurer. Thirty years after Shishak took Jerusalem we find "Zerah the Ethiopian" marching against king Asa. Zerah's immense host appears to have been almost annihilated; the old tradition of the plagues before the Exodus perhaps

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revived, and we hear of no more Egyptian expeditions against Judea. About 300 years however after Zerah's defeat, Pharaoh Necho led an army against Carchemish on the Euphrates. So far from meditating an attack upon Judea, when he heard that king Josiah was marching against him he sent an earnest remonstrance: "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 thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not." * It was only upon Josiah's obstinate refusal to listen to these overtures that the armies met near Megiddo, when the Jewish monarch was slain, and his forces routed.

The works of the two next dynasties (21st and 23d of Manetho,) have perished with the cities of Lower Egypt, where these kings reigned.

VIII. TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Name from the monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
1. Sesonchosis.....	21	990	Sheshonk I.	Shishak of Scripture. His capture of Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam (B. C. 971) commemorated at Karnak.
2. Osorthon	15	969	Osorkon I.	
3. Tacellothis.....	13	954	Takelothe	Zerah the Ethiopian defeated by Asa, B. C. 941.
Together	44			

* 2 Chron. xxxv. 21.

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IX. PART OF MANETHO'S FOURTH DYNASTY.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Name from the monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
Suphis, who built the Great Pyramid	50	941	SHUFO	Cheops of Herodotus. Built the Great Pyramid, within which the name was found.
SUPHIS II.	56	891		Built the second Pyramid. Homer flourished 907 or 884.
Mencheres*..... Other names		835	MENKARE or Re-men-ka	Built the third Pyramid, within which, on a wooden coffin, the name was found.

X. TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Name from the monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
Bocchoris.....	44	787	PEHOR or Bakhor	Added to a temple (Plate VI. H) at Karnak. The Old Chronicle gives three reigns to this dynasty, and Herodotus introduces here Asychis and Anysis. ASYCHIS built a brick pyramid, probably one of the two near the site of Memphis. Commencement of the Olympic era, 776. Rome founded 753.

XI. TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO. (ETHIOPIANS.)

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Name from the monuments.	Observations.
	Years.			
1. Sabbacon who took Bocchoris, and burnt him alive	12	743	Sabacof	So, mentioned 2 Kings, xvii. 4., reigning B. C. 725. According to Herodotus Sabbacon reigned 50 years.
2. Sebichos.....	12	731	Shebek	Sethos of Herodotus?
3. Taracus	20	719	Tehrak	Tirhakah of Scripture. Added to the smaller temple at Medeenet Haboo. Sennacherib invades Judea 713.
Together	44			

* This name and the one before are from Africanus. Eusebius gives only that of Suphis I. The durations of these reigns are from Herodotus, those of Manetho being extravagantly long.

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XII. TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B. C.	Observations.
	Years.		
1. Ammeres the Ethiopian	18	699	} Perhaps four of the 12 petty kings.
2. Stephinathis	7	681	
3. Nechepsus	6	674	
4. Nechao	6	668	
5. Psammitichus ...	44	662	Draco, legislator of Athens, 624.
6. Nechao II. He took Jerusalem and led king Joachaz captive to Egypt.	17 *	618	Pharaoh-Necho slew king Josiah at Megiddo, and made Jehoiakim king, B. C. 610. 2 Kings, xxiii. 29, 34.—Necos conquered the Syrians in a battle near the town of Magdolus, and after his victory obtained possession of Kadytis. Herod. ii. 159. This Kadytis, a large city in the mountains of Palestine, must be Jerusalem. *Kadytis* appears to be formed from the ancient KADUSHA, stamped on the Jewish shekels, answering to the modern name of Jerusalem, EL KODS, *The Holy*.—Africa circumnavigated in this reign.
7. Psammuthes or Psammitichus	6	601	Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem 598.
8. Vaphres, to whom the remainder of the Jews fled when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians	25	595	Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture. Solon, legislator of Athens, 594.
9. Amasis ..... (Psammenitus, six months.)	45	570 to 525	Date of his 44th year on the monuments. †
	174		

* The length of this reign and the following are from Herodotus, as more consistent with Scripture and historic probability than those of Manetho, who allows Necho 6 years and his successor 17.—Herodotus gives Psammitichus 54 years,—Manetho only 44. An inscription states the interval between the 3d of Necho and the 35th of Amasis at 71 years, which is ten less than in Manetho's canon. Probably, then, for ten years Necho reigned jointly with his father. This conjecture harmonizes all.

† See note p. 74.

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XIII. PERSIAN DYNASTY.

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B.C.	Observations.
	Yrs. M.		
Cambyses	3	*525*	Cambyses conquers Egypt B.C. *525*.
Magi	7	522	
Darius	36	521	Battle of Marathon B.C. 490.
Xerxes	21	485	Egypt revolts 486, reconquered by Xerxes 484.
Artaxerxes.....	40	464	Egypt revolts; Inaros and Amyrtæus elected kings 463; is reconquered. Herodotus visits Egypt. Pericles powerful at Athens 440.
Xerxes II.....	2	424	
Sogdianus	7	424	
Darius Nothus	19	423 to	Third revolt, headed by Amyrtæus, who reigns six years.
	121	404	

XVI. THIRTIETH DYNASTY OF MANETHO (EGYPTIANS.)*

	Length of reign.	Began to reign B.C.	Observations.
	Years.		
1. **NECTA-NEBES**	18	379	Built small S. temple at Philæ. The obelisks of Heliopolis and the Fyoom, and the grottoes of Beni Hassan of this reign?
2. Teos	2	361	Aided by Agesilaus against Persia.
3. Nectanebos...	18	359 to	Egypt reconquered by Persia, 341. Persia subdued by Alexander, 332.
	38	341	

The 26th was the last of the great native dynasties, and held the throne till the Persian invasion B.C. 525. Psammitichus, the founder of this dynasty according to Herodotus, having by the aid of Greek troops deposed other eleven coequal chiefs and gained the entire sovereignty, encouraged Greeks to settle in

* For the 28th and 29th dynasties see Manetho's canon in the Appendix.

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Egypt. The communication between the two countries soon grew frequent, and hence at this point Egyptian history emerges from obscurity and fable. The 27th was the Persian dynasty. The 28th, 29th, and 30th native dynasties held the throne by a precarious tenure, and under continual alarms from Persia. Together they ruled about 63 years. Persia then once more compelled Egypt to submit to her hated yoke. But Persia herself soon lay prostrate before Alexander. Egypt became a province of the new empire, and the inhabitants welcomed the Macedonian conqueror as their SAVIOUR* from Persian barbarity.

No great edifices of these later dynasties remain. They have perished in the general destruction of the cities of Lower Egypt, then the seat of government. Some additions to ancient buildings by the two last native dynasties are, however, still seen, and the largest tomb at Thebes was excavated shortly before the first Persian invasion.

The Greek and Roman dynasties which followed built extensively, and on almost as grand a scale as the ancient Pharaohs. Except the Pyramids and the temples at Abydos, nearly every existing edifice in Egypt, out of Thebes, was erected under their rule.

* Isaiah, xix. 20. "He shall send them a *Saviour* and a great one." It is remarkable that the first Ptolemy, Soter, should have assumed this prophetic title.

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VIII. ERATOSTHENES.

It remains to say a few words on the canon of Eratosthenes. Its chronology is determined by a remark of Dicæarchus, that from Nilus (the 37th in the list,) to the era of the Olympiads (B.C. 776) was a period of 436 years. Nilus therefore must have lived B.C. 1212; and the sum of the reigns which Eratosthenes gives between Nilus and Menes being 1008, his date for the first king of Egypt is B.C. 2220. This differs only by two years from that of the Old Chronicle as here restored*, a remarkable harmony corroborating the accuracy of both.

This canon appears to comprise the same period as the first four dynasties in the table p. 73. The first king of the list is Menes; the last but one is "Phruron, which is Nilus." Ægyptus was the ancient name of the river Nile as well as the country, and this king Phruron appears identical with Ramses-Ægyptus (Sesostris), the last but one of Manetho's 18th dynasty. The first *sixteen kings* of Eratosthenes should synchronise with the first two dynasties of the table (p. 73), which comprise *sixteen reigns*. Of the next five names, two† at least clearly belong to the Shepherd dynasty, which also follows consecutively in the

* See p. 73. If we suppose Eratosthenes calculated by solar years and the Chronicle by civil years the coincidence will be exact.

† Pammes Archondes and Apappus Maximus, called by Manetho Archles and Apophis.

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table. That the remaining kings are those of Manetho's 18th dynasty is shown by their number, their position relative to the Shepherd dynasty, and some correspondences which may be traced between the names.*

But though the succession of Eratosthenes seems for the most part identical with some of Manetho's dynasties, the reigns he assigns are altogether different. It would appear then that he compiled his catalogue from the ancient registers, but adjusted the durations of the reigns to his own scheme of chronology, a chronology which in its result exactly harmonized with the Old Chronicle. The discrepancies in the reigns may have arisen from confounding the Theban king Ægyptus (Nile) with a later king Nileus, who, according to Diodorus, gave his name to the river. The known date of the latter was probably assumed for the reign of Ægyptus, the era of Menes taken as another fixed point, and the intermediate reigns adjusted to the interval.

* Some of Eratosthenes' names seem formed from the royal prenomens. Thus "Thyosimares, who is called the Sun" corresponds to Thothmes I., whose prenomen contains the scarabæus, an emblem of the sun. "Semphucrates, which is Hercules Harpocrates," (the 26th of the list,) answers to Amenenhe or Amun-neitgori of the inscriptions, and Amenenhe's prenomen (pl. III. 7, *a*.) contains a figure so like that of the god Gom or Hercules (fig. 36, from Champollion's *Précis*,) that it might have been mistaken for it. Amenof III. appears to be Stamenemes II. of the list, and his prenomen is very like that of Amenenhe. No other Stamenemes is mentioned; Amenenhe seems to be alluded to as the first. "Phruron or Nilus" corresponds to Ægyptus.

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PART II.

ARTS AND ANTIQUITIES.

ARCHITECTURE.

A GLANCE at the Table of Dynasties* will show that the great works existing in Egypt may be referred to three periods, separated by intervals of several centuries. The *first* includes the two great dynasties of Theban princes who governed Egypt during her "most high and palmy state," when Thebes sent forth her armies to distant conquests. In the *second* period is comprised the erection of the Pyramids. The *third* includes the reigns of the Ptolemies and earlier Cæsars, under whom Egyptian architecture flourished in a second youth, and almost attained its original splendour.

In Egypt, as in Greece, if we follow back the national architecture to its earliest appearance, we still find it possessing all the attributes of an established style. In our own Gothic we can trace almost every feature to an original germ in earlier works. We observe rude forms acquiring elegance, and certain fixed principles of composition gradually developed. Even after a beautiful style had been matured, within

* Page 73.

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a century or two it passed, by gentle transitions, into another and very different modification. But in Egypt, though ornamental members were in later times modified, elaborated, and improved, and some entirely new added, the style is essentially the same in principles and character from its first appearance in the seventeenth century before our era, to its final downfall on the introduction of Christianity. It must therefore have advanced to maturity very rapidly, have been gradually developed in works not now existing, or been imported from another country.

It appears probable that many of its peculiarities were borrowed from large architectural excavations. Such were perhaps the earliest works in the valley of the Nile and in India. In our climate a cavern is always associated with ideas of chill dampness and gloom; but to those who live under the scorching sun of Egypt or India, it is known only as a delicious retreat from the heat and glare of day. There, "a great rock" is remembered as "a shadow from the heat." But such a shadow is shifting and transient: like Jonah's gourd it dies away under the rising sun: when the flaming orb has reached the zenith you are compelled to seek shelter in some retired nook. The obvious remedy for this inconvenience was to scoop out a recess in the rock, by which a cool retreat would be secured throughout the day. In the East, too, the configuration of rocks and mountains offers facilities for hollowing out habitable grottoes not so

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often met with in Northern Europe. Sometimes ledges of rock rise with an upright face out of a plain; sometimes a valley is shut in by perpendicular cliffs. Either would be well adapted for architectural grottoes, and the vertical face be readily hewn into an ornamental front. Such excavations were particularly suitable for sepulchres: they were applied to this purpose by almost every civilized nation of antiquity, and continued in vogue long after architecture had been matured into a system. The vast tombs of Thebes are well known; and sepulchral excavations on a less magnificent scale may still be seen in Persia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Sicily. Such probably was the cave of Machpelah which Abraham bought to "bury his dead out of his sight." Such too was the tomb of the Redeemer of the world.*

* What is now shown as the Holy Sepulchre, and I have little doubt is really it, stands in the centre of a circular compartment of a large church, divided between the four chief Christian sects or churches who have convents at Jerusalem. The exterior is cased with marble, and has the appearance of a small chapel. You enter a little vestibule and thence pass into an inner chamber, through a doorway where the native rock is shown. The Tomb was probably hewn in a rocky ledge or knoll, such as is often met with in the neighbourhood: when the church was built on Calvary the irregularities of the ground would have been cut away, and the Tomb left a detached object as we see it. Had a crafty priest thought of palming off on pilgrims a fictitious Holy Sepulchre, he would have chosen some cave or grot in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and not have *built* a tomb above ground and within the walls. The fact seems to be that the city now extends much beyond its ancient

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In Nubia are still seen large pillared temples, excavated in the rock. The vast cavern-temples of Eliphanta and Ellora have often been compared with Egyptian works, but they bear more resemblance to the great hewn-temple of Aboosimbel (or Ibsambul) in Nubia than to any edifice in Egypt.* At Aboosimbel the roof of the central avenue or nave is supported by massive piers having colossal statues attached in front, like the caryatic piers of Egypt. These attached statues are characteristic of the hewn-temples of that period: they also project from the façades and are seen niched in triads within. Aboosimbel could not have been the prototype of Egyptian architecture, for it is the work of an Egyptian monarch, Ramses II., and of the best age of Egyptian art. Yet the fact that temples founded by Egyptian kings in Ethiopia were *excavated* whilst those of Egypt were *built*, indicates that such excavations were previously common in Ethiopia: and as an intimate connexion subsisted between the two countries at the period when the earliest Egyptian works extant were founded—the Egyptian monarchs of that

limit on the West, though so much contracted on the South.—Many sepulchral excavations are still seen near Jerusalem. On the Damascus road are some traditionally called the Tombs of the Kings. The tombs among which the man possessed with Legion dwelt, near the sea of Galilee, were no doubt of the same kind.

* The resemblance however is after all rather generic than specific, and such as might have occurred without any intercommunication.

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age being allied to the royal race of Ethiopia and proud of that alliance,—and as too Ethiopia always claimed to be the mother country*, it seems reasonable to conclude that Egyptian architecture, so massive and so sombre, with its vast aisled halls without windows, its close files of gigantic columns, and its colossal statues, owes many characteristic forms and effects to earlier cavern-temples in Ethiopia.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the style is the pyramidal character of the ascending lines. We observe it in the outline of the portal and the gigantic pylon, in walls, doorways, pedestals, and screens: in short it pervades the whole system, and must have been occasioned by circumstances connected with its very origin.

When a peculiarity of this sort is strikingly exhibited in a national architecture, it is not difficult to resolve it into some refined and abstruse symbolism; to discover or imagine some latent moral significancy, of which it was the material expression. Theorists have never been wanting to promulgate and reiterate such arbitrary speculations; but they will seldom stand the test of searching criticism; a practical ac-

* Diodorus. — Herodotus says that of the monarchs before Sesostris eighteen were Ethiopians: I have shown in the first chapter that these were probably the kings of Manetho's 18th dynasty. The only large excavation in Egypt, not sepulchral, bears the name of an Ethiopian. See p. 11.

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quaintance with the subject will generally be alone required to prove the premises unfounded or the conclusions illogical. Such abstractions are quite opposed to the analogies of every-day experience. Man is essentially an imitative being, and not less so in architecture than the other arts. No one ever sat down to invent a new system of building: what Sir James Mackintosh affirmed of constitutions may be said of styles of architecture,—"They are not made, they grow." I believe the history of every style would show that where it was neither imported, as the Grecian to Rome, nor gradually developed from an earlier system by a series of transitions, as the Gothic from the Roman, it was modelled upon primitive types,—objects familiar to the earliest builders. These would of course vary in different countries according to climate, local productions, and national habits. The architecture of Greece appears to have been founded, partly on the primitive wooden hut, and partly on the rude fortifications of the old Pelasgi; —unless indeed it originated among the Greek colonists in Asia Minor, or those in the south of Italy, and was transplanted into Greece; for it certainly was not borrowed from Egypt.* In China the type

* Some of its members may perhaps be traced through Persia to India. Most of the Greek mouldings are known in Hindoo architecture; amongst others the fluted torus of the Ionic base See an Essay on Hindoo Architecture, by Ram Raz, published by the Royal Asiatic Society.

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was the Tatar tent. In Egypt it was the primitive dwelling formed of reeds, which always abounded on the banks of the Nile.* And what are those rolls that so uniformly ascend the external angles of Egyptian buildings, and return along the top under the cornice, but the main reeds—the framework in the original construction? So closely indeed was the type copied, that the very bands by which the intermediate reeding was attached to this framework are represented winding up round the stone angle-roll.† That such was the real origin of these characteristic rolls is confirmed by the fact that they rather mar than improve the effect of the pylon, a truth which the Ptolemaic architects seem to have discovered, for they sometimes omitted them in such works.

In one of the orders of Pharaonic columns the primitive type is still more distinctly recognized. It may almost indeed be said that the original post of reeds was merely translated into stone. We see the cluster of reeds, the bands or rings by which they were fastened together, the sticks introduced at the ligature to render it more compact,—every detail, even to the bulging of the pliant stems under the superincumbent architrave.‡

It seems certain then that many features of Egyptian architecture were founded upon primitive models in their dwellings of reeds, which again were suggested

* "The reeds and flags shall wither." Isaiah xix. 6.

† See pl. xii. fig. 1. ‡ See pl. xi. fig. 4.

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by necessity and common sense. Now if these ancient constructions were of any considerable height, their stability would require that the main reeds at the angles should slope up *inwards*, that they might support each other,—on the same principle that a modern builder shores up a lofty scaffold with *inclined* poles or props. Thus necessity caused the pyramidal outline to be adopted in the early constructions of reed, and it was imitated as a matter of course in the first erections of stone. Once established, such a peculiar and expressive form soon became interwoven with the whole system.

Houses and gardens. The ancient paintings of the tombs give a very good idea of the arrangements of houses, villas, and gardens. These representations combine the plan* with the elevation; the elevation of each part being drawn up on its own site, somewhat as in Chinese landscapes, and our old bird's-eye views of cities. These plans show a remarkable love of uniformity of arrangement. In an ordinary house a number of chambers were ranged round a rectangular court, as at Pompeii.† The larger mansions sometimes consisted of an assemblage of such courts,

* The hieroglyphic signifying a house or dwelling is the plan of a chamber, ⌐¬. The Hebrew letter ב Beth, *a house*, may have had a similar origin.

† Much of the ground floor of large houses seems to have been appropriated to domestic stores, and the amphoræ are represented standing in rows, as was the custom at Pompeii.

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the whole occupying a square or oblong plot; sometimes a central group of buildings was surrounded by a narrow court. A spacious area often extended from front to rear, with a chief and side entrances at either end. This was divided into two or more parts. In one compartment stood a light columnar building, whether roofed, occasionally covered with an awning, or entirely open, cannot be determined from the paintings. In some instances it much resembles the square edifice at Philæ, which was uncovered. It may have answered to the αὐλὴ of Homer, which seems to have been open. Perhaps it served as the domestic chapel, for in a representation of a similar building in a court or garden, priests are seen officiating before an altar. These internal courts were often planted with trees. Occasionally a detached mass, containing perhaps the domestic offices, stands on one side or in the rear of the mansion.

The *exterior* had nothing of the ponderous character of temple structures, which would have been ill suited to the wants and festivities of social life.* Houses two and three stories high were common, but large mansions appear to have been low and extensive

* Notwithstanding their proverbial wisdom and their sage and philosophic usages, the Egyptians seem to have been an eminently social people. They did not, like the Greeks, mew up their women in back chambers or at the top of the house; nor were the latter such lovers of seclusion as queen Vashti. Had it been otherwise Joseph might have been spared his temptation.

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rather than lofty. The terraced top was covered by an awning or roof, supported on light graceful columns. This formed an agreeable retreat, especially during the evening and night, and gave a gay picturesque effect to the exterior. Windows were few, and, for the sake of coolness within, could be entirely closed with painted external shutters.* The chief entrance was through a pyramidal pylon or a projecting porch of columns, whose capitals were often ornamented with ribbons. Over the doorway was sometimes a brief hieroglyphic legend.

The ancient plans of gardens show that the Egyptians were not less fond than our ancestors of mathematical figures, straight walks, architectural decorations, and vegetable avenues; and that they as thoroughly entered into the idea of *seclusion* and *safety* suggested by inclosures within inclosures. It has been remarked that in some old English places there were almost as many walled compartments without, as apartments within doors; the same may be said of Egyptian country houses. This principle of seclusion, and an excessive love of uniform arrangement, are remarkably displayed in the plan of a large square garden given in Professor Rosellini's great work. Here

> "Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,
> And half the platform just reflects the other."

* The modern Egyptians use a close lattice for the same purpose.

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This royal garden must have formed a most enviable retreat from the "intolerable day" of an Egyptian summer. The whole was shut in by an embattled wall. On one side a canal runs along just without the wall. In the centre of the inclosure is an oblong walled vineyard; the vines, planted in rows or avenues, are trailed above on trellice-work, forming shady arched walks. The space on one side this central vineyard exactly corresponds to that on the other. In each there is a row of palms; an oblong tank with water-fowl, four flower beds on a lawn, and an open summer-house on the margin overlooking the pool; an oblong walled compartment of trees; a second tank with water-fowl and flowers; and along within the wall of circuit a row of trees of three kinds in regular alternations. At one end of the garden next the entrance is a building containing apparently one large room, perhaps for the royal entertainments*; at the other end or back is a house of three stories, which commanded a view of the whole. This garden with its sheltered walks, its groves and tanks of water, its seclusion and privacy, reminds us of the "fair garden" of Joachim at Babylon, with its baths, its deep shady coverts, and its "privy gate," in the apocryphal story of Susannah.

* Ahasuerus made a feast in the court of the garden of the king's palace; where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble. Esther i. 5, 6.

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Obelisks and pylons with flagstaffs and streamers seem to have been occasionally introduced as garden decorations. In the parched climate of Egypt a large supply of water is absolutely necessary for a thriving vegetation; hence tanks and canals form a chief feature in these villa scenes. With rows of palms laden with fruit on their margin, they recall Jeremiah's poetical comparison of "the man that trusteth in the Lord" to "a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit;" contrasted with "the man that trusteth in man," who is "like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited." *

The extensive ruins at Thebes consist chiefly of large quadrangles and palatial halls; few remains

* Jer. xvii. 8. The monuments, sculptures, and paintings of Egypt may be considered one grand commentary on the Bible, coeval with the several sacred writers. It is remarkable that whilst the domestic antiquities of the other great eastern monarchies, Babylon, Nineveh, Persia, Tyre, have perished, and "left not a rack behind," those of Egypt, which alone could have afforded this full illustration, have alone been preserved. For sixteen centuries the Egyptians were in close connexion with the Hebrews either as masters, neighbours, enemies, or allies. Small as was the Jewish territory, insignificant except for brief periods as Jewish influence and dominion, we find monumental memorials of the nation on the Nile and on the distant Tiber.

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have at all a habitable air. One dilapidated building at Medeenet Haboo forms however a striking exception; when perfect it had three stories of commodious apartments with sculptured walls and enriched friezes. The huge pylons that formed the ordinary façades of temples usually contained several low chambers, rather voids in the masonry than apartments. They were approached by stone stairs, and may have accommodated porters and servants, been useful in erecting and securing the great flagstaffs which ornamented the front, or occasionally have answered the purpose of the Gothic watch-tower.

FIRST PERIOD.

WORKS OF THE THEBAN PHARAOHS.

An Egyptian temple of the early Pharaonic period presented a succession of two, three, or four grand divisions, arranged either as cloistered courts or pillared halls; followed by an assemblage of close chambers, in the midst of which was the dark, mysterious, unapproachable adytum. In front of the first court was a vast pylon, consisting of two broad towering masses of masonry connected by a central gateway.* This composition is strictly analogous to that of the façades of many of the French cathedrals,

* See plate iv. fig. 1., and the plan of Karnak plate vi. F.

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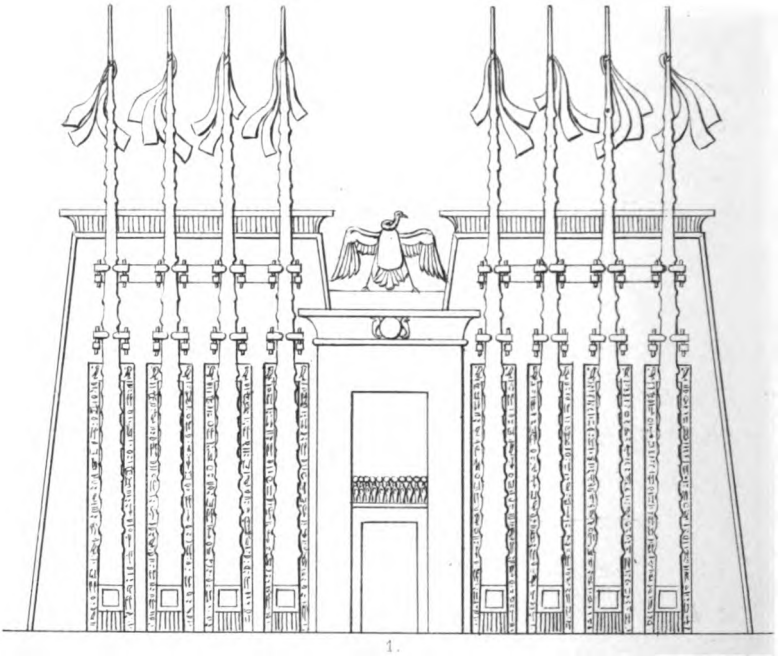

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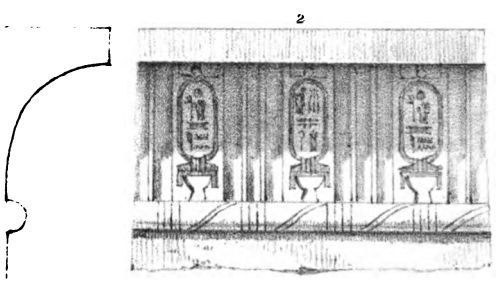

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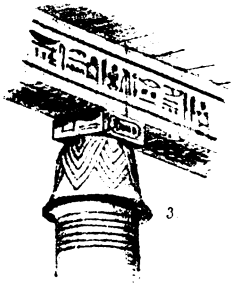

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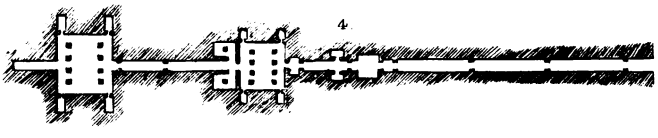

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G H.W lith.

Printed by W Gauci

1, PYLON WITH ITS FLAGSTAFFS, FROM THE SCULPTURES AT KARNAK.
2, CORNICE, TEMPLE OF MEDEENET HABOO.
3, HALL OF THOTHMES III. KARNAK.
4, PLAN OF TOMB OF RAMSES V, NECROPOLIS OF THEBES.

Longman & Co London, 1843.

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and may be traced less distinctly in some of our own, as York Minster and Westminster Abbey. Two main lateral divisions, separated by not too great an interval, give to the front that outline perhaps most productive of the sublime,—the broad, lofty parallelogram. The central compartment is lower than the wings and subordinate, modifying but not essentially changing the general figure. The Egyptian pylon, like the Gothic façade, towers up to a great altitude, and announces the temple long before you reach it. The front was adorned with poles or flagstaffs, from the top of which—perhaps only on festivals—waved three banners or streamers. A stair led to the terrace at the top, and here doubtless the Pharaohs walked and enjoyed the prospect of their splendid capital spread beneath.*

The first division of the structure is almost always a colonnaded quadrangle. This is sometimes followed by a second court; sometimes by a vast hall of columns, as at Karnak and Luqsor. A central succession of colossal doorways enfiladed the building to the distant sanctuary. Thus the range of halls and quadrangles with their obelisks, colossi and relievos, were partially disclosed to the worshippers as they passed the grand portal. Each would contribute to the general idea of extent and magnificence; and

* Upon such a terrace, perhaps, Nebuchadnezzar was walking and glorying in his "great Babylon" when the voice from heaven fell fearfully on his ear.

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what was screened would be more than supplied by the imagination of the devotees.

Each division was raised a little above that before it, and there was a corresponding gradation of enrichment as you advanced.

Except the mighty pylon in front, there was not much to attract in the exterior. All the resources of architecture were reserved for the internal effect. Magnificent quadrangles and porticoes were shut in by unpierced monotonous walls, relieved only by the intaglio sculptures, and the great coved cornice. This very flatness and simplicity must have enhanced the effect of the splendour within.

How different is this from the Greek temple. There all the display was external. Elevated on a commanding site, the porticoes, sculptured pediments, and friezes, courted the attention of every passer-by, and proclaimed to the stranger the arts and genius of Greece. Having admired the exterior, he would find little of interest within the small cella, except what was derived from superior sanctity; for the ancient Greek, like the modern Roman Catholic, found it easier to fix his idolatry on some rude idol, venerable with the rust of antiquity, than on one displaying all the charms of refined art. If the popular orator of Greece or Rome would touch the chord of national vanity, he pointed his auditory to the glorious structures that crowned the Acropolis or the Capitol, as eloquent witnesses to their country's genius and

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power. But monarchic Egypt knew little of tumultuary assemblies and democratic harangues.

The plan of the Egyptian temple appears to have originated in the practice of extending the structure by successive additions till the original fane became the mere nucleus of the whole. First, a large pylon was erected in advance to give greater dignity to the approach. This was united to the earlier building by lateral walls, fronted internally with colonnades; and thus the intermediate space was converted into a cloistered court,— solemn and secluded, in unison with the dark and mysterious character of the national religion. A succeeding monarch would add a grand hall of columns in advance of, and attached to, this court; and a third, not less anxious to honour the gods and immortalize his name, erected a second quadrangle before the hall, terminating the whole range of buildings with a stupendous pylon, which bore his inscriptions, and, if he were a man of war, offered a grand field for the sculptural display of his achievements. Thus may we trace the temple-palace of Karnak, the chief edifice of Thebes, branching off under successive reigns till it had attained its actual immensity.

The courts of the temple are generally somewhat longer than a square; but their length almost always traverses that of the whole building. The cause of this peculiarity must also be sought in the origin and purpose of these quadrangles. In their usual ar-

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rangement, the sides, right and left, are enclosed by colonnades,—one of the extremities by the temple itself, or the front of the inner court,—and the other by the grand pylon. This pylon was the chief feature of the whole court, regarded as an addition to the original structure. In erecting it the monarch desired to create a magnificent façade to the temple; to it then were primarily devoted what funds he could command. For a façade he required breadth and height; depth was of little consequence, and we find these pylons uniformly very narrow. He chose therefore to extend its base and increase its altitude to the utmost, rather than expend his resources in giving increased length to the court. The base line of the pylon was often 200 feet in length; and at Karnak it was not much less than 400 feet.

Another cause of this peculiarity may be found in the purposes to which these structures were applied. The religion of Egypt delighted in solemn pomp and pageantry,—witness the numberless processions represented on the tombs and temples. Such processions doubtless marched through these halls and quadrangles. Hence the architect was called upon to give effect to the end, towards which the procession advanced, rather than to the sides; and we find in fact that the colonnade opposite the entrance often received an additional row of columns, whilst its front was enriched with intercolumnar screens.

The columns employed by the Pharaonic architects

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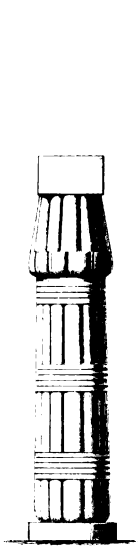

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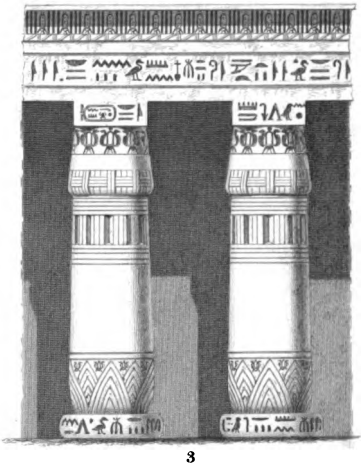

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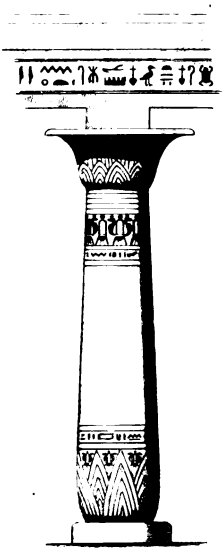

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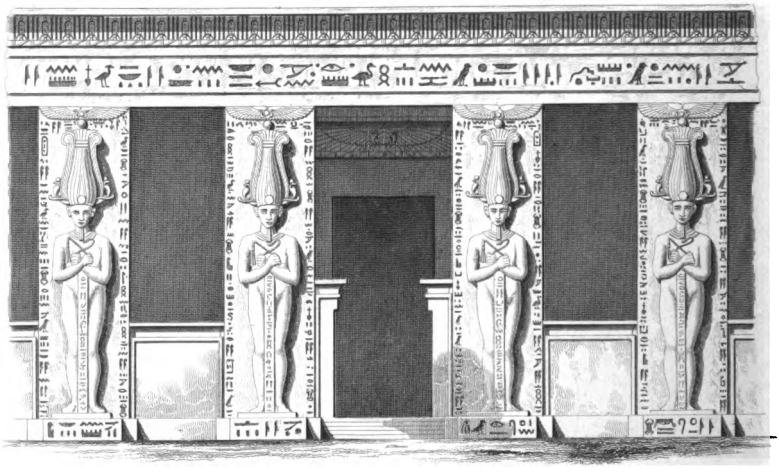

5 0 10 20 30 feet.

1 TEMPLE OF LUQSOR, B.C. 1400. 2 TEMPLE OF RAMSES THE GREAT, (MEMNONIUM) B.C. 1420.

3, 4 MEDEENET HABOO, B.C. 1260.

LONDON: LONGMAN & Co. 1843.

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may be classed into two orders. One consists of a massive cylindrical shaft, enriched with rings of intaglio sculpture, and crowned with a wide-spreading bell-shaped capital covered with sculptured foliage.* The form of the capital was perhaps suggested by some plant of the lotus kind. The other order seems to have been modelled upon a primitive pillar formed of a cluster of reeds, such as may have been in use in the earliest times: and this confirms the statement of Diodorus that the first Egyptian buildings were constructed of reeds. In the early examples, as at the temple of Luqsor, the reeds or stems are distinctly represented, bound together at successive heights.† A ring or cincture appears to unite and secure them near the top, and the supposed bulging of the pliant reeds under the superincumbent architrave produces the singular contour of the capital. The whole is crowned with a square block or abacus. In later modifications‡ the reeds are less distinctly traced, and in some they altogether disappear; the whole column is then covered with intaglios, and the primitive type is discoverable only in the form of the capital. In both orders the base curves inwards, (exactly reversing the Greek rule,) and is often carved with foliage. The shaft generally stands upon a cylindrical block.

Where columns of different magnitudes were in-

* Plate v. fig. 2. † Plate v. fig. 1. ‡ Plate v. fig. 3.

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troduced in the same interior, the lesser are of the reed or banded order, and the larger have the foliate capital.*

Another and very singular variety of column is found in a hall of early date behind the sanctuary at Karnak.† Its capital resembles that first described *reversed*, and has a strange and uncouth appearance.‡ This anomaly is never found again in the whole range of Egyptian antiquity. At first one is ready to pronounce it a capricious variation from the bell-shaped capital—an architectural whim of Thothmes III.,—but the fact of its being older than any example of that order shows it to be rather the first step towards its development; — a unique instance of early art working apparently without a model.§

But the most splendid and effective of the architectural supports known in Egypt was the Caryatic pillar. This is a lofty oblong pier with a colossal figure of the King in the character of Osiris attached to its front, but *not* supporting the architrave like the caryatides of Greece. In Egypt (though not in Ethiopia) it was only employed in *external* colonnades, where the strong light fully displayed its grand effect;

* This is seen at Karnak and the Memnonium.

† Marked E. in the plan plate vi.

‡ Plate iv. fig. 3.

§ It is not quite impossible that this hall was restored at a later period; its plan however, and the low clerestory over the central avenues, show it to have been an ancient foundation.

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and usually in the *longer sides* of courts, or what we should call the ends, the lateral stoas being composed of columns. The magnificent effect of these piers is best seen in the second court of Medeenet Haboo.*

The preservation of so many entire Egyptian colonnades while those of Rome, only half their age, have for the most part been destroyed, must chiefly be ascribed to the massive proportions of the columns. In the ancient examples these vary from about three to five and a half diameters in height. The Corinthian is ten diameters high. If we find such different standards adopted in edifices of equally ornate character, and alike producing the grandest effects—filling the imagination and satisfying the taste—what become of those laws of *immutable* harmonic proportion which some so love to descant upon, though opposed by the known practice of classic antiquity? As though architecture could be summed up into a few rules and learnt by rote.

The most brilliant periods of Egyptian art were the reigns of the second and third Ramses. Most of the obelisks and colossal statues were wrought before or during the reign of Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greek writers. Under this enterprising monarch the ancient Theban empire attained its highest pinnacle of prosperity and power. In the century that followed no grand works were under-

* See plate v. fig. 4.

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taken at Thebes. Ramses III., however, who followed, appears to have been ambitious of rivalling the fame of his great ancestor. On his accession the energies of the country were aroused, distant military expeditions again undertaken, and art encouraged at home. The temple-palace of Medeenet Haboo, erected by this monarch, is one of the most imposing monuments of antiquity. This brilliant revival was, however, but the bright flicker of an expiring flame.* The death of Ramses III. is followed by a long blank in the monumental history of Thebes. At a later age the sceptre of Egypt was swayed by dynasties of powerful monarchs, who built on a grand scale as ancient authors attest; but the seat of government was then in the Delta, and there not a single temple remains.† The works of Amasis and the Psamitichi are buried in the alluvial deposit and sand, or have been burnt into lime, or worked up into mosques. The sites of the cities of the Delta are now marked only by mounds, a few blocks, an obelisk, or a statue.

* If Herodotus was right in saying that Mœris lived about 900 years before he wrote, his reign probably occurred between those of the second and third Ramses; if so, the absence of monuments of the kings of this period at Thebes may be owing to their having resided in and embellished some city in the Delta. The name of Septhah, a king of this age, indicates a Memphitic extraction.

† Several obelisks have however survived the monuments to which they were accessories.

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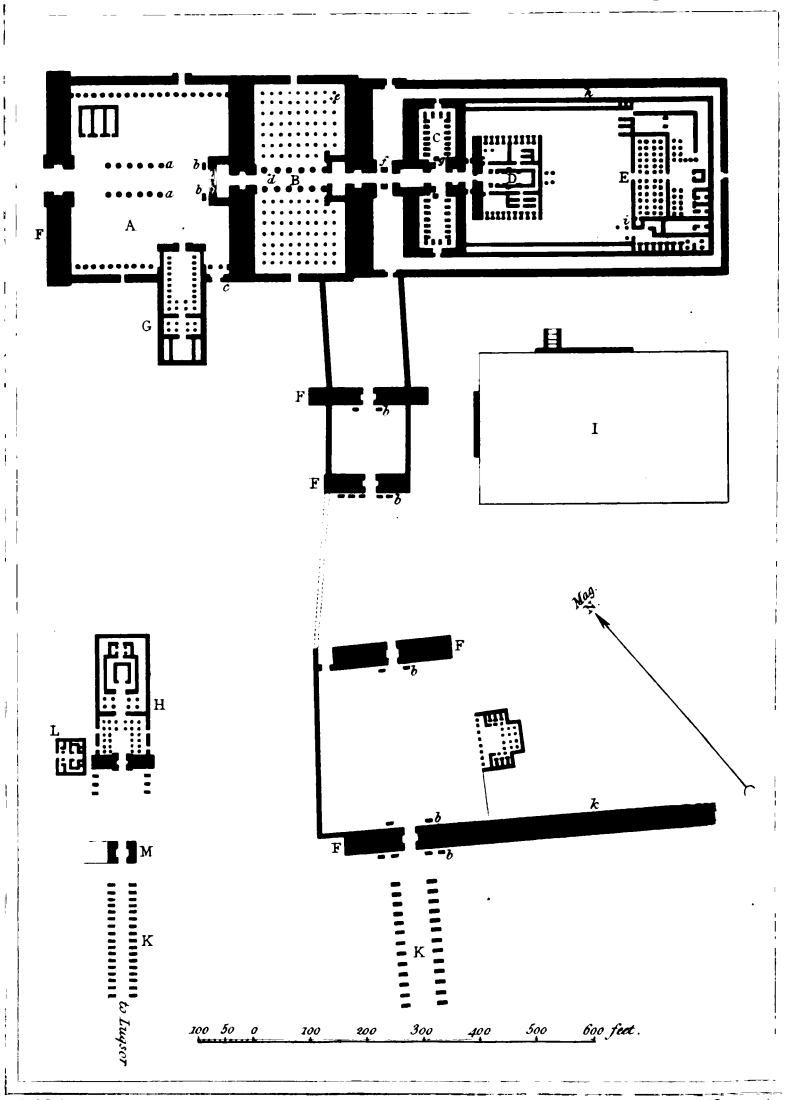

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE-PALACE OF KARNAK, THEBES.

LONDON: LONGMAN & Cº 1843.

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EDIFICES AT THEBES.

ART THOU BETTER THAN NO-AMON? ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT WERE HER STRENGTH, AND IT WAS INFINITE. — *Nahum.*

EAST BANK.

Karnak. Next to the Pyramids the most wonderful relic of Egyptian art is undoubtedly the great Hall of the temple-palace of Karnak. From the inscriptions we learn that it was founded by Menepthah-Osiri I., father of the great Ramses, who was on the throne about the middle of the 15th century B. C. Its superficial area, 341 feet by 164, is sufficiently spacious for a large quadrangle. Majestic in ruin, what must it have been when perfect! The massive stone roof is supported by a phalanx of 134 giant columns, ranged in 16 rows. Most of these are 9 feet in diameter and nearly 43 feet high; but those of the central avenue are not less than 11 ft. 6 in. in diameter and 72 feet high; the diameter of their capitals at their widest spread is 22 feet.* The walls, columns, architraves, ceilings—every surface exposed to the eye is overspread with intaglio sculptures, — gods, heroes, and hieroglyphics, painted in once vivid colours. It is easy to detail the dimensions of this

* These dimensions are from the *Description de l'Egypte.*

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building, but no description can convey an idea of its sublime effect. What massive grandeur in its vistas of enormous columns! What scenic effects in the gradations of the chiaroscuro and the gleamings of accidental lights athwart the aisles! As you move on, new combinations unfold themselves every moment. Wherever the eye wanders it is filled with picture, — rank behind rank — vista beyond vista. Here your eye runs along a pillared avenue and rests upon a vast column at the end, torn from its basis and thrown against the next: now it "is led a wanton chase" through a labyrinth of columns, which from another point fall into regular succession.

The roof is formed of ponderous blocks stretching across the aisles. The three central avenues rise above the general level like the nave of a Gothic cathedral, and the spaces between the upper piers are filled with close-set loopholes. Besides these, the only openings for light appear to have been the great doorways at the ends of the middle avenue and a few slits in the roof of the remote aisles. Thus while a solemn gloom reigned through the interior generally — so grateful to the eye in this land of glare and glitter — the nave was strongly lighted and brought into prominence as a master line bisecting the hall; and a fine gradation of shade, passing off thence into the obscurity of the distant aisles, heightened the effect of the perspectives.

All the resources of Egyptian architecture are here

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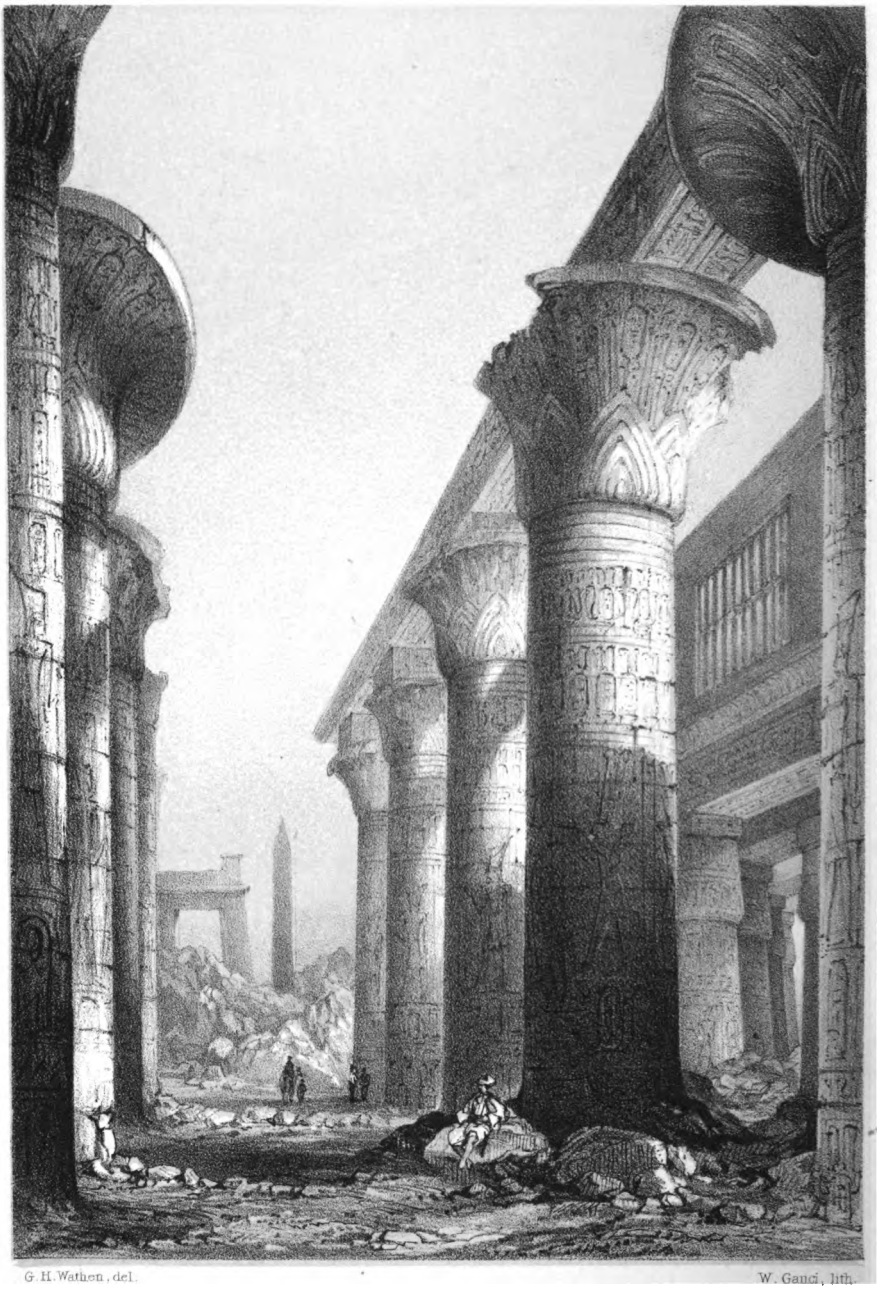

G. H. Wathen, del. W. Gauci, lith.

TEMPLE-PALACE OF KARNAK, THEBES.

GREAT HALL.

Longman & Co London, 1843.

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displayed in perfection—its enormous [illegible] long, close files of columns, steps, [illegible] rich pervading sculpture and decoration. But [illegible] not have wished for a happier illustration [illegible] of his theory which refers the [illegible] to *succession* and *massiveness*.

The demolition of some of the [illegible] more wonder than their [illegible] enormous bulk are broken [illegible] *built** columns seem to have [illegible] foundations *en masse* [illegible] weight, wrenched from their [illegible] the aisles, suspended by [illegible] have perhaps been thus [illegible] One might believe they were [illegible]

> "Giants of mighty bone [illegible]

But the Hall of Columns [illegible] wonderful fabric.† [illegible] quadrangles and halls, granite [illegible] dous piles of fallen masonry [illegible] buildings upwards of 120 [illegible] entrance was through the gateway [illegible] 63 feet high. Besides these [illegible] and subordinate buildings. The whole [illegible] been separated from the din of the city by [illegible]

* Each cylindrical layer consists of several [illegible]

† See plan, plate vi.

‡ Marked *f*, *g*.

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G. H. Watson, del.

W. Gaul

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displayed in perfection;—its enormous masses, its long, close files of columns, its deep seclusions, and its rich pervading sculptural decoration. Burke could not have wished for a happier illustration of that part of his theory which refers the sublime in architecture to *succession* and *massiveness*.

The demolition of some of these masses excites even more wonder than their erection. Solid pylons of enormous bulk are broken up or riven in twain. Vast *built** columns seem to have been dragged from their foundations *en masse*. Architraves many tons in weight, wrenched from their place, now impend over the aisles, suspended by yet heavier masses which have perhaps been thus nicely poising them for ages. One might believe they were giants in those days,

"Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise!"

But the Hall of Columns was but a part of this wonderful fabric. † Immense pylons, half-buried quadrangles and halls, granite obelisks‡, and tremendous piles of fallen masonry once formed a range of buildings upwards of 1200 feet in length. The chief entrance was through the gateway of the west front, 63 feet high. Besides these there were other isolated and subordinate buildings. The whole appear to have been separated from the din of the city by an outer

* Each cylindrical layer consists of several great blocks.

† See plan, plate vi.

‡ Marked *f*, *g*.

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peribolus of unburnt brick*, inclosing an area about 580 yards in length. A succession of four great propyla led across this area to the side of the chief structure. The outermost, as it was exposed to the view of the city and first received the advancing procession, was the most magnificent. Its length or base line is about 225 feet, its solid width 40 feet; the central gateway is of the granite of Syene.

These grand pylons or towered gateways† were the peculiar pride of Thebes. Each monarch sought to shed lustre on his name and reign by the erection of some enduring monument. Superstition seconded the aspirations for fame, and here as elsewhere proved the active patron of architecture. Edifices were always erected in honour of one or several of the gods. But every reign could not produce an entire temple: most kings therefore contented themselves with adding to one already built; and as any number of these propyla might be annexed to a building without disturbing the symmetry of its design, a work of this kind was generally chosen. Thus these stupendous monuments were so multiplied at Thebes that they became associated with its very name, and hence the well-known epithet the "hundred-gated."‡

* Plate vi. *k.* † Plate vi. F.

‡ Diodorus had heard that this was the origin of the Homeric epithet. The city itself had no walls. The Ptolemaic pylon, though less imposing, was more beautiful: the finest example is that forming the present entrance to Karnak from Luqsor, represented in plate ix., and marked M in the plan.

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From a Sketch by G.H.W. W. Gauci, lith.

TEMPLE-PALACE OF KARNAK.

HALL OF COLUMNS.

Looking N.W.

Longman & Co. London, 1843.

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An avenue of colossal sphinxes* [illegible] conducted from Luxor [illegible] of Karnak. The few that [illegible] and half interred; but [illegible] such a vista exceeding nearly [illegible] the plain terminated by the gr[illegible] of Luxor. How exactly adapted for the [illegible] sion!

All these buildings formed parts of one magnificent whole. All were constructed of gigantic [illegible], and most were covered with sculp[illegible] seem the fruit of days or we[illegible] calculable then the amount of [illegible] the successive courts and halls, [illegible] look down on the masses beneath, [illegible] with the general design and the decor[illegible], and then place the symmetric whole befo[illegible] your mind's eye in its first glory of polychromic decoration, and the temple-palace of Karnak will appear rather the "splendid lie" of an enchanter than an edifice the slow product of human toil.

Such was the imperial palace of the Pharaohs when Europe was yet in primeval barbarism; ages before Romulus took his omen on the Palatine hill.

The ruins are strewed in chaotic [illegible] sandy plain broken into shapeless [illegible] profound silence reigns. No naked [illegible]

* Marked K.

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An avenue of colossal sphinxes* appears to have been continued from Luqsor up to the outer precinct of Karnak. The few that now remain are mutilated and half interred: but how imposing the effect of such a vista extending nearly a mile and a half over the plain terminated by the great façade of Luqsor! How exactly adapted for the pageantry of processions!

All these buildings formed parts of one magnificent whole. All were constructed of gigantic blocks, and most were covered with sculpture. In each block is seen the fruit of days or weeks of labour. How incalculable then the amount of the whole! Pass through the successive courts and halls, ascend the pylons and look down on the masses beneath, acquaint yourself with the general design and the decorative details, and then place the symmetric whole before your mind's eye in its first glory of polychromic decoration, and the temple-palace of Karnak will appear rather the "splendid lie" of an enchanter than a real edifice, the slow product of human toil.

Such was the imperial palace of the Pharaohs when Europe was yet in primeval barbarism; ages before Romulus took his omen on the Palatine hill.

The ruins are strewed in chaotic confusion over a sandy plain broken into shapeless mounds. Here profound silence reigns. No naked Arab children,

* Marked K.

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no squalling beldames disturb your meditations. A few camels, about to journey over the desert, may be reposing peacefully in the area of the great quadrangle. An Arab boy may be seen stretched on the sand in the ruined sanctuary, sleeping away the noontide heats, his meek-eyed ass standing by, as motionless as the statues near him. The mournful cooings of unseen doves are alone heard in halls that once resounded with Egyptian revelry; owls have established themselves in the obscurities of the ponderous architraves; and as they sit mute and motionless one mistakes them for hieroglyphic figures; should they chance to move, the antique sculpture seems suddenly endowed with life.

You may seat yourself on a fallen column and looking up to one of the great pylons imagine an ancient procession defiling through its portal, the singers and the minstrels, the priestesses waving aloft their sistra, the streaming banners, the clang of trumpets and the acclamations of the Theban multitude,—then let your eye glance over the silent ruins around you, and no eloquence could so impressively teach the trite lesson of the transitoriness of worldly grandeur.

Luqsor. The other great edifice on the eastern bank has suffered much more from time and violence; the present ruin is but the skeleton of the original structure. The Arab village of Luqsor has kennelled itself in the midst of the lordly halls of the Pharaohs,

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[illegible] squad[illegible] [illegible] disturb your meditations. A [illegible] to journey over the desert, may be [illegible] in the area of the great [illegible]. An Arab boy may be seen stretched on the sand in the ruined sanctuary, sleeping away the noon-[illegible] meek-eyed ass standing by, as motionless as [illegible] near him. The mournful cooings [illegible] are alone heard in halls that once [illegible] Egyptian revelry; owls have [illegible] in the obscurities of the ponderous [illegible]; and as they sit mute and motionless one [illegible] them for hieroglyphic figures; should they chance to move, the antique sculpture seems suddenly endowed with life.

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Luqsor. The other great edifice on the eastern bank has suffered much more from time and violence; the present ruin is but the skeleton of the original structure. The Arab village of Luqsor has kennelled itself in the midst of the lordly halls of the Pharaohs.

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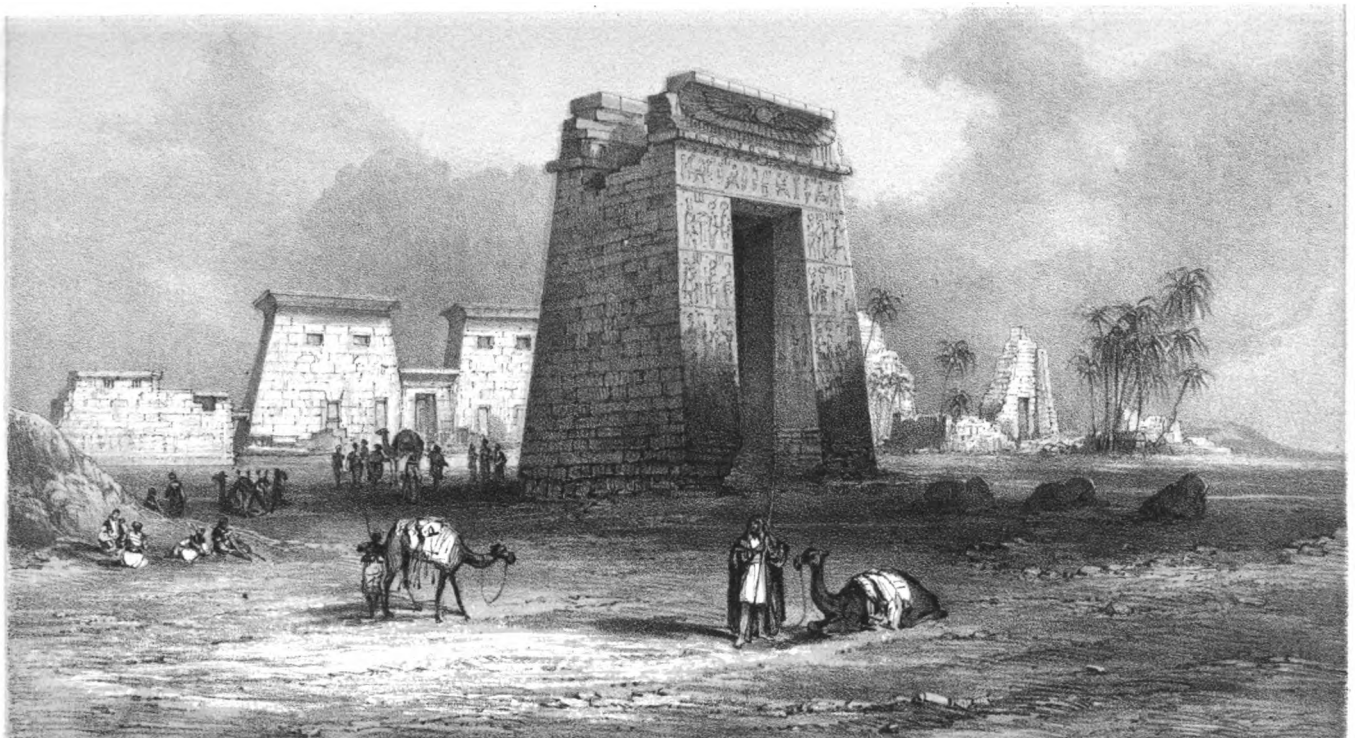

G. H. Wathen, del.

W. Gauci, lith.

TEMPLE-PALACE OF KARNAK, THEBES.

ENTRANCE FROM LUXOR

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and vile mud huts contrast with the "cunning work" of gigantic capitals.

> "There in the ruin, heedless of the dead,
> The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed;
> And, wond'ring man could want the larger pile,
> Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile."
>
> GOLDSMITH.

The front looked towards the south side of the Karnak palace with which it seems to have been connected by the street of sphinxes. The length of the whole range of buildings was about 820 feet. Two * statues were once seated in colossal majesty before the great entrance. Now their heads, crowned with gigantic tiaras, rise ingloriously out of deep pits of sand. In advance of these stood two stately obelisks of red granite, covered with deep-cut hieroglyphics admirably executed.† One has been removed to Paris.

* Probably there were originally four along the front; a third is still seen.

† The horizontal section of these obelisks is not rectangular, their faces having a slight convexity. The object of this was probably to render the front inscriptions more distinctly legible; for as these face the north-east, they would, without this precaution, have been in shadow most of the day. Whatever the intention of the architect the peculiarity indicates a careful regard to local circumstances. The apices of some obelisks are convex or bowed, like the acute gothic arch. Here too the object was probably to bring the surfaces more nearly opposed to the rays of the sun. This would have been the more important if, as M. Hittorf, I believe, supposes, the apex was usually gilt. That it was either gilt, painted, or covered with metal seems not improbable, for

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A battle scene full of life and spirit is cut in intaglio on the front of the pylon; damaged and defaced, yet still one of the finest surviving works of the Egyptian chisel.

The present edifice was erected by two Pharaohs—Amenof III., who was one of the first to introduce the colossal architecture for which Egypt became so remarkable, and Ramses II. (Sesostris), not less distinguished for his grand works at home than for his foreign conquests. Amenof's temple consisted of what appears to have been a hall of enormous columns, a quadrangle, and the covered apartments in the rear. Ramses added the first court, the pylon, obelisks, and colossi; and commemorated his work by grandiloquent inscriptions on the obelisks: of one of these Champollion has given this abbreviated translation. "The lord of the world, Sun guardian of truth, approved by Phra, has caused this edifice to be built in honour of his father Amun-Ra, and has also erected these two great obelisks of granite before the Ramseseion of the city of Amun." The Ptolemies arrogated to themselves still loftier titles.

in ancient drawings on papyri it is distinguished by being black, while the side of the obelisk is merely in outline. See plate iii. fig. C.

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WEST BANK.

Dayr el Bahree is an excavated work under the western hills, more remarkable from circumstances connected with its origin and construction than for grandeur or beauty. It is one of the oldest monuments of Thebes. Its chambers, hewn in the friable rock, are roofed with *corbelled* vaults, formed of horizontal courses; the chief apartment was entered through a granite pylon, and the whole was connected with the plain by an inclined ascent, approached by a long avenue of sphinxes, now destroyed. Neither the name nor sex of the founder has hitherto been satisfactorily determined. Amenenhe or Amun-neitgori according to some was a regent, according to others a queen. I think I have shown that he was an *Ethiopian*, the husband of a queen.* Regarded as the work of an Ethiopian, Dayr el Bahree assumes a new interest; for as this is the only excavated monument in Egypt not sepulchral, it is very probable that the idea was borrowed from Ethiopia — that cavern-temples were then, as well as subsequently, common there — and that many of the characteristics of Egyptian architecture were derived from such works.

* See p. 10.

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The *Vocal Memnon* is one of a pair of sitting colossi on the alluvial plain. Elevated on bases or low pedestals they rise about fifty-three feet above the surface of the ground, which, having been gradually elevated by the annual deposit from the Nile, is now several feet above its ancient level. Seen from the Western or Necropolis hills at sunset, their effect is very remarkable. The eye can clearly define their forms as sitting figures, and they rise isolated in the midst of the plain like rocks in the expanse of ocean. Companions for thirty-three centuries, what revolutions of religion and empire have they witnessed! The "bleating gods" of Egypt swept away before the conquering cross, — the religion of Jesus, first obscured and adulterated, then almost extinguished before the armies of Omar; Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Turks, following and expelling each other, — the natives the docile slaves of all! Moses may have beheld these statues, and still they survive, the lonely monarchs of the ancient plain.

They bear the name of Amenof III.* and stood on the line of approach to a temple of his foundation, the substructions of which alone remain. Each was originally a single block of sandstone. The features are scarred and half obliterated; the massive head-

* I believe him to have been king when the Israelites left Egypt.

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... Memnon is one of a pair of sitting ... alluvial plain. Elevated on bases or ... rise about fifty-three feet above ... the ground, which, having been gradually ... by the annual deposit from the Nile, ... feet above its ancient level. Seen ... or Necropolis hills at sunset, their ... remarkable. The eye can clearly ... as sitting figures, and they rise ... oldest of the plain like rocks in the ... Companions for thirty-three centuries, what revolutions of religion and empire have they witnessed! The "bleeding gods" of Egypt swept away before the conquering cross, — the religion of Moses, first observed and obliterated, then ... vanished before the armies of Omar; ... Saracens, Turks, following and ... ver, — the natives the docile slaves ... may have beheld these statues, and ... ve, the lonely monarchs of the ancient ...

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* I believe him to have been king when the Israelites left Egypt.

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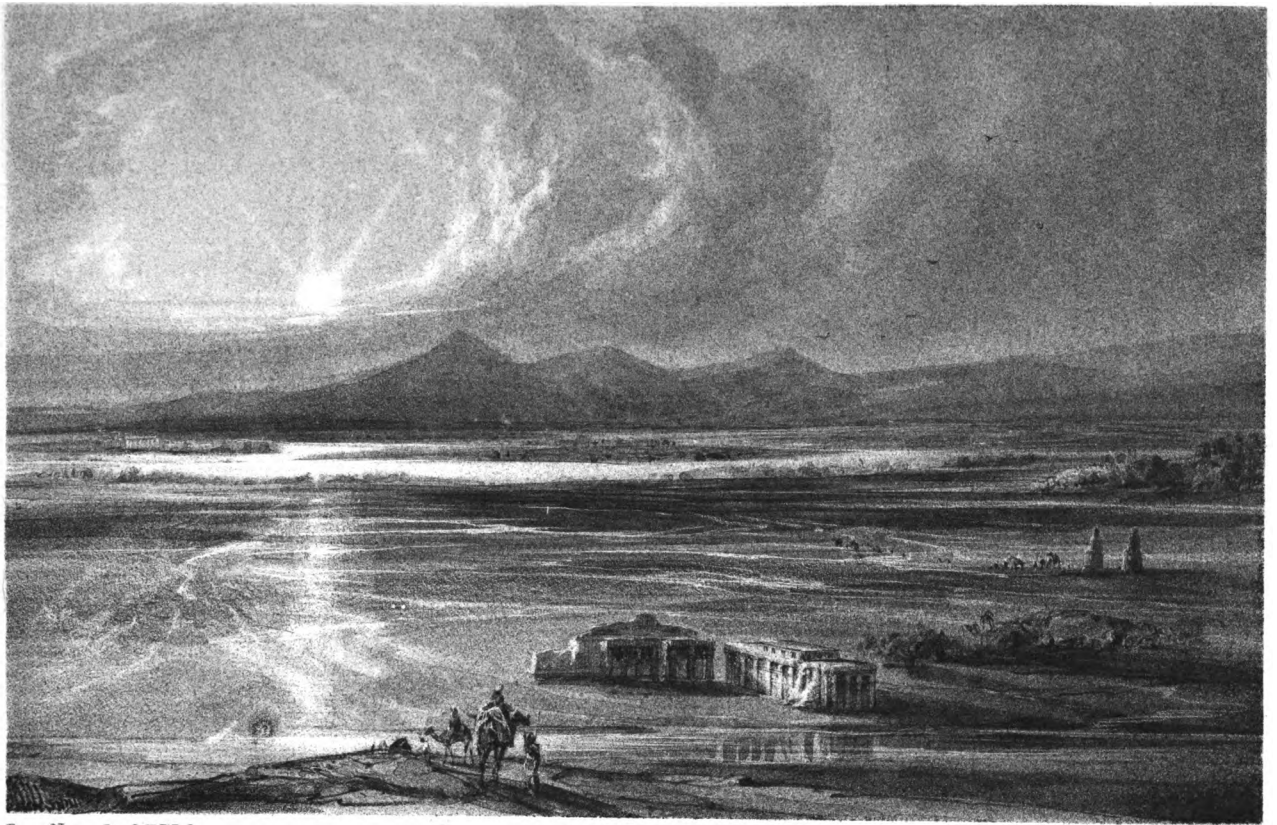

From Nature by G.H. Wathen

C. Hullmandel's Patent

PLAIN OF THEBES.

FROM THE NECROPOLIS HILLS.

Longman & Co London 1843

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dress descends over the breast; the hands lie stretched upon the thighs; a line of hieroglyphics descends the back. The sides of the thrones are ornamented with an elegant device, often met with in Egyptian sculpture, and supposed to be allusive to the sovereign's dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt: the god Nilus binds the long stalks of two different water plants, indicative of the Upper and the Lower country, round the support of a table or pedestal, over which are the two royal ovals. Female figures are attached to the front of the thrones: though reaching only to the knees of the great statues these are eighteen feet high!

When Strabo was at Thebes the upper half of the musical statue was wanting, having been broken off at the waist, by an earthquake as he was told, but an inscription with more probability says by Cambyses. It was subsequently completed with masonry, and thus remains. The legs are covered with inscriptions, in prose and verse, ancient and modern. Many visitors bare witness to the vocal powers of the statue. Some Roman ladies who accompanied Adrian and his consort in their progress, assure us they heard the morning salutation in company with the Emperor. Seventeen centuries pass away, and our own countrywomen add their names to those of Julia Romilla and Cecilia Treboulla.

The tradition of the morning sound is still retained among the peasantry in the vulgar name of the

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statue, *Salamat*, the common Arabic salutation. Sir G. Wilkinson explains the enigma by supposing a person to have been secreted in an existing cavity, who struck a stone, still in the lap of the statue, which rings with a metallic sound. But how are we to get our operator into his nook (some thirty feet above the ground,) and provide for his retreat without chance of detection? Once there, we might give him what instrument we pleased. The common opinion regarding the *kind* of sound emitted is probably correctly conveyed by Juvenal;

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone *chordæ*.

The ruin at *Qoorneh* is unlike any other monument at Thebes. Instead of the ordinary lofty pylon its front presents a long shallow portico* or colonnade, giving access through three entrances to as many halls or vestibules with columns, conducting to various apartments beyond. These are well lighted, open, and airy, with nothing of the secresy of the Egyptian adytum. The whole building indeed has a more habitable air than any other at Thebes, except that before the palace of Medeenet Haboo. It was founded by the father of the great Ramses.

The *Memnonium* is the skeleton of an immense edifice, apparently Diodorus's "Tomb of Osyman-

* Its arrangement is analogous to the Greek "in antis." It is remarkable that the intercolumniations are unequal.

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dyas," but really built by Ramses II. In general arrangement it resembles the other great structures of the age. Two consecutive colonnaded courts, fronted by pylons, led to a grand columnar hall, like that at Karnak*, beyond which were the inner chambers. The first court had *lateral* colonnades: the second was surrounded with porticos. The side walls of the hall and much of the buildings beyond it are destroyed, the courts and their colonnades shattered and ruinous, and the mighty pylons more than half demolished.

Here is the immense granite statue of Ramses the Great, the most stupendous even of Egyptian colossi. Conceive a human form whose breadth across the shoulders is twenty-two feet, whose toes are from two to three feet long. A convivial party might be comfortably accommodated on the superficies of the face. Originally it was seated in the first court, on the right of the entrance to the second, and the head must have risen far above the colonnades. Now, rent into huge fragments, mingled with the ruins of its throne, it looks a complete picture of prostrate majesty. It is difficult to conceive what force less than that of gunpowder could have worked such

* As at Karnak, the three central avenues rise with a kind of low clerestory above the lateral aisles. In pl. x. the Memnonium is seen in the foreground, the two statues of Amenof III. on the right, (the nearest being the Vocal Memnon,) and Luqsor on the opposite bank.

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havoc. The solid cubical throne and the statue itself were cut out of a single block of granite; and the Syene granite is much harder than ours. The throne is completely demolished: the upper part of the statue, broken off at the waist, has suffered less. The face is turned upwards, and the features have been industriously flattened. The head-dress has those solid lappets so characteristic of the Egyptian colossus, which, while they contributed to the massive architectural character of the statue, secured the neck from the chance of fracture.*

Medeenet Haboo. This magnificent edifice is the latest of the four† great temple-palaces of Thebes and by far the best preserved. It was erected by Ramses III.‡, with whom the glory of the early Theban empire appears to have expired. When complete it occupied a rectangle about 166 yards in length and 53 broad. A grand towered pylon formed, as

* Adjacent to the Memnonium there is a series of long, low, arched chambers, built of sun-dried brick, somewhat resembling in plan the *Sette Sale* at Rome: their date and purpose are unknown.

† Karnak and Luqsor on the right bank, the Memnonium and Medeenet Haboo on the left. These doubtless are the four great temples referred to by Diodorus.

‡ Ramses II. and Ramses III. were both great conquerors and great builders: probably their exploits and works were confounded and all ascribed to the traditional "Sesostris." Remerer or Uerri, whose date (in my table) agrees with that of Mœris, immediately preceded Ramses III., and Herodotus places Mœris immediately before Sesostris.

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usual, the façade. The interior presented in succession two spacious quadrangles and a third division, containing the covered and more private apartments; but nearly all beyond the second court is either destroyed or interred in the mounds and brick ruins of an early christian village. The first court presents the anomaly of eight *columns* in one lateral portico and seven *Caryatic piers* in the other. The second quadrangle is the most striking and magnificent interior in Egypt, the hall of Karnak alone excepted.* It is about 135 feet in length and 123 broad. The lateral colonnades, 40 feet in height, are composed of columns nearly 7 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 4 diameters high. † Each of the extremities (as usual the *longest* sides,) presents an elevation of eight piers, fronted by colossal statues ‡; that opposite the entrance has a row of massive columns behind the piers. To these majestic colossi the court chiefly owes its singularly impressive effect. Even when familiarized with the gigantic scale of Egypt, and almost fatigued with admiring and wondering, you involun-

* On comparing the plans of ancient Theban temples, we find the open quadrangle gradually superseding the close pillared hall, which was a much nearer approach to the architectural excavations of Ethiopia and India. At Karnak *one* court, added by Ramses II., precedes the hall. The Memnonium, entirely the work of Ramses II., had a hall and *two* courts before the inner apartments. At Medeenet Haboo, erected in the following century, (13th B. C.,) the hall was omitted and effect and decoration concentrated on the inner court.

† See plate v. fig. 3. ‡ Pl. v. fig. 4.

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tarily pause as you cross the threshold and the magnificent interior bursts upon you.

Though 3000 years old this quadrangle is still in excellent preservation. The early Egyptian Christians erected a church in the area, some remains of which are still seen. Just escaped from a vile superstition they could not bear to have under their eye and close to their church sculptures allusive to the ancient gods, and coated them over with plaster or mud; thus their abhorrence for these subjects has been the means of preserving them. The quadrangle now presents one of the best examples of the beauty of the Egyptian system of intaglio decoration. Bas-relief laid over a whole building would be insufferable, but these intaglios spread an equable tone of enrichment without breaking the outline, overloading the surface, or impairing the general repose.

All the mural sculptures and hieroglyphics are painted in vivid colours, chiefly reds and blues; the ceilings a deep azure, studded with stars. Skilfully distributed and balanced, all combine into one harmonious effect,—striking and gorgeous, yet wholly free from meretricious glitter. I think the staunchest enemy to the introduction of colour in architecture would return from a visit to the palace of Ramses III. a complete convert to polychromy.

The use of rich colours in architectural embellishment has in truth all the sanction that the highest authority, the practice of all ages, and the analogies

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of nature can give it. Colour was commonly employed by the nations among whom the arts arose and received their earliest culture. It was adopted by the Greeks*, gifted as they were with an intuition of the beautiful probably never equalled: it was in repute at Rome in the Augustan period: it maintained itself during the middle ages and was employed, internally at least, by the great revivers of the arts in Italy. Who that has stood under the glorious dome of St. Peter's and beheld the mellowed magnificence above and around him, will not confess how much it owes to the prodigal but masterly application of colour. The golden vault of the nave, the rich marbles and richer mosaics, blend into an enchanting whole, as different from the naked monotony of our metropolitan cathedral, as is a landscape glowing under an autumnal sunset from the same wrapped in snow.

One of the most remarkable objects at Thebes is the tower-like edifice forming the advanced entrance to the great palace of Medeenet Haboo. In its plan

* See Transactions of the Institute of British Architects, vol. i. part i. which gives a specimen of Greek Doric coloured after ancient authorities. Like the Egyptians the Greeks used vivid colours and applied them externally as well as within. This fact was so opposed to the received notions of the *chasteness* of Greek art that our modern purists would not believe it till demonstrated by minute investigation. Yet who shall say that it derogates from the excellence of Greek taste? It only proves how false were the current dogmas as to what a refined taste sanctions and condemns.

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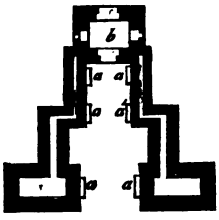
and many of its features it is altogether unique. Two wings, diverging outwards from the central compartment, included a widening space between them, and opened as it were to receive the procession approaching the palace.



Three massive brackets (*a*), at different heights, each supported by four busts, projected from the inner face of one wing to three others on the opposite wing. These may possibly have been intended to support bridges or platforms, under which all would pass as they entered the portal, and which, on days of high festival, might have borne banners and trophies: or here may have been stationed a band of minstrels to greet the procession with music and hymns of triumph, as it approached and entered the royal precint.

The edifice is crowned with a battlement formed of semicircular blocks.* The same is seen on a wall near the tower, and, though rare in actual examples, is often represented in the sculptures. Within were several stories of chambers, decorated with sculp-

* Plate xi. fig. 3.

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ture of a peculiar character. In one relievo we have perhaps the solitary attempt in the whole range of Egyptian art at the expression of tenderness. The king is caressing a female, who however *stands* in his presence.

From the inscriptions this building is referred to the reign of Ramses III., who erected the palace to which it conducted; but the sculptures and ornamental details, executed in *relief*, indicate a much later period. In the age of Ramses III. intaglio was adopted for all mural sculptures on edifices, but at a later period intaglio and relievo were equally in vogue, though the latter was indeed commonly confined to the interior. On the front of the building the colossal hero is smiting a cluster of his enemies, whom he holds suspended by their hair: this was a favourite subject with the late sculptors. The ornaments in the friezes are varied, elaborate, and disposed in regular *alternations*. All this too is characteristic of the later period. It is not at all impossible that sculptures should have been executed commemorating the heros and events of former and more glorious times. The names of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, and of Nectanebo, the last of the monumental Pharaohs, occur on an adjacent building, and this tower may be the work of one of them: instead of the ordinary *roll*, a square projection or fillet ascends the angles; and the same is observed in the buildings of Ethiopia. The regal title "good

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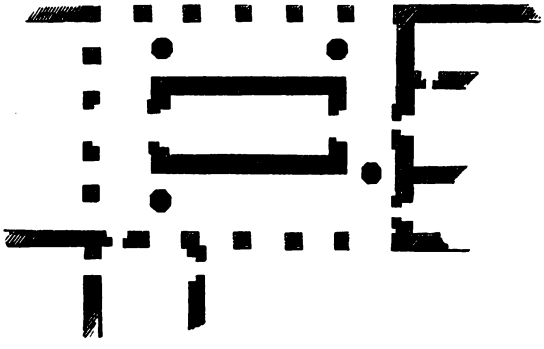
god," remains at the head of an effaced inscription. This is found on several other monuments whose style indicates a later date than that of the name in the inscription, and appears to have been appropriated to deceased monarchs.* This singular structure has been much shattered by time and violence, but a great part still towers up out of the wreck of ruins to the full height of the battlemented summit.

Near this advanced tower is an edifice the original foundation of which was four centuries anterior to the grand work of Ramses III. A small temple is preceded by three courts in succession. The outer one is a work of the Roman age. The buildings of the second bear the names of Tirhakah and Nectanebo. The temple itself consists of a small hypæthral cella, surrounded on three sides by porticoes of piers.



Within each angle stands an octagonal column, crowned with a square abacus, like that of the Doric

* See p. 186.

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capital. An inscription records the restoration of this part of the temple by Achoris, one of the latest Pharaohs, (4th cent. B. C.,) but neither this nor the fact that they bear *reversed* hieroglyphics of the 26th dynasty, has deterred Champollion from supposing that these columns existed in the original structure, and with the prevailing disposition to trace back all Greek art to Egypt, he calls them *protodoric.** A glance however at the present plan of the temple will show how improbable it is that they formed part of an original design: they neither coincide with the outer piers nor are uniformly disposed. They appear either to have been introduced to strengthen weak points, or to have formed part of a general restoration. The latter is more probable, for the present peripteral arrangement of the temple is quite contrary to the practice of the early age, but was adopted in restorations of ancient works by the late Pharaohs. Probably, then, the original temple of Thothmes II. and his predecessor was nearly destroyed in the general demolition of ancient edifices by the Persians, and was rebuilt by Achoris after their expulsion.

To the south of Medeenet Haboo there is a vast

* Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829, p. 331. They are inscribed with the name of Thothmes III., though the blocks bear reversed hieroglyphics of an age near a thousand years later. This I believe is but one of many instances of ancient names being affixed commemoratively to late works. I shall show that this was the case with a supposed ancient temple at Eliphantine.

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sunk space, nearly a mile and a half long and more than half a mile broad, bordered by an irregular range of mounds, and supposed to have been the *hippodrome* of the ancient city.*

At *Abydos* (now Arabat,) in the northern part of the Thebaid and a few miles from the river, are still seen extensive remains of two grand edifices of the age of Ramses II., but they are almost interred in the sands. It was here Mr. Bankes found the famous hieroglyphic register of kings, predecessors of Ramses the Great, the most valuable chronological relic that Egyptian research has yet brought to light. These are the only considerable monuments of the early Pharaonic period out of Thebes.

NECROPOLIS OF THEBES.

TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

Among the most remarkable works of the Egyptians must be ranked the vast sepulchres excavated in the seclusions of the Theban mountains to receive their mummied dead. Though the primitive city of Thebes appears to have been on the right bank, the opposite range of hills, perhaps because nearer the river, was chosen for the Necropolis. At the northern extremity

* Sir G. Wilkinson thinks it was an artificial lake, the scene of the aquatic funeral processions represented in the paintings.

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of the site of the ancient city this rocky barrier is intersected by a narrow valley, winding up spirally into the mountains, walled in by high cliffs,—a wilderness of sand and stone without one blade of vegetation. The termination or head of this gloomy ravine was the spot selected by the Theban monarchs for their long home. Here they hollowed out of the solid rock and elaborately decorated with painted sculpture, such saloons as almost realize the fabled palaces of the preadamite sultans.

It was about an hour before sunset one evening that I set out from old Qoorneh to visit this celebrated valley of Biban el Molook, intending to pass the night in one of the royal sepulchres. On approaching the gorge, the first thing that struck me was the quantity of bones, fragments of mummies, rolls of mummy-cloth, and other relics of rifled tombs that strewed the ground. Princes, priests, and warriors, after reposing thousands of years in their grotto-graves are now dragged forth by poor peasants, and their bones lie scattered before the doors of their sepulchres. As night drew on the ravine looked still more drear and dolorous. It was dark when we reached the tombs, but the general features of the spot could still be made out. The narrow valley, inclosed by high cliffs, here branched off into several little dells. Broken stone and sand lay heaped around. We climbed over a pile and came to a large opening or doorway in the face of the rock. Candles were lighted; I passed the

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threshold and looked round with silent wonder on the scene within. A large corridor or gallery ran back hundreds of feet into the heart of the mountain, divided by lateral projections into a lengthening vista of apartments, passing off from the glare at the entrance to the deep obscurity of the distance. The walls were elegantly adorned with columns of blue hieroglyphics on a white ground, 3000 years old yet retaining almost the freshness of yesterday! The suddenness with which you come upon this subterranean creation renders it the more striking. Outside in the ravine all is wild and gloomy wilderness,—one step across the threshold, and you are surrounded with an elaborate display of refined art.

In a large chamber at the end of the gallery was a massive granite sarcophagus. Here once lay the royal mummy; but it had long been open and empty.

There are eight or nine of these large painted tombs in a group, besides others of less interest; all appear to be of the age of the great 18th dynasty and that immediately subsequent. They vary in length from one to upwards of four hundred feet. All are formed on one general model. In most you find on entering a long descending corridor or gallery, running off in a straight line into the heart of the mountain.* Sometimes, owing perhaps to a partial friability of the rock, the line of excavation, on arriving at a certain

* See plate iv. fig. 4.

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point, turns to the right or left for several feet, and then continues onward as before. At its further end the corridor expands into one or more large apartments, whose roofs are supported by massive piers of the living rock. In one of these was placed the royal sarcophagus. The walls and piers throughout are generally decorated with paintings in shallow relief, still wonderfully retaining their freshness. The subjects are chiefly processions, religious rites, and allegoric and enigmatic devices.

On comparing these excavations with the pyramids, the catacombs of E'Siout, and other great sepulchral works in Egypt, we find all display one leading object. This was to enshrine the corpse deep within the earth or a mass of masonry, far from the stir of the living world. Egyptian tombs are never found in cultivable or inhabited parts—always in the desert, on the skirts of the alluvial plain. In the pyramids, the sepulchral apartment is either in the centre of the solid building or in the rock beneath it. In the built tombs near the Geezeh pyramids, a deep well was sunk, and the mummy deposited in a cell at the bottom. In the tombs of E'Siout, not content with a chamber hollowed out of the face of the cliff, they sank shafts and formed more secluded cells within the mountain. For these royal sepulchres of Thebes, they first selected the loneliest ravine; for each tomb they carried a gallery deep into the hill, and then placed the corpse in the remotest part.

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The magnificent tomb discovered by Belzoni, which may be considered the beau idéal of an Egyptian sepulchre, displays this peculiarity even more strikingly than the others. A long stair near the doorway, the gradual descent of the first passages, and two stairs in the interior, together sank the sepulchral chamber ninety feet* beneath the surface.

This tomb, the work of the father of Ramses the Great, is remarkable for some other peculiarities. The dread of violation prompted an ingenious device to mislead intruders. The inner and principal part of the tomb was concealed by a wall, forming a false termination to the corridor conducting to it from the entrance. To make the illusion complete, this wall was painted with various subjects, like the sides of the corridor; and a large pit, seemingly intended to receive the rain that entered the tomb from a torrent outside, really prevented visitors from such a near approach to what seemed the end of the excavation as might have betrayed the secret. The contrivance reminds one of the portcullises in the pyramids, which, when let down, appeared to terminate the passage.

Beyond this point are two chambers about twenty-seven feet square. The inner one was left unfinished, the subjects being merely sketched on the walls: to the left another line of excavation, opening on the

* Wilkinson.

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floor of the outer chamber, continues into the heart of the rock. Following it, after having made two descents you reach another large chamber, with massive piers supporting its roof. Open to the further side is the grand sepulchral saloon. Its roof is cut to the form of a vault and richly coloured. There seems indeed to be a gradation of splendour in the decorations from the entrance of the tomb to this sacred retirement. In its centre stood the alabaster sarcophagus now in Sir John Soane's Museum. Beneath the sarcophagus the explorers found a descending passage, and followed it 300 feet when fallen stone stopped further progress. As the entrance corridor was walled up, this subterranean adit may have been begun with the intention of forming a secret access to the interior; and was perhaps abandoned from the extreme friability of the rock.

A room to the left of the sepulchral chamber is surrounded on three sides by a stone dresser or broad bench, surmounted with the common coved cornice. This is found in no other tomb. What could have been its purpose? Did the royal mummy here lie in state before being finally deposited in the sarcophagus? The couches or biers painted upon the front seem to favour such a conjecture. A large unfinished apartment communicates with the further side of the sepulchral chamber; here was found the embalmed carcase of a bull.

The decorations of this tomb are as remarkable for

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their perfect preservation as their original splendour. It seems as though, while buried deep within the mountain, time had been unable to touch them with his "effacing fingers." As you pass on through these "chambers of imagery" and the walls catch the light of your torch, grim and hideous figures successively reveal themselves through the gloom, the same as Pharaoh beheld them.

Several of these tombs were open during the rule of the Ptolemies. Three or four were discovered by Belzoni, or rather reopened, for they had already been ransacked. Their entrances were concealed under vast accumulations of broken stone, which gave that acute explorer his clue.

But the tombs of the kings form but a part of this great City of the Dead. The sides of the hills overlooking the plain and the ravines intersecting them contain innumerable sepulchral excavations of all sizes and ages.* The priests seized the best spots. One valley was appropriated to the queens, and in a remote corner the *apes* had their cemetery!

The tombs of the age of the 26th dynasty † have a more architectural character than the early excavations. They are sometimes preceded by courts

* The neighbouring villages boast several native *ciceroni* who know which are most worthy of examination. Some of the tombs on the declivity overlooking the plain have been appropriated by the Arabs as dwellings: here as usual women, children, and poultry, herd promiscuously together.

† The last before the Persian invasion.

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with porticoes, and have cornices, architraves, and fasciæ—all hewn out of the rock. These elegant grottoes seem to invite attention from without, whilst the ancient kings devised ingenious contrivances for keeping out explorers from their sepulchral palaces, or illuding them if they effected an entrance.

A tomb of this age, at the Assaseef, is well known to travellers as the largest at Thebes, not excepting the royal sepulchres themselves. This immense catacomb presents an intricate assemblage of pillared halls, corridors, wells, and secret chambers, traversing each other at different levels, and forming two distinct suites of apartments. The first runs into a line of corridor, partly going round three sides of a square. The other set of chambers are within this solid square. The whole is approached through two courts, the second of which has lateral porticoes of piers, hewn out of the rock. Having passed the portal and two pillared halls, you follow the line of corridor till, after turning a right angle on your right, you arrive at a long deep staircase. Descending it, you come at length to a well, which gives access to a chamber half way down its depth. A passage branching off to the right as you look down the stairs leads to the other division of the tomb. The most remarkable object here is a large chamber, the central part of which is occupied by a square mass of the rock, or rather the square is surrounded by a corridor. Beneath this insulated mass there is a chamber, pro-

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bably the most sacred as it was the most remote and secluded of all. A shallow pit is sunk in its floor, and a series of little niches are cut in the walls. The approach is by a shaft, leading from the upper apartments. Difficulty of transit appears to have been made matter of study in planning the tomb.

This maze would mock the efforts of the keenest antiquary to appropriate the chambers or explain the founder's intentions. Perhaps the whole was merely the whim of some powerful and opulent individual, who worked on no system and proposed to himself no definite object,—unless indeed it were to emulate the famed Labyrinth of the Twelve Kings on the banks of lake Mœris, one half of which was subterranean.*

On the sides of the insulated square of rock are triads of deities in niches, and the walls throughout the vast extent of the excavation are charged with hieroglyphics and finished sculptures. What years of industry and thought must have been spent upon this single sepulchre!

Most of the tombs in this immense Necropolis have suffered much from time and the torches of visitors, ancient and modern, but often more from the depredations of dilettanti and curiosity-mongers, who sometimes saw off large slabs from the walls. Every

* The occupant was Petamunap, a priest of high rank of the time of the 26th dynasty.

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traveller desires to carry home some memorial of his visit to the ancient metropolis of Egypt, and fragments of paintings and sculptures from the tombs are the most portable objects he meets with. The great ruins on the plain defy his attacks. Mohammed Ali has forbidden the peasants to continue their dilapidations, but in vain: poverty is more imperative than the pasha.

In Lower Egypt the cemeteries of Memphis yield a rich harvest of sepulchral antiquities. In 1839 the great antiquary and mummy-merchant of Cairo was Mussarah, a Syrian and dragoman to the French consulate. When about to open a mummy he invites travellers and Franks to his house to witness the operation. I found the old man in a little, dark, unfloored room, in a back street, in the midst of antiquarian lumber and venerable dust,

> "The sacred rust of thrice a thousand years."

Here were mummies piled up like bales of merchandize — there, hieroglyphic tablets, metallic masks, painted mummy-cloths, scarabæi, talismans, and idols; here the leg of one mummy, next to it the bandaged hand of another, spoils of a hundred rifled sepulchres, — the poor remains of the rich and the mighty of Egypt. Hamlet's philosophic speculation was almost realized:

> "Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

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The mummy, a female, was laid out on the ground in the little courtyard. The trunk was covered with a pasteboard casing, painted and gilt, and the face with a similar gilt mask, the eyes being coloured after nature. An Arab with a long knife in hand and the nonchalance of a practised operator, knelt down over the body. The outer facing having been removed, a layer of rusty linen wrappings was ripped up and pulled off: beneath it was an ornamental cloth, rotten from age, covering the entire body: a portrait of the deceased was painted at one end, and several gilt ornaments were stuck upon the trunk. The mummy still presented a shapeless mass, the limbs being concealed in an envelope of linen cloth. Endless were the wrappings and bandages, all arranged with the nicest precision, which were now torn away. In the hollow of the neck, between the folds, were several little figures, perhaps idols and talismans. The body itself was black, hard, and completely united to the embalming pitch. Here the Arab laid aside his knife for a hatchet, and the poor mummy was chopped up like firewood! One arm was stretched obliquely over the body, the other turned up towards the opposite shoulder. The hands and feet were gilt, and little figures (the four Genii of Amenti, to whom the intestines were sacred,) were found within the trunk.

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SECOND PERIOD.

THE PYRAMIDS.

The three great pyramids of Geezeh are the chief of an assemblage of sepulchral works, once perhaps the cemetery for the rich and noble of Memphis, which lay about ten miles to the south-east. An undulating waste of sand, swelling into hillocks and broken by rocks, extends between the watered plain and the desert hills inclosing the Egyptian valley on the west. The far-famed group are based on a ledge of rock, seventy or eighty feet high, rising out of a swell in this arid waste, just where it sinks into the cultivated lands, and between five and six miles from the Nile.

On leaving the village of Geezeh on the river bank, opposite Old Cairo, the pyramids rise before you glittering white against the blue sky: but the flatness of the plain and the purity of the atmosphere effectually deceive the eye as to their distance, and consequently their size: you appear almost at their base while several miles really intervene. As you advance, gradually they unfold their gigantic dimensions; but you must have been some time on the spot — your eye must have repeatedly travelled along the Great Pyramid's 740 feet of base, and up its steep towering angles, before you can fully understand its immensity and the untold amount of labour involved in its erection. Thousands of enormous stones, all accu-

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rately squared and adjusted, are here elevated hundreds of feet from the ground; and each was hoisted step by step up the sides till it reached its bed.* To raise a single block to the higher part of the building would be an arduous task, probably defying all the mechanics of modern Egypt.

But if the pyramids attest the resolution of the founders they reflect little honour upon the Egyptian nation. One can scarcely view these buildings, indeed, without the conviction that they are the work of an enslaved and driven race. Such vast piles of mere stone and mortar would never have been reared at Athens or at Rome. What would not Pericles have done with the same means? At the Parthenon, at St. Peter's, at York Minster, you view the result of the labours of a multitude of ingenious and thinking men, each contributing the skill derived from a life devoted to his art. But in the erection of the pyramids little else was required of the artificers than physical exertion and obedience to the taskmaster. Whatever the immediate purpose of these monuments, doubtless they had their real origin in those aspirations after immortality which are common to mankind in every age; but the sentiment appeared under a loftier character in Greece, that cradle of all that was most refined and glorious in Pagan antiquity.

* Herod. ii. 125.

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" While kings, in dusty darkness hid,
Have left a nameless pyramid,
Thy heroes, though the general doom
Hath swept the column for their tomb,
A mightier monument command,
The mountains of their native land!
There points thy Muse to stranger's eye
The graves of those that cannot die!"

Such reflections are natural on the first view of the pyramids, especially if you come fresh from the masterpieces of Athenian art. Looking up to these mountains of masonry you are ready to say scornfully with Pliny, Regum pecuniæ otiosa ac stulta ostentatio. But it must be confessed a longer acquaintance obliges you somewhat to modify this opinion. These creations of Cheops and his successors exhibit a sublime simplicity of conception and a dauntless hardihood of enterprise which, when fully appreciated, take possession of the soul. It is with the pyramids as with St. Peter's and other great works, — every successive visit you wonder and admire more.

The dimensions of the Great Pyramid have been very differently stated, the mounds of rubbish round the base rendering it difficult to obtain accurate measurements. Those taken during Col. Vyse's operations in 1837, probably nearest the truth, are as follow: —

Original base 764 ft.	Original inclined height 611 ft.
Actual base 746 ft.	Actual perpendicular height 450 ft.

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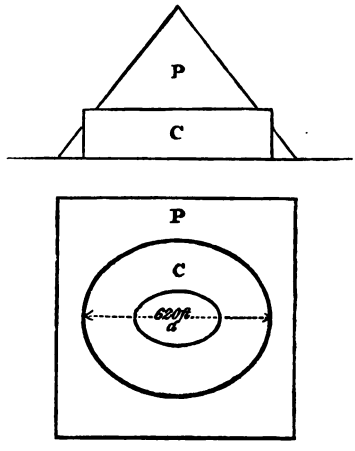
The original perpendicular height therefore, supposing the pyramid to have been carried up nearly to a point, was about 480 feet or 43 more than St. Peter's and 110 more than St. Paul's. The area covered was almost 13½ acres. But a statement of dimensions is a very inadequate mode of conveying ideas of gigantic forms. The mighty mass may be better described by the familiar illustration of a solid pile occupying the whole area of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and ascending to a point a hundred feet higher than the top of St. Paul's. The subjoined woodcut gives some idea of the comparative magnitude of the Great Pyramid and the Coliseum, and shows how far, in size at least, the mausoleum of the Egyptian monarch surpassed the proudest monument of imperial Rome.



THE GREAT PYRAMID AND THE COLISEUM.

According to Pliny 366,000 men were employed on its erection for twenty years; and Herodotus tells us that an inscription on the exterior stated the

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expense of providing them with onions and other roots amounted to 1,600 talents.*

The Great Pyramid was the first erected of the three; and its site was admirably chosen. Rising on the edge of the rocky platform which here sinks abruptly into the plain, the mighty pile appears based on a grand terrace. The original inclined exterior has been carried off, large excavations made in the sides, and several courses removed from the summit, which is now a platform about 33 feet square. This dilapidation is attributed to the great Saladin and his successors, who required stone for their new capital on the opposite bank of the river, and found it here ready quarried to their hand. Memphis, nearer the river and therefore more available, has been entirely demolished; and the Pyramids probably escaped the same fate only because their indestructible masses defied all attacks. Byron's apostrophe to the Coliseum is truer here,

> —"Time's scythe and tyrants' rod
> Shiver upon thee."

Though whole mosques have probably been built out of spoils from the Great Pyramid alone, the integrity of its form remains unimpaired, and from a distance you perceive hardly a trace of violence or decay.†

* Col. Vyse estimates the existing masonry of the Great Pyramid at 6,316,000 tons, and the space occupied by the chambers at about $\frac{1}{1590}$ of the whole.

† An ancient Caliph is said to have determined to demolish the

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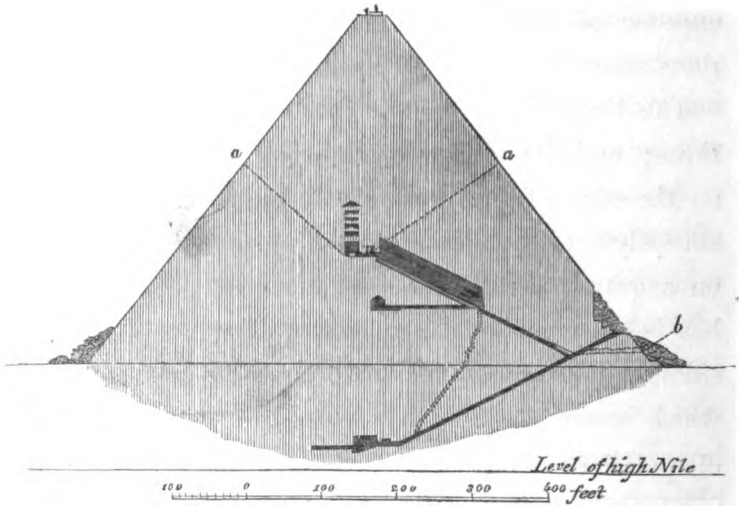

SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.

a, Tunnels for ventilation. *b*, Forced passage.

The present entrance to the Great Pyramid is a small opening in the north front considerably within the original surface, about three feet and a half wide, rather more than four high, fifty feet above the base, and somewhat to the east of the centre. This is the mouth of a long, low tunnel of the same contracted dimensions, descending at a steep slope into the heart of the pyramid. Notches have been cut by visitors to prevent an involuntary slide to the bottom or to the first obstruction. The interior has much more the character of a catacomb than of an edifice. The peasants of the neighbouring villages are the

pyramids. Hearing however that the whole of one year's tribute from Egypt would not defray the cost, he wisely gave it up.

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ordinary guides. Two of them accompanied me; one leading the way with lights, and another following in the rear with a supply of water, without which you go nowhere in this thirsty land.

As we proceeded the glimmer from behind grew fainter and fainter till it was quite lost. Now descending, now ascending, we made our way through narrow passages, winding communications, and gloomy bat-infested chambers till I had lost all clue to our real position. Before and behind was black darkness, our wax lights threw a fitful flicker upon the near objects, and as we moved on, our footsteps and voices awoke the echoes and startled the genii of the place. At last, after ascending a long and very lofty passage, we came to the central sepulchral chamber — the inner shrine of this vast mausoleum. Here walls, floor, and roof are all formed with massive blocks of polished red granite, reaching from floor to ceiling, and stretching from wall to wall. A large granite sarcophagus stood at one end of the apartment, — its sole contents mouldering rubbish and dust, — not a single hieroglyphic upon it or the walls of the chamber. The massive granite floor had been torn up, probably by some greedy searcher for hid treasures: the gloomy walls were blackened with innumerable inscriptions. Such is the fate of the jealously guarded tomb of the tyrant Cheops; its secret chambers the abode of bats, and scrawled with the names of strangers of all lands, — the era of its foundation and the

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intricacies of its interior, problems for the chronologist and the explorer!

How admirably adapted would have been these mysterious penetralia to the purposes of a crafty priesthood in imposing on the credulity of superstitious devotees! How exactly fitted for the performance of their initiatory rites with awe-inspiring effect — for the bodying forth the allegoric doctrines of their mystic faith, or enacting the fables ascribed to their gods!

The modern Egyptians have peopled these dismal abodes with a legion of elves and genii, the demigods of their mythology. The clicking of the bats the Arab devoutly believes to be the whispering of the resident spirits. While in the Great Pyramid I had a disagreeable proof of the reality of this belief. We had been a long time wandering through the interior, and were now far beneath the base of the building. Our supply of lights was reduced to two small candle ends: lest these should fail before we reached daylight, I blew out mine. At the same instant and for the same reason the Arab extinguished his: thus in a moment we were in utter darkness, in a deep subterranean chamber a hundred yards from daylight, to regain which it was necessary to follow a steep ascent four feet high. I desired one of our guides to return to the outer world and bring us lights, but neither could be prevailed on to face the haunted darkness of the long passages alone. I then pro-

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posed that they should take my servant (an Arab) with them, while I would await their return alone, but in vain — it would they said be so much better to return together; and accordingly together we began to grope our way.

The passage of entrance continues downwards* in a straight line from the mouth for about 320 feet, passing first through the masonry and then piercing the rock, and leads to a large chamber, (that in which our lights were extinguished,) under the apex of the pyramid but far beneath its base. At a point about sixty feet from the entrance it meets an ascending passage, continuing inwards towards the centre of the building. The lower end of this is stopped up with granite blocks, which are avoided by a lateral communication, forced through the limestone masonry. Following the ascent for about 120 feet you arrive at the lofty GALLERY which leads up in a continuous line to the sepulchral or KING'S CHAMBER, nearly under the apex. From the bottom of the Gallery a horizontal passage leads inwards to the secondary or QUEEN'S CHAMBER; and from a recess at the same point of junction, the WELL descends irregularly till it opens upon the long entrance passage.

The *Gallery* leading up to the King's Chamber is the most remarkable feature of the interior. The

* See woodcut p. 150.

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other passages are scarcely four feet high, this is twenty-eight. Its width too is nearly double that of the others*; but this is gradually diminished towards the ceiling by a series of projections, probably to diminish the span of the roof, which has to bear an immense load. Along each side runs a solid projection or bench having holes at intervals on the top. These were perhaps to secure a platform, which, resting on the stone benches, would have formed a raised floor to the passage. If mythological or funereal rites were ever celebrated within the pyramid, here doubtless would have been the grand display.†

In the short passage between the top of the Gallery and the King's Chamber, grooves have been formed in the side walls to receive upright slabs or portcullises, which, when let down, would have prevented all access to the royal sepulchre beyond. One still stands raised in its grooves.

The King's Chamber is thirty-four feet long, about seventeen wide, and nineteen high.‡ Nine ponderous blocks of granite form the roof. The granite sarco-

* It is nearly 7 feet wide, and 150 long. Its great height was no doubt partly intended to lessen the quantity of superincumbent masonry.

† The fact that the passages were carefully stopped up seems opposed to the notion that the pyramids were ever used for such purposes. Yet if we regard them merely as tombs it is difficult to account for the introduction of ascending and descending passages, which much increased the difficulties of construction. Perhaps the stopping up was some time subsequent to the interment.

‡ See Vyse's Pyramids of Gizeh, App.

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phagus was fixed into the floor. The passages are just large enough to have allowed it to pass through them. Two small funnels, apparently for ventilation, run up hence, and open at elevated points on the exterior.

Above the principal or King's Chamber are five voids of the same superficial area, evidently designed to lessen the quantity of masonry above its roof. The four upper ones were forcibly opened by Col. Vyse in 1837. The roofs, except the uppermost, were formed, like that below, of horizontal blocks of granite about seven feet deep and of course more than seventeen long.* The upper one, which had to resist the pressure of the thousands of tons of stone between it and the apex of the pyramid, is of still stronger construction. It is formed of great blocks inclined towards each other like the rafters of a roof so as to throw off the weight upon the incompressible masses at the sides.

Several quarry marks and a few rough hieroglyphics still remained on the walls of these chambers. The latter were the first traces of writing discovered within the pyramids. Though probably nothing more than the chance scribblings of Cheops's masons, they are by far the most interesting fruits of Col. Vyse's labours. Among them appeared the name of SHUFO, who is

* The roof of one chamber forms the floor of that above. The upper surfaces are irregular, but the ceilings and sides were carefully wrought. These chambers were walled up and inaccessible.

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clearly the Suphis or Cheops to whom Manetho and Herodotus respectively ascribe the erection of this extraordinary structure.

The subterranean chamber was evidently never finished.* The floor is rough and slopes up towards the ceiling. An adit goes off hence into the rock, but leads to nothing. A sinking in the floor seemed to indicate an intention of carrying the excavation deeper. From this, the lowest chamber in the pyramid, Col. Vyse sank a shaft in search of the celebrated insulated tomb mentioned by Herodotus,—but in vain. That tomb was, I believe, not in the pyramid but near it.

It is supposed that the workmen having stopped up with granite blocks the bottom of the ascent to the sepulchral chamber *from within*, descended by the well to the long entrance passage, and so made their way out. By this arrangement the violation of the tomb seemed effectually prevented, for few would think of ascending a narrow well, ignorant of its height and whither it conducted. The granite blocks however excited curiosity; a lateral communication was forced, and the ascent beyond discovered.

Much has been said of late upon the correspondence in the slope of the various passages in the pyramids. As all their entries were declared to go downward from the NORTHERN front, at an angle of about 27°,

* It would have been the largest in the pyramid, being about 46 feet by 27.

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some have imagined that these passages were used as astronomical tubes; that the priests, stationing themselves at the lower end, thence watched the transit of the polar or some other star over the mouth. This hypothesis is more ingenious than satisfactory. It must have been deemed far-fetched if the pole-star could have been seen from this position, but it could not. The explanation too is applicable only to such passages as open upon the exterior: why do those within follow the same inclination? The correspondence may, I think, be much more satisfactorily referred to the necessities of construction. That stability of structure was carefully studied by the architects is manifest from their costly contrivances for discharging great perpendicular pressures, as well as in other particulars. Now it may be shown that if it were required to carry an inclined passage through a solid mass of masonry like one of these pyramids, so as to impair its stability as little as possible, it must take the very slope given.*

The ceilings of these sloping passages seem generally formed of stones laid *parallel* to the *floors*: but it is clear that a roof of this sort, lying upon a steeply inclined bed, would be very ill adapted to support a weight of many thousand tons, especially when its downward course was intercepted by another passage.

* Any irregularity or defect caused by the introduction of these passages would be carried through a considerable part of the building.

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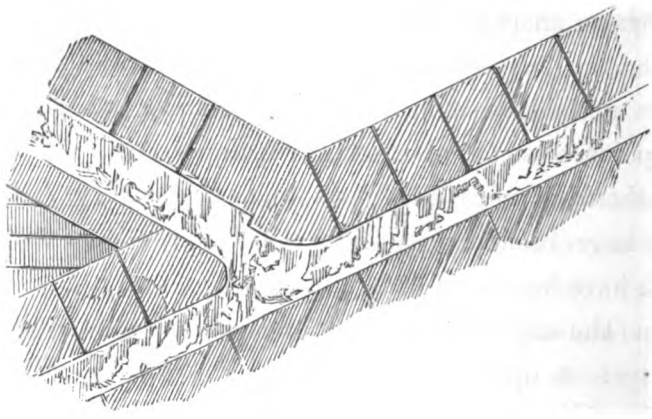

PASSAGES IN GREAT PYRAMID.

It seems therefore highly probable that these are *merely ceilings*, and that more efficient roofs, concealed above, really sustain the superincumbent masonry. This is not mere conjecture. What may be the commencement of such a roof is actually seen at the mouth of the entrance passage, where the construction is laid open. Here two couples of inclined blocks, introduced above the ceiling stone, throw off the weight upon the lateral masonry.* Whether these *discharging stones* are continued along the passage as an upper roof could only be determined by a dissection of the interior; but as the superincumbent load increases as we advance into the building it is not likely that a weaker construction should have been provided to sustain it. Another fact confirms the supposition that massive roofs exist above the

* See woodcut, next page, fig. 2.

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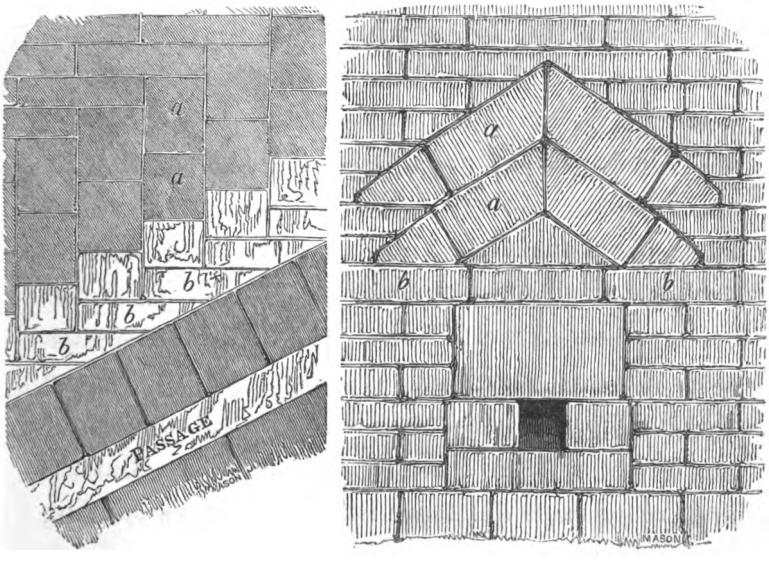
ceilings. There are two funnels for the ventilation of the interior of the pyramid.* Of these, the northern, instead of running up to the exterior in a direct line like the southern, bends off to the left.† No explanation of this has been proposed. If we imagine an inner ridged roof to exist above the ceiling of the gallery, the irregularity is at once intelligible;—the air-channel was turned off that it might not interfere with this roof.

These concealed roofs are probably of a construc-

Fig. 1. *Fig.* 2.



SUPPOSED CONSTRUCTION OF PASSAGES IN GREAT PYRAMID.

Fig. 2. shows the construction over the present entrance.

* See woodcut p. 150, *a*.

† See Perring's Pyramids of Gizeh, fol.

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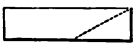
tion like that over the entrance of the Pyramid and above the uppermost chamber, under the apex.* If so, the discharging stones *a*, *a*, would require for their abutments a *regular* series of *broad steps*, *b*, *b*. Such a series would be best obtained by making the slope of the passage that of a line drawn from the edge of the top to the middle of the bottom  of the several blocks; and this would be an inclination of about 27°, or that actually given.

The Second Pyramid stands about two hundred yards S. W. of that of Cheops. Having retained the upper part of its casing and lost little from its apex it rises nearly to the same height as the greater one. The internal arrangement of the two structures is similar. In both the entrance is on the north side and a little east of the centre; in both the passages are low narrow adits, horizontal, or inclined at an angle of about 26° or 27°. In both there seem to have been two chief apartments; one, having a sarcophagus at its western end, under the apex—the other, or secondary chamber below. In the Second Pyramid however the latter is not central, but in the north-west quarter, beneath the base line. But the most remarkable difference is that Cephren's building has *two* entrance passages, one descending from a point about 50 feet above the ground, the other from

* Fig. 2.—Passages in other great pyramids to the south have inclined roofs of this kind.

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the base. Both had been stopped up at the bottom with a granite portcullis. The upper passage* conducts to the chief apartment. The lower leads to the second chamber, and by an ascent joins that above. All the chambers in this pyramid are hewn in the rock; the builders thus avoided the difficulty, experienced by their predecessors, of constructing a roof strong enough to bear the prodigious load of masonry between it and the apex.

The sarcophagus is sunk in the floor. When discovered the lid was half removed; amidst dust and rubbish within were found relics of the bones of a bull; and it was concluded that they were the venerable remains of some bovine deity honoured with sepulture in this vast mausoleum. Belzoni however did not notice these at his first visit, and it is not quite impossible that they were surreptitiously introduced afterwards. The annals of antiquarianism would furnish more than one example of such fraud.†

The Third Pyramid or that of Mycerinus was

* That part which passes through the masonry is lined with granite.

† Immense sums were lavished upon the funerals of the sacred animals. In the reign of the first Ptolemy, fifty talents were borrowed to defray the expenses of the obsequies of Apis. The last rites having been paid to one, all Egypt was searched for another. According to Herodotus he was to be black — to have a white triangular spot on the forehead, an eagle on the back and a beetle under the tongue. Cambyses, among his other enormities, slew a fine young Apis immediately after his apotheosis.

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opened by Col. Vyse in 1837.* Its internal arrangement differs somewhat from the two larger ones. Except the first twenty-eight feet of the entry, all the chambers and passages are hewn in the rock beneath the building, so that the pyramid may be called a solid mass. It seems to have been constructed in steps or stages, and the sides afterwards filled in with masonry of a different sort. The lower part of the exterior was of granite.

In the interior we have a real instance of the artifice traditionally ascribed to Amasis, by which he is said to have saved his corpse from the indignities which Cambyses unwittingly inflicted upon another.† Within the principal chamber there is a deeper and smaller one, approached by an inclined passage opening on the floor of the first. It would appear then that while the monarch was deposited in the carved basalt sarcophagus in this inner apartment, the body of some ignoble individual was placed in the outer one, as a blind to any enemy or explorer who, not-

* Having resolved to find or make a way into the interior, Col. Vyse carried a horizontal tunnel to the middle of the solid mass, and then sank a shaft to the bottom. This displayed nothing but his own perseverance. The true entrance was all the while hid under the mound at the base, and was quickly opened when the explorers had got upon the right scent. The passages had been blocked up, but forced by former explorers. Col. Vyse deserves the thanks of all interested in Egyptian antiquity. His discoveries are of much higher historic interest than even those of the indefatigable Belzoni.

† Herod. iii. 16.

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withstanding the blocking up of the passages, might make way thus far into the interior. Mycerinus no doubt flattered himself that while the tomb of the mean man was violated the royal corpse would rest safely enshrined within. But he did not do justice to the acumen of explorers. His secret cell has long ago been discovered and rifled, the mummy dragged from its beloved solitude, and scattered to the winds. The basalt sarcophagus remained: it was carefully hauled out and shipped for England; but it was not destined to arrive there; and now, safe from future antiquaries, lies buried in the depths of ocean. How different a history of the mummy, with its costly embalming and its laboriously wrought sarcophagus, from what the Egyptian promised himself!*

There is a singular chamber near the inner sepulchral apartment, with square niches or binns against the wall. The purpose of these is still an enigma for the antiquaries. They may have some analogy to the slab or dresser round an inner chamber in Belzoni's tomb at Thebes. A second passage ascends northward from the great chamber but terminates abruptly where the masonry commences.

In the large apartment Col. Vyse found the fragments of a wooden coffin inscribed with the hiero-

* Whether this artifice was carried into effect or only intended is not certain. There is a sunk space in the floor of the *outer* chamber as though to receive a sarcophagus; but none was found there.

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glyphic name RE-MEN-KA, or, by legitimate transposition, MENKARE; doubtless the Mycerinus of Herodotus and the Mencheres of Manetho.*

The Second and Third Pyramids stand upon an inclined plane. In building the Second, in order to obtain a level base for the exterior they cut away the higher part of the rock, and thus formed a broad deep fosse round two sides of the building, which of course detracts from its effect. The architects of Mycerinus seem to have profited by the error of their predecessors. Instead of sinking their structure into a pit they raised the lower part by a substruction of gigantic stones, which promises to last as long as the native rock. This probably once formed a kind of terrace before the front.

The Great Pyramid was opened or rather reopened by the Caliph Mamoon in the 9th century. One Arabian author tells us that in an upper chamber the explorers found a hollow stone containing a statue like a man, within which was a man's body, with a breastplate of gold set with jewels, and at the head a carbuncle as large as an egg, shining like the light, and on the human figure were written characters which no man understood. This description reminds us of the appearance of mummies inclosed in mummy-shaped coffins, as now found in this neighbourhood. The face is occasionally fronted with a gilt mask, and

* See Vyse's Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. ii. p. 96.

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a similar covering on the breast of the body may have been transmuted by the fervid imagination of this oriental into a "breastplate of gold." The Arabian historians are not remarkable for their accuracy.

On opening the Second Pyramid several Arabic inscriptions were found scrawled on the walls of the great chamber: one has been thus translated, "The Master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them, and the Master Othman attended this opening, and the King Ali Mohammed from the beginning to the closing up." The Saracens, then, had been there, though none knew when: probably during the early and more brilliant ages of the caliphate. The Third Pyramid was also opened, as appears by a translation of an Arabic MS. by Burckhardt, published by Col. Vyse. All these costly operations seem to have been undertaken in quest of imaginary treasures.

The exact disposition of the faces of the pyramids to the cardinal points* has been supposed by some to have been connected with astronomical purposes; but the following extract from a Hindoo treatise on architecture offers a more satisfactory explanation. "It is indispensably necessary that all the quarters should be distinctly and precisely marked on the spot on which buildings are to be erected, for the purpose of giving them an auspicious aspect, and of preventing

* In this they resembled the pyramids of New Spain: ruins at Babylon exhibit the same peculiarity.

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their being opposite any of the intermediate points which are declared to be inauspicious."* The northern appears to have been considered the principal front of every pyramid, the entrance being always on that side.

In this ancient cemetery, besides the grand triad there are six small pyramids †, tumuli, built tombs, hewn grottoes, and sepulchral pits. Of the small pyramids, some of which are half demolished, three range along the eastern base of the Great Pyramid, mere satellites to its majesty though elsewhere they would be called large structures. The central one is ascribed by Herodotus to Cheops's daughter. The three others are in a line behind the Third. In all these the chambers and passages are subterranean.

West of the Great Pyramid are several parallel rows of tumuli, running north and south, like most other objects here. Near these are a few small sepulchral structures, low and slightly pyramidal, each containing two or three chambers, painted like the excavated tombs of Upper and Middle Egypt. Each has a subterranean cell approached by a well. Notwithstanding the extravagant antiquity assigned them by Mr. Salt and others, I believe that these tombs, as well as the pyramids, must be referred to the later dynasties. Their position indeed relative to the Great Pyramid

* Essay on the Architecture of the Hindús, by Rám Ráz, p. 19; published by the Royal Asiatic Society.

† Some of these are built in steps or stages.

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indicates that the latter was first erected. Blocks in the walls bear hieroglyphics *reversed*, proving that they were taken from older buildings. Some of the joints are slightly oblique instead of perpendicular, a peculiarity observable in the great quay wall of the isle of Eliphantine, which was built under the Ptolemies.*

In determining the antiquity of a work from the style of sculpture or painting, perhaps due allowance has not been made for local circumstances. Mere inferiority of execution is no proof of higher antiquity. Provincial artists would of course be inferior to those of the capital, and Thebes may have continued to be the metropolis of art after it had ceased to be the seat of government. The revolt of the Thebans in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and his terrible revenge, indicate that even to that late period the ancient capital maintained a spirit of rivalry with the great northern cities.

Remains of Cheops's grand causeway for transporting the blocks quarried from the rocks on the east bank are still seen leading up to the Great Pyramid from the plain — a shapeless ridge of ruinous masonry and sand. According to Herodotus it was 1000 yards long, 60 feet wide and 48 feet high; was adorned with figures of animals and was a work of ten years. Its original appearance must have been

* I have also noticed it in the walls of fortified cities in the Morea, erected during the best times of Greece. Its object apparently was to give compactness and *bond* to the masonry.

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very imposing, for the historian compares it with the pyramid itself.* Cheops's command of men and money seems to have been unlimited; — and yet recent writers would have us believe that all these grand works were executed by an infant people soon after the Dispersion!

Another massive built causeway led up to the east side of the Third Pyramid: this perhaps joined the first on the plain.

On emerging from the gloomy interior of the Third Pyramid, instead of the blaze of Egyptian day which we had left, we found a cool and delicious moonlight evening. Walking towards the tent where we were to pass the night I discovered hard by a large black object standing out in strong relief, apparently a circular temple of moderate dimensions. This *temple* proved to be the enormous head of the celebrated Sphinx!

The effect of such a vast mass of rock impressed with human features, seen suddenly by moonlight, was strange and impressive — almost unearthly. The abrupt lights and shadows concealed mutilations and defects and gave reality to the expression, and its high antiquity and historic renown aided the spell. Fixedly, yet vacantly, it gazed over the silent moonlit plain, — that plain which once rang with the shouts of the thousands of Memphis.

* Herod. ii. 124.

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Anything of ordinary dimensions would look diminutive near the Pyramids, but the Sphinx is colossal and majestic even here. Its length is about 120 feet and it rises 40 feet above the present level of the rock, of which it was originally a projecting knoll. Seamed by natural fissures, worn and eroded by time and the desert sands, and battered by the iconoclastic zeal of the Moslem, the face still presents that ponderous severity and mathematical parallelism so characteristic of Egypt. The configuration of the rock rendered it necessary to *build* the paws with masonry. Some years since Mr. Caviglia succeeded in disinterring them from the accumulated sands, but the inexorable desert soon reclaimed what had been won from it at the expense of months of toil, and the head and throat are now alone visible. The paws were found stretched out about fifty feet in advance, and between them were an altar and some large slabs or tablets, supposed to have formed a small hypæthral fane.

The name of Thothmes IV. was inscribed on one of the slabs; but we are scarcely authorized thence to conclude that the Sphinx also dates from the reign of that ancient Pharaoh, especially since Pliny tells us it was supposed to be the tomb of Amasis, of the 26th dynasty. If obelisks were transported by later monarchs from ancient edifices to grace their own works, why should not tablets like these? Neither is the presence of a king's name any infallible proof

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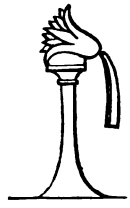
that the work dates from his reign. The name of the third Thothmes occurs on the Ptolemaic portico of Esneh. Colossal androsphinxes and chapels of this kind were common in the age of Amasis. A monolithic fane inscribed with his name still exists at Tel-e'-tmai in the Delta, and Herodotus mentions another. The beard of the Sphinx was *plaited;* this is characteristic of a late age, those of the more ancient statues being arranged in horizontal fillets. The form of the altar is rather Roman than Egyptian.*



EGYPTIAN ALTAR.

On the paws were several Greek inscriptions, in one of which the monster Nero figures as "the good spirit!" Like the sitting colossi on the plain of Thebes the Sphinx looks towards the east, as though to salute the glorious orb as it emerges from the horizon.

Among the ancient works recently explored in this necropolis is a very remarkable excavation in the sandy tract east of the rock of the Pyramids. A

* A sketch of the altar and slabs, with an account of Caviglia's operations, is given in the Quarterly Review, vol. xix. Some of the objects found between the paws are in the British Museum; rude, coarse, and apparently of the worst age.

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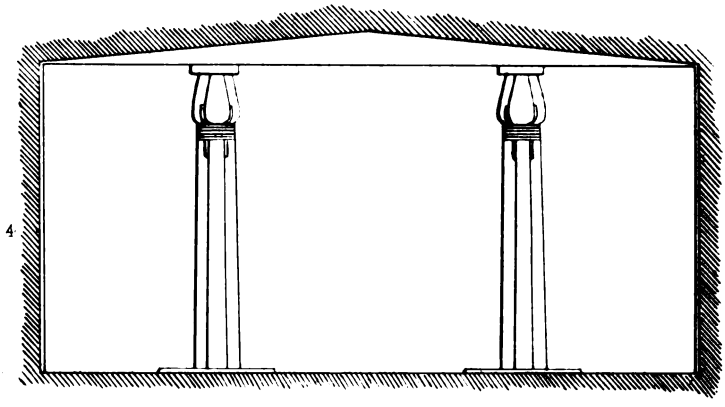

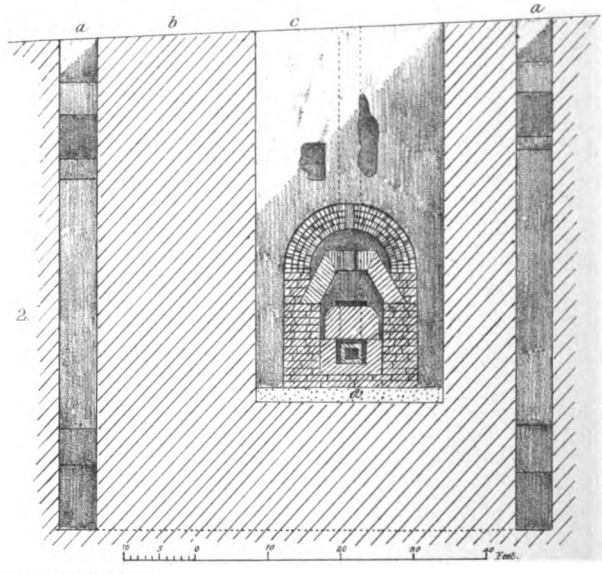

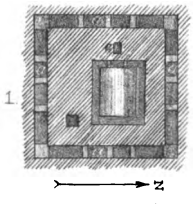

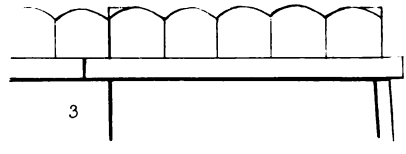

G.H.W. lith. Printed by W. Gauc

1, 2. PLAN AND SECTION OF INSULATED TOMB NEAR THE PYRAMIDS.
3. BATTLEMENTS OF ENTRANCE TOWER, MEDEENET HABOO, THEBES.
4. SECTION OF ONE OF THE GROTTOES OF BENIHASSAN.

Longman & Co. London, 1843.

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large oblong pit, of great de[illegible]
a narrow canal or trench still [illegible]
some yards thick, being b[illegible]
A well sunk in this interna[illegible]
a sepulchral structure at th[illegible]
pit.†

This excavation exactly agr[illegible]
description of that in which C[illegible]
been buried, and which modern exp[illegible]
venerable Halicarnassian for their gu[illegible]
been searching for *within* the pyramids [illegible]
an honest writer, Herodotus is [illegible]
Misled by local legends he [illegible]
was entirely an artificial wor[illegible]
niably a natural basin. The S[illegible]
he erroneously asserted had no [illegible]
bers.

The place of Cheops's burial seems to have been

* About 30 feet long and 53 deep.

† I am indebted to the kindness of Col. V[illegible] subject, which is borrowed from his "Operations at the P[illegible]izeh." The tomb has been called "Campbell's" from the [illegible]nsul-general in Egypt; but if it must be baptized it should [illegible] after Col. Vyse who opened it.

‡ "Ten years as I remember were consumed in construct[illegible] causeway and excavating the chambers in the hill on which pyramids are erected. These Cheops intended [illegible] which was insulated by introducing the waters of the [illegible] pyramid of Chephren has no subterraneous cha[illegible] channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the [illegible] an island wh[illegible] the body of Cheops is said to [illegible] Herod. ii. 124

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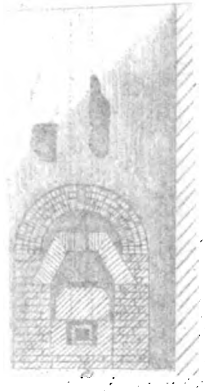

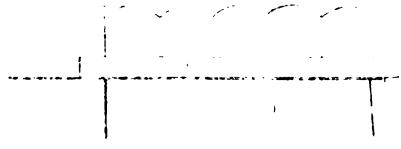

D

PLAN AND SECTION OF ONE OF THE SMALL PYRAMIDS AT THEBES.

large oblong pit, of great depth*, is surrounded by a narrow canal or trench still deeper, a mass of rock, some yards thick, being between. (Pl. XI. fig. 1, 2.) A well sunk in this intermediate mass gives access to a sepulchral structure at the bottom of the central pit.†

This excavation exactly agrees with Herodotus's description of that in which Cheops was said to have been buried, and which modern explorers, with the venerable Halicarnassian for their guide, have so long been searching for *within* the pyramids.‡ But though an honest writer, Herodotus is not an infallible guide. Misled by local legends he tells us that Lake Mœris was entirely an artificial work, though it is undeniably a natural basin. The Second Pyramid too he erroneously asserted had no subterraneous chambers.

The place of Cheops's burial seems to have been

* About 30 feet long and 53 deep.

† I am indebted to the kindness of Col. Vyse for this subject, which is borrowed from his "Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh." The tomb has been called "Campbell's" from the then consul-general in Egypt; but if it must be baptized it should rather be after Col. Vyse who opened it.

‡ "Ten years as I remember were consumed in constructing the causeway and excavating the chambers in the hill on which the pyramids are erected. These Cheops intended as his burial place, which was insulated by introducing the waters of the Nile." "The Pyramid of Chephren has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other surrounds an island where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited." Herod. ii. 124.

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early involved in mystery. Whilst Herodotus says it was in the Great Pyramid, Diodorus tells us that Cheops and Cephren, fearing their bodies would be dragged from the tomb, desired their attendants to bury them in some secret place. If these different stories were current, the position of the Nile-girt chamber, which according to some contained his body, could scarcely have been accurately known. The interior of the Great Pyramid has now been so thoroughly explored and ransacked that it is very improbable this chamber could have escaped detection had it really existed there; and the improbability is increased by a consideration of the general plan of the building, and the analogies of similar works. Indeed as the lowest known chamber was left unfinished, it is almost certain that the labours of the workmen ended with it.* Yet the story of the island-tomb could hardly have been a fiction. It existed somewhere. My first view of this curious work, with its deep surrounding trench, in the immediate vicinity of the Great Pyramid, convinced me it must be the very chamber alluded to.

It has been ascertained that while the lowest chamber in the Great Pyramid is considerably above the level of the Nile when at the highest, the bottom of this isolating trench is fourteen or fifteen feet below

* From this chamber Col. Vyse sank a shaft in search of the insulated chamber.

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that level, so that it might have been fed from the river; and a conduit, or the commencement of one, may still exist, choked up with the desert sand.*

The presence of the name of a king of the 26th dynasty† on the sides of the central pit might seem to render the conjecture untenable. But Diodorus states that Cheops was *not* buried in the place prepared for his tomb. The excavation might then have been the work of the tyrant king, but appropriated by another. This conjecture is supported by its actual state. The tomb at the bottom of the pit is built, not on the rock, but on an intermediate stratum of sand. Until the recent operations the pit was filled with this sand: hence we might infer that previous to its present appropriation the excavation had long been neglected and exposed, and had consequently become filled with sand from the desert, and that on clearing it out a bed two or three feet thick was allowed to remain at the bottom.

Perhaps however, after all, the famous Nile-girt tomb was not really the work of Cheops, for probably the sarcophagus shrined within his pyramid was prepared to receive his corpse. Nothing is more common than for the works of a past age to be concentrated upon a single celebrated name. Three fourths of the

* There is a deep well, no doubt supplied from the Nile, between this tomb and the Second Pyramid. Adits cut in the rock are also mentioned.

† Sixth cent. B. C.

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Romish foundations in the Holy Land are now ascribed to the pious zeal of "Santa Elena."

The pyramids of Sakkara are about ten miles south of the Geezeh group, and not far from the site of Memphis. Others further south continue the chain of pyramidal structures, from the grand triad near the apex of the Delta several leagues up the valley, and towards the inland province of the Fyoom. Most of these are much smaller than the three of Geezeh, though one nearly equals the Pyramid of Cephren. The founders always chose a site on the margin of the *desert*, thus

"Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land,"*

as well as gaining a more commanding position.

Most of these were probably erected subsequently to the Geezeh group, for the builders appear to have aspired at an improvement upon the pyramidal form, and have thus lost that simple majesty which is the great charm of such structures. One terminates abruptly with an obtuse apex. Another is a truncated pyramid with steep sides: some were in steps or stages, like those of Mexico. Others are so ruined that their original form cannot be determined.

One of the Sakkara structures offers many anomalies in its arrangement. It is the only pyramid in Egypt which does not exactly face the cardinal points. Its

* Translation of inscription on the Sphinx.

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interior presents a labyrinth of adits, and contains one well-like chamber near eighty feet deep, the roof of which rested on timber beams: at the bottom was a massive stone erection. This arrangement reminds us of the Insulated Tomb of the Pyramids.*

One of the two brick pyramids not far from the site of Memphis may be that which Herodotus tells us was erected by Asychis and bore this boastful legend, " Compare me not to the pyramids of stone. I am as superior to them as Jove to the other gods. I am formed of bricks made of mud drawn by poles from the bottom of the lake."

With a few unimportant exceptions all the pyramids of Egypt are concentrated in the district north and south of Memphis. Here we have a large group of these remarkable structures, unlike the ancient buildings of the Thebaid on the south, and those of the neighbouring Asiatic nations on the north. How then are we to account for their presence here?

Many pyramids still exist in Ethiopia several hundred miles south of the cataracts of E'Souan. These differ from those of Egypt in being much smaller and of steeper slope, in not facing the cardinal points, and in having a kind of porch in front.† We have no proofs that these monuments are of high antiquity,

* In both cases the roof or top of the sunken building had an aperture closed with a stopper. See Perring's Pyramids, fol. Part iii.

† See Hoskins's Ethiopia.

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but their number and their presence in various parts of the country render it probable that the pyramid is an object essentially Ethiopian. I have endeavoured to prove that the foundation of Cheops's Pyramid dates immediately subsequent to the time when Zerah the Ethiopian must have passed through Egypt on his Asiatic expedition. Pyramidal building might then have been introduced from the south at this period, which was some centuries subsequent to the rule of the Ramses race and the erection of the palatial edifices of Thebes.*

Lieut. Wilford has shown that Ethiopia at a remote period received a colony from India.† The pyramidal model may then have been imported from Asia into Africa by these settlers, or by the aboriginal inhabitants. In either case the prototype was probably the great tower on the plain of Shinar whose top was "to reach unto heaven," and the remnant of which, as Sir R. K. Porter believed, is still seen, blasted and vitrified by the lightnings of heaven. The pyramids of Central America may probably be traced through India to the same original. Both these and the

* The name of MENCHERES, the founder of the Third Pyramid, has an evident relation to that of CHENCHERRES an Ethiopian king of the 18th dynasty, and that of "ZERAH the Ethiopian." Perhaps Cheops himself had some connexion with Ethiopia. A royal oval in an inscription at Meroe appears to be formed from his name and that of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, the contemporary of Hezekiah.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. iii.

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pagodas of the Hindoos remind us of the description of the Temple of Belus or Second Tower of Babel. Both are pyramidal and crowned with a small structure.*

The platform on the summit of the Great Pyramid is covered with English names and inscriptions. These may be taken as an index of the proportion of English travellers, for others are not less careful to fulfil what Chateaubriand calls "tous les petits devoirs d'un pieux voyageur."

The view from this elevation at sunrise is striking and impressive. The shadows of the three gigantic structures lie stretched beneath over the mouldering memorials of long forgotten ages. Westward an undulating desert plain extends to the white hills which from this point southward shut in the Egyptian valley, now approaching the river, now sweeping off inland: the eye can follow no further westward, but for many a hundred league beyond stretch the silent solitudes of the great African desert — the barren patrimony of cursed Ham! To the north, east, and south you look down on the fertile fields of Egypt, here

* It is remarkable that a statue found at the ancient American city of Palenque has some resemblance to the works of Egypt, and holds in its hand an object precisely like the Egyptian hieroglyphic . On the base is an oval ring, like those so common in Egypt, and frequently occurring in these American inscriptions. The relievos of Palenque have a very different character. Their grotesque extravagance reminds us much more of Hindoostan, and, like their architecture, suggests an Asiatic origin for this extinct race. See Stephens's Central America, vol. i. p. 349.

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emerging from its long narrow valley and spreading into the expanse of the Delta. Through the midst of the plain "prolific Nile" pours along his earthy tide, borne from the far-off regions of central Africa, and now soon to mingle with the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Beyond the river and backed by the Mocattam hills are seen the tall minarets of the modern capital. Villages nestled in groves of palms are scattered over the plain, or, during the inundation, rise like islands out of the lakes. To the south-east the pyramids of Sakkara are seen glistening in sunshine. Above spreads the same cloudless azure that canopied the court of the Pharaohs.

The historic recollections of the scene are also full of interest. Within a few leagues are the sites of Memphis, the second metropolis of Egypt, and of On or Heliopolis, the city of Joseph's father-in-law Potipherah, and probably the scene of his temptation, his captivity, and at last his greatness. It was through the defiles of the desert mountains to the east, behind Cairo, that the 600,000 Hebrew slaves marched out with a high hand under their venerable leader, and began to unfold the roll of their national destinies.

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GROTTOES OF BENI HASSAN.

These very interesting grotto-tombs are excavated in the face of a chain of cliffs on the east bank of the Nile in Middle Egypt, a short distance from the river. Some, like the water-grots of Silsili, consist of a small chamber with niched statues opposite the entrance. In others a three-aisled hall communicates with smaller chambers by lateral apertures.

Several small columns found here bear a striking resemblance to the Doric of Greece, and are supposed to have been its prototype. Some are octagonal and crowned with a square abacus; others approach much nearer to the Doric model, being fluted with twenty shallow flutes, about five and a

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half diameters high, and like the first, crowned with an abacus. From the hieroglyphic inscriptions the tomb has been referred to the remote age of Osirtasen I.*

The real age of these grottoes is a point of considerable interest. In their columns it is supposed we see the germ of the national architecture of Greece; their paintings are cited as proofs of the high civilization and domestic refinement of Egypt in the remotest ages, and are supposed to commemorate Joseph's grandeur and the arrival of his brethren. Without urging the improbability that one nation, in borrowing its architecture from another, should imitate, not the established style seen in all their great works, but a rare example in a remote tomb, I think we find in the grottoes themselves all the marks of a late age — conclusive proofs that their columns were a humble imitation of the majestic Doric, — not its prototype.

In one of the excavations these columns occur in the interior; in another in a porch before the entrance.† The very presence of this porch indicates a late age. The more ancient tombs at Thebes have nothing of the sort, though we find excavated porticos attached to those of the late dynasty of the Psammitichi. Above the architrave of the porch is

* Sir G. Wilkinson supposes him contemporary with Joseph.

† See vignette, p. 179.

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a cornice ornamented with long mutules or brackets. This is the solitary example of a cornice with mutules throughout Egypt: it is a feature as utterly foreign to the genius of Egyptian architecture as it is characteristic of that of Greece. In the interior of one of the grottoes the columns support a low pediment*; this again reminds us of Greece. The walls are coated with a stucco stained in imitation of granite. This also points to an age of advanced or declining art, rather than to those primitive times when all ornament was genuine and unaffected. Granite must at least have been long known and commonly employed before an imitation of it would be thought of. The perfect preservation of the paintings on the walls, compared with those in the early sepulchres of Thebes, likewise indicates that they cannot be of a very high antiquity. The style of drawing proclaims the same. The figures have none of that spareness of limb which forms one of the chief characteristics of the ancient works.† One more fact may be added to complete the evidence. Of the two varieties of Doric-like columns found here, one, that with the octagonal shaft, occurs in the smaller temple of Medeenet Haboo, with an inscription recording the restoration of the edifice under Achoris, who was

* See pl. xi. fig. 4.

† The artist was adventurous enough to abandon the old method of drawing the shoulders, and attempted to represent them as seen in profile. The innovation was probably due to Persia.

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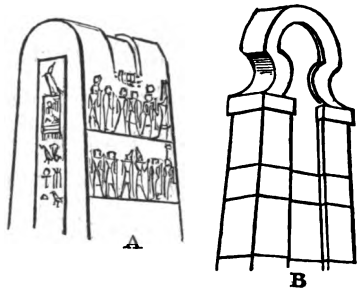
on the throne of Egypt within half a century of the conquest by Alexander the Great.*

An obelisk near Lake Mœris, in the province of the Fyoom, inscribed with the name of the same Osirtasen also bears distinct marks of a late age. It presents just such variations from the simplicity of the old Pharaonic obelisks as might have been expected from the later artists, who ever sought to improve upon their masters. The obelisk of the ancient Pharaohs, so simply grand, was *square* in its horizontal section, and terminated in a pyramidal apex. This of the Fyoom is of an *oblong* section;



A. Obelisk of the Fyoom. B. Obelisk of Axum, Abyssinia.

* See Champollion's *Lettres*, p. 331. Champollion supposes the columns to have been merely repaired by Achoris; but I have elsewhere endeavoured to show that they were entirely the work of a late age.

The Beni Hassan grottoes also contain columns of that early order representing a bundle of reeds; but of a proportion much more slender than the ancient examples. In the early tombs the pillars are square and very massive, left to support the roof rather than for architectural effect.

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its summit is rounded and appears to have been shaped to receive an ornament of metal.

At Axum in Abyssinia there is a large obelisk of similar oblong section, and with a somewhat similar apex. This was supposed by Mr. Salt to be of Greek workmanship, and local tradition assigns it to an age posterior to our era. The hieroglyphics in an inscription on the Fyoom obelisk, instead of being bold and deep-cut as on those at Thebes, are small and crowded into upright vertical columns, which likewise indicates a late period.*

When the history and development of an art are well understood, chronological conclusions from style and execution can be invalidated by no evidence to the contrary. There is a tomb at Gloucester of Osrick a *Saxon* king in the *latest style* of Gothic, and a like anomaly is seen at Worcester in a monument of King John. In the present case however the opposing testimony is not of this positive kind.†

Another obelisk at Heliopolis and some small columns at Karnak bear the same name. The common opinion which refers all these works to Osirtasen I., and places him a few reigns before the 18th dy-

* Above are *rows* of figures,—never found on obelisks of the Thothmes age.

† Osirtasen's name is not found in Manetho's list; nor is it seen in the royal hieroglyphic catalogue of Abydos. Rosellini however supposes with probability that it occupied one of the ovals destroyed; because the next ovals present names placed consecutively with Osirtasen's at Beni Hassan.

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nasty, is directly opposed to the statements of Manetho. All his copyists agree in making the Shepherd rule immediately antecedent to the 18th dynasty: Osirtasen then must have been contemporary with the Shepherds. But how improbable that an enterprising native prince, whose authority extended from Thebes to Heliopolis (in the Delta) and over the rich province of the Fyoom should have allowed a horde of shepherd invaders to retain Memphis, actually in the midst of his own territories.

These works are I believe of a very much later age. Nectanebo the head of the last dynasty of Pharaohs, and only half a century prior to Alexander's conquest, assumed the prenomen of this Osirtasen I. It is highly probable, therefore, from what has been proved in the Preliminary Chapter, that he traced, or pretended to trace, his pedigree from that ancient monarch. At least he must have held his memory in extraordinary veneration, for to adopt his prenomen was as if a modern sovereign should assume the armorial bearings of one of his earliest predecessors. The long inscription at Beni Hassan is probably then merely commemorative of events and personages of Osirtasen's age. This assumed, all the facts of the case find an easy solution. The games and trades depicted on the walls are those of a highly advanced and artificial age. We have a great man accompanied (like our feudal barons) by his dwarf—the game of draughts—tumblers—curious feats of agility, and

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other amusements — grand banquets — musical entertainments, "un opéra tout entier" as Champollion says. Though rather startling when assumed of the patriarchal times of Joseph, all this might be natural for the age of Nectanebo, B.C. 379, when the Egyptians had been a polished people upwards of a thousand years. The communication between Egypt and Greece in that age was constant, and the Egyptians were frequently aided by the Greeks against their common enemy Persia. What wonder then that a taste for Greek architecture, which had already produced the glorious Parthenon, should have passed over into Egypt?

The obelisk in the Fyoom or *Arsinoite Nome* seems to be that which Pliny, in an obscure passage, says was hewn out by Nectanebo and set up by Ptolemy Philadelphus at *Arsinoe.** In the same place he tells us it was erected at Alexandria; so that if the text has not been corrupted it would appear he was doubtful as to its real situation when he wrote. But since we actually find an obelisk of a late style in the Arsinoite nome, and bearing the prenomen of Nectanebo, it seems reasonable to conclude it to be the one referred to. Pliny adds that a Roman prefect subsequently ordered the apex to be cut to receive a metal ornament; and the obelisk of the Fyoom has actually been so prepared.

* Plin. xxxvi. 9.

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The name *Osirtasen* is not found in the chief vertical inscriptions of the obelisk, but with the prenomen in small characters at the top*, where it is preceded by "good god," a title which seems to have been appropriated to defunct kings; at least it is often found applied to such. It is given to the ancestors of Thothmes III. in the Chamber of Kings at Karnak, and to Amenof III. in a temple of late age at Elephantine. (See p. 190.) It also occurs before the name of Amenof III. on a statue in the British Museum which bears no resemblance to the ancient portraits of this king, and was probably therefore not sculptured during his life.

On one of the sides of the obelisk was a long hieroglyphic inscription now damaged. This may have recorded Nectanebo's dedication to Osirtasen, and was perhaps defaced by the Persians.

Joseph's imaginary brethren must then be stripped of their false honours. Champollion at first supposed them to be Asiatic Greeks.† Probably they were prisoners taken during Nectanebo's successful hostilities against Persia. They are in fact styled *captives* in the inscription, a term under its widest signification very unfit for the family of the prime minister of Egypt. Their long beards and mode of carrying the quiver remind us of the figures in the sculptures of

* See pl. iii. 35.

† He then erroneously identified Osirtasen with Osorthon, 10th cent. B. C.

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Persepolis.* The bow and quiver were perhaps introduced as characteristic of Persia. Thus Isaiah foretelling a Persian invasion says, "And Elam *bare the quiver* . . . . and Kir uncovered the shield." So Jeremiah, "I will break the bow of Elam the chief of their might."†

THIRD PERIOD.

WORKS OF THE PTOLEMIES AND CÆSARS.

The edifices erected in Egypt under the Ptolemaic and imperial rule betray the influence of an acquaintance with the works of Greece. The early Pharaonic temple consisted of a range of courts and halls, with a small secluded sanctuary in the rear. In the great Ptolemaic temple you pass from an outer court, through a portico open in front, to the body of the temple, which contained an assemblage of small chambers (often in two stories), amongst which, and insulated by a surrounding passage, was the adytum. A lofty pylon incloses the court, and forms the grand façade of the temple: opposite it, within, is the portico which rises above and extends beyond the sides

* See Sir R. K. Porter's Travels.

† Isaiah xxii. 6.; Jer. xlix. 35.

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of the third or inner division of the structure. Temples erected under the Roman rule approach much nearer to the Greek model, and often consist merely of a naos surrounded by a peristyle of columns or square piers.*

A feature peculiar to this age of revival is the *detached* pylon or gateway, usually much in advance of the edifice to which it leads. It is simply a pyramidal mass of masonry pierced with a lofty opening or gateway, crowned with a vast coved cornice, and entirely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, in intaglio or low relief. Thus with vastness of dimension, august proportions, and severe simplicity of outline and composition, it unites a Corinthian richness of decoration. The finest example is that before a temple at Karnak.† For majestic effect and faultless design, which of the triumphal arcs of Rome could be compared to it?

It is remarkable that the Caryatic pier, the stately colossus, and the star-pointing obelisk—the most splendid accessories of architecture under the Pharaohs—are either very seldom or never found in Ptolemaic works.

The capitals of this age offer endless varieties of foliate composition. Sometimes a single portico presents eight or ten different examples. Most are

* As the second temple of Denderah.

† See pl. ix.

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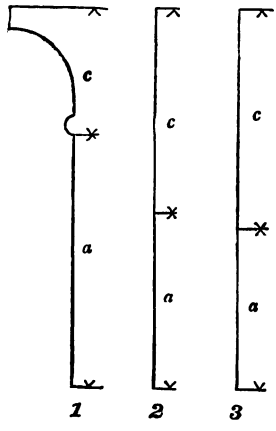
formed of combinations of the lotus or some other water-plant, or of the leaf of the vine or the palm. Some are highly effective and beautiful, though for grace and luxuriance combined, none can vie with the Corinthian. They appear to have more affinity to the Corinthian than to the early Pharaonic capitals, but whether in this particular Egypt borrowed from Greece it is difficult to determine.

A sure criterion in determining the age of an Egyptian edifice is the relative magnitude of the cornice and architrave. In works of the late school the cornice is much larger than in the ancient Pharaonic. Thus in the colonnades of the grand Caryatic court of Medeenet Haboo, a Pharaonic work, the cornice (*c.* fig. 1.) is one third the height of the



1, PHARAONIC. 2, PTOLEMAIC. 3, ROMAN.
c, Cornice. *a* Architrave.

whole entablature; in those of the court of Edfoo, of Ptolemaic date (fig. 2.) it is more than half the entire

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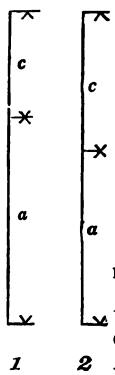
height; at the portico of Denderah, of the Roman age (fig. 3.), it is about three fifths.*

Had this been noticed earlier it might have prevented some mistakes. At the isle of Elephantine, on the Nubian border, there was till recently a peripteral temple with a columnar porch at one end and a portico of square piers at the flanks, the whole elevated on a high basement. From the inscriptions it has been referred to the remote age of Amenof III. The peripteral arrangement is however essentially dissimilar to that of the great works of the early Theban monarchs, where *seclusion* was always sought for the sanctuary; but it was common in secondary temples at a late period. The sculptures have also manifestly the Ptolemaic character.† Above all, the



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* This relative enlargement of the ornamental members seems natural to architecture as it becomes matured into a system and forgets its primitive types and their constructive uses. A similar gradual increase of the cornice and frieze at the expense of the architrave is observable in Greek and Roman works. In the subjoined woodcut, No. 1 shows the proportion of the cornice (*c*) to architrave and frieze (*a*), in the Corinthian entablature of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens; No. 2, their relative proportion at the temple of Jupiter Stator, the most admirable of the Roman varieties of Corinthian. In the Palladian Doric, the architrave, the essential member of the entablature regarded *constructively*, is sometimes almost reduced to nothing.

† The temple has been destroyed, but it is engraved in detail in the *Description de l'Egypte*, published by the French government, Antiq., Planches, vol. i.

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proportion of the cornice to the architrave is that of the late period, (it exceeds the height of the architrave,) and I think conclusively determines the age of this building, whatever may have been the date of the original foundation.

The name of Amenof is preceded here by the title "good god" which, as I have before observed, is often found before royal names on monuments of apparently later date; whence we may conclude that it was appropriated to defunct kings. The temple may have been dedicated in honour of Amenof, or his name have been introduced as the original founder. Probably it was one of the numerous restorations undertaken during the last native dynasties, shortly before the Macedonian conquest; and the name of the restorer* may have been erased by the Persians during their last brief rule in Egypt.

A temple very similar to this and dedicated to the same god, Kneph, existed till lately near El Kab or Eilethyas; this is supposed to be of still earlier date, but similar internal evidence decisively fixes it to the last period of Egyptian art.

The mural decorations of the late school differ much from the more ancient. In Ptolemaic works the whole surface of the wall is divided by vertical

* Perhaps Achoris, who seems to have claimed descent from the family of Amenof III.; see their ovals. At the small peripteral temple of Medeenet Haboo the inscription of Achoris, recording his restoration, is still seen.

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and horizontal bands into series of compartments, framing the sculptures, which, within the building, are in low *relief*. Bands, or breadths, charged with ornament, run under the cornice and along the base; in the latter case the lotus was commonly introduced. Cornices and friezes were frequently sculptured with alternating groups of ornaments or figures, each group consisting of different members repeated on either side of a central object.* Friezes were also ornamented with rows of spear-heads, and other bands were studded with stars. The frequent use of astronomical symbols is indeed characteristic of this period. A very rich and effective horizontal enrichment, formed of asps, carved in full relief and heightened by colour, was sometimes placed over the chief external cornice †, and often over that of the intercolumnar screens or dwarf walls which partially inclosed the front of porticos. In a block in the British Museum of the time of the Psammitichi, birds are substituted for the asps.

* See pl. xii. fig. 1. Hieroglyphics were also often thus regularly disposed right and left of a centre.

† As at the eastern colonnade of the inner court at Philæ.

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JOURNEY FROM THEBES TO NUBIA.

The ancient Theban princes concentrated most of their great works at their capital. But when the Ptolemies, and afterwards the Cæsars, swayed the sceptre of the Pharaohs, they were not very anxious to restore the city, devastated by the Persians, to its original splendour. They repaired the sanctuaries, erected a majestic gateway and a few small temples*; but their grand foundations are at Denderah, to the north of Thebes, and at Erment, Esne, Edfoo, Kom Ombo, and the isle of Philæ, to the south. Thus nearly all the large structures of Thebes are Pharaonic, and all others in the Thebaid, except at Abydos, of the late or Third Period.

At *Erment*, a few miles above Thebes, are the remains of a temple, founded by Cleopatra, who in the inscriptions appears associated with Cæsarion, her son by Julius Cæsar. A grove of palms, files of elegant detached columns, and half fallen architraves group into one of the most picturesque ruin scenes in Egypt. The original plan seems to have been a naos surrounded with a peristyle, approached through a kind of court, formed of columns united by screens or dwarf walls. The elongated proportion of the columns shows the influence of foreign art.

* The most remarkable is the beautiful little edifice called *Dayr el Medeeneh* under the Necropolis hills.

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Esne. Here is a magnificent portico, erected under the Roman rule. A row of gigantic columns front a street of the modern town, and their richly carved capitals strangely contrast with wretched dwellings of unburnt brick. The interspaces had been walled up, and the building appropriated as a cotton-store. The door was attached to the jambs by a lump of clay, stamped with a large seal; a clumsy but very ancient method of remedying the insecurity of a rude wooden lock.*

On passing the doorway four rows of massive columns, half lost in a dim twilight, presented a gloomy but grand effect. When perfect the interior was inclosed on three sides, and partly on the fourth or front by intercolumnar screens. Thus it was usually in deep shadow; and the columns, overspread with colored sculpture and hieroglyphics, gave richness and variety to the picture. In this portico the same design is not applied to more than two or three capitals. The Ptolemaic architects seem to have prided themselves on the beauty and originality of their capitals. They little dreamt of the powers of art being eternally limited to a canon of "five orders!"

* Ancient stamps, probably for such purposes, are still found at Thebes. It was thus probably that the Holy Sepulchre was sealed, that it might "be made sure until the third day." A seal of this kind was also affixed to the band of papyrus which was tied round the horns of bulls destined for sacrifice, indicating that they had been examined and found free from blemish. Herod. ii. 38.

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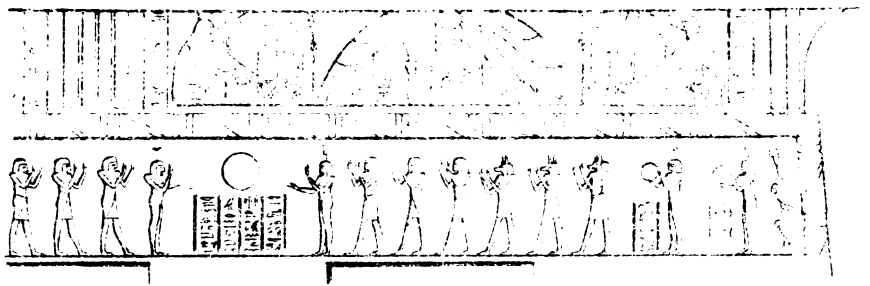

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[illegible] magnificent portico, crowned [illegible] row of gigantic columns [illegible] and their richly [illegible] with [illegible] The interspaces had been walled [illegible] appropriated as a cotton-store. [illegible] to the jambs by a lump of [illegible] large seal; a clumsy but very [illegible] remedying the insecurity of [illegible]

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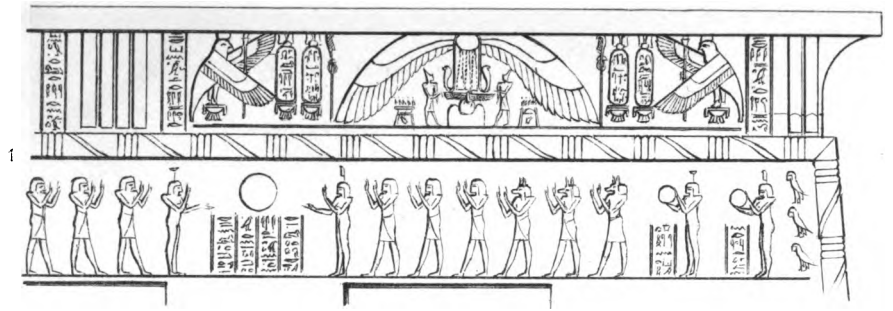

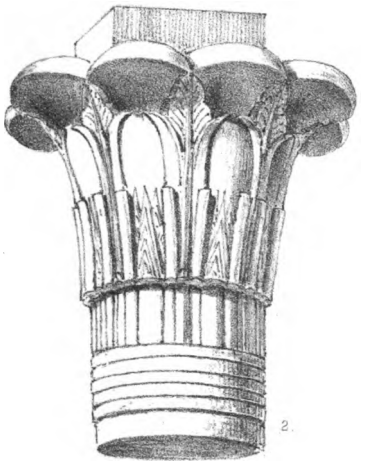

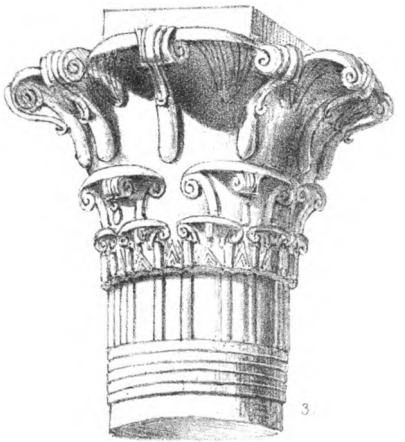

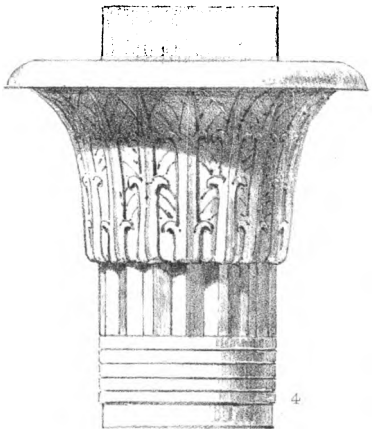

G.H.W

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1, ENTABLATURE OF PORTICO, TEMPLE OF EDFOO, 2ª CENTY B.C.
2, 3. PORTICO OF ESNE, OF ROMAN DATE. 4. TEMPLE OF EDFOO.

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When the French were in Egypt the remains of a small temple existed north of the town, and another ruin on the opposite bank of the Nile; but Mohammed Ali's *régénération* of Egypt has proved the destruction of these and many other monuments of her ancient glory. Their materials have been worked up into factories, and tall white chimneys, rivalling those of Leeds and Manchester, rise from among dingy huts of clay.

Not far from El Kab there is a ruined stone pyramid, about 60 feet square, the only considerable one in the Thebaid.

Grottoes of El Kab. These interesting painted tombs, hewn in the face of the eastern hills, received the dead of the town of Eilethyas, which lay on the plain beneath. Their entrances range in an irregular line ascending the cliffs, and marking perhaps the ancient funereal road. Many have that common appendage to the Egyptian sepulchre, a deep rectangular pit or well, sometimes within, sometimes without the entrance. Near the river are still seen the walls of the ancient town, built of sun-baked brick.

Edfoo (Apollinopolis Magna) boasts one of the grandest works of the Ptolemies and most perfect of existing Egyptian temples. The lofty pylon* is descried from the river long before you reach the town, and announces an important edifice. Its cornice,

* This vast pile is about 225 feet in length and 115 high.

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the redeeming feature of such works, is gone, but on approaching, the dead flatness of the front is relieved by colossal figures, which now reveal themselves, cut in bold intaglio, on the surface.* Below are heroes smiting hostile chiefs, whom they hold suspended in clusters by their hair; above, the more apathetic figures of throned gods—favorite subjects with the later sculptors or their masters the priests.

Passing the gateway between the towers of the pylon, I entered a grand cloistered quadrangle, half buried in sand and vast piles of the government corn. Here we have a singular example of Egyptian ideas of architectural uniformity. In the colonnades round the court every column is of a design different from those next it. At first sight, caprice alone seems to have determined their disposition; but a closer examination discovers a latent but precise order pervading the whole. The columns of one half the court, differing among themselves, present an exact counterpart to those of the other, the first column to the right of the centre of the portico corresponding to the first to the left, and so on all round the quadrangle. The interior of the temple, to which the court and portico conducted, is blocked up and inaccessible.

The arrangement of the exterior is also remarkable. The outer wall of the colonnades of the quadrangle,

* The outlines are some inches deep.

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built of immense blocks, is continued round the body of the temple *, a narrow space or court being between. This would have formed a retired ambulatory for the priests, and secured that privacy so sought for in the Egyptian sanctuary. If these temples, constructed with such massive strength, ever served as forts or citadels, the wall of circuit would have very much added to the capabilities of defence.

Of the smaller temple a fragment only remains; I entered by descending into a pit in front. The walls were crowded as usual with sculpture, and the corner of a richly painted capital peeped up above the sand.

From Edfoo three wearisome days of adverse winds brought us to Hadgar Silsili. Opposed by wind and current we were obliged to have recourse to the towing rope. Sometimes the banks offered no footing, and the men were obliged to wade in the river, or got entangled among the half-drowned brushwood on the brink. Tardy as was our progress at best, we had occasionally to toil twice or thrice over the same ground. In rounding a projecting point where the current ran with extraordinary force, our wretched straw tackle would snap; then away went the boat down the stream, the men on shore standing aghast as the rope hung idly from their hands, and in a very few minutes we had lost a weary hour's progress.†

* This is of less width than the quadrangle.

† It was about the third week of August, when the inundation has usually attained rather more than half its height. The

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The Arab boatmen are provokingly ingenious in lengthening out the voyage, as its duration determines their payment. It is however sometimes dangerous to refuse to listen to their advice. Whilst I was in Egypt, Mohammed Ali being one day on the river during a gale obstinately persisted in proceeding. In vain the *rheis* urged the danger incurred by carrying sail in such weather. The viceroy replied perhaps somewhat as Cæsar to *his* pilot, "Cæsarem portas et fortunam ejus." He was inflexible;—the boat was capsized, and the old man obliged to swim for his life.

At Hadgar Silsili the Nile runs pent between the abrupt cliffs of the Arabian and Libyan chains, through which at some remote period it seems to have forced a passage. The proximity of the sandstone rocks to the river offered facilities for ready shipment which the Egyptians fully availed themselves of: it is here we find the vast quarries which furnished blocks for most of the great works of the Thebaid. Extending two or three miles along the river, they would attest the architectural magnificence

river begins to rise at the end of June and has reached its maximum by the end of September, remains stationary a fortnight, and by about the 10th of November has fallen one half, after which it continues gradually to subside. This mighty hydraulic machinery of nature, offers one of the most illustrious instances of the wisdom and beneficence that preside over the world. It is dependant upon causes operating at the distance of a thousand miles, yet to the exactness of its annual working a whole nation for 4000 years have owed their daily bread.

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of ancient Egypt though every trace of the hundred-gated city should be swept away.

Where the rocks rise perpendicularly out of the water they have been hollowed into grottoes, with elegant painted façades. In some, stiff mutilated figures, seated opposite the entrance and seeming to court the attention of those passing on the river, are just distinguishable through the obscurity of the interior. These water-grots, though much smaller, reminded me of the sea caves on the Naples coast. The water rippling into their shady recesses suggests the same ideas of a delicious retreat from the sultriness of day under a vertical sun.

Between Silsili and Kom Ombo we had proof of the rapid changes to which this climate is subject. All nature was hushed into a profound calm, when suddenly a violent squall swept over the valley; the palms swayed to and fro, the men, who were slowly tugging up the stream, leapt on board, and in a moment we were scudding under the gale. Presently the wind veered—then fell to a calm. A thunderstorm followed; the wind blew a hurricane, the heavens seemed full of vivid lightning, and a short smart shower fell. This too presently subsided, and within half an hour from the first calm our boat, which we had secured to the bank during the height of the gale, was gliding softly over the moonlit waters under a light breeze. Herodotus thought the fall of a shower worthy of record among the events of a

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reign. Now, however, rain is said to fall every year in the Thebaid, and it is not uncommon in the Delta.

Kam Ombo. Here we have an interesting instance of a peculiarity of structure illustrated by an inscription. A column instead of an interspace occupied the centre of the portico, and two lateral entrances led to a double suite of inner doorways. An inscription explains that the temple was dedicated to *two* divinities, the great god Aroeris Apollo and the tutelary deity of Ombos.* It is now a ruin and half buried in the accumulated sands, but the carved details retain their brilliant colours.

Leaving Kom Ombo the Nile led us through a sandy desert till we approached the neighbourhood of *E'Souan.* Here was "the far Syene" so renowned for its granite quarries and the well into which the sun was said to shine without a shadow, though the town is in fact north of the tropic. It stands immediately below the Cataract, and opposite the isle of Elephantine.

The Quarries are at the base of the mountains behind the town, from which they are separated by a sandy tract, strewed with fragments of granite. Here are seen the beds of the magnificent obelisks which were transported hence to the most distant parts of the Delta, and many of which now grace the capitals

* Such probably was the origin of the anomalous arrangement of the temple at Pæstum with *nine* columns in front and a range up the middle.

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of Europe. Emperors and popes have thought the mere removal and re-erection of one of these masses of granite an achievement worthy of honorable record; but the old Pharaohs have the honour of having first hewn them from the mountains and elaborately sculptured their surfaces of adamantine hardness. The chisel marks are still sharp: in one place is seen an obelisk half-severed from the rock, but broken and abandoned.

We know but little of the state of art and artists under their great patrons the Pharaohs, but an incident recorded by Pliny strikingly illustrates the great interest they took in the progress of their architectural works. An obelisk having been hewn and brought to its destination, was about to be erected: so anxious was the monarch that it should meet with no accident in this difficult operation, that, to oblige his engineers to exert all their prudence and skill, he *bound his own son to the apex.*

While at E' Souan I saw one of a class who appear to be the legitimate successors of the old magicians of the Pharaohs,—the serpent charmers. The man held the reptile fearlessly in his hand, now caressing, now chafing it. The serpent writhed his body into wavy folds, protruded his narrow angular head, slid his slippery length through his master's fingers, and hung loosely to his hand, but never offered to retaliate.

Elephantine retains few vestiges of its ancient monuments. Its last surviving temple has been recently

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destroyed and carried off by a Turk to build himself a barbarous residence in the neighborhood. On the eastern side of the island a grand quay-wall of extremely bold rustic work rises out of deep water. To render it still more effective at a distance, a projecture was given to the upper edges of the courses thus.

Here a deep stone staircase led down to the water and served for a Nilometer, the rise of the river being indicated by a scale on one of the side walls. A ruined wall stands on the quay, and little else is left on the island except a granite portal and a hacked and mutilated statue. All the ruins of Elephantine appear to be of late date*, chiefly Ptolemaic.

Philæ. The Cataract is nothing more than a rapid among rocks and islets, and is always navigable by aid of ropes. Immediately above, in a broad basin, is the sacred little isle of Philæ. The road hither from E'Souan passes through extensive brick ruins of an ancient town, with a cemetery beyond, relics

* Not excepting the peripteral temple lately demolished, and which has been ascribed to Amenof III. See p. 190.

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probably of the early Saracens who settled here after the conquest by Amer or Amru in the seventh century. Leaving the cemetery with its ruined tombs we entered the mountains, and for about two hours wound through a gloomy defile, walled in by lofty rocks, whose mighty fragments, piled up in grand confusion, strikingly resembled the rude Cyclopean walling of Greece. In journeying along under these rugged cliffs the ancient traveller might, without a metaphor, have read "sermons in stones," inscriptions having been roughly cut upon the prominent rocks.*

On emerging from this defile and rounding a jutting cliff the verdant, smiling isle of Philæ suddenly revealed itself to my delighted eye, floating on the bosom of the river, a little paradise in the midst of the savage landscape. An elegant columnar edifice, detached from the general mass of ruins, grouped happily with the fresh green foliage of the graceful palms, the windings of the river and the bold outlines of the granite rocks forming a fine distance beyond.

Philæ presents a very attractive assemblage of ruins, amidst heaps of rubbish and sand. I landed beneath an arched *Roman* building, which had a singularly exotic appearance in this spot, consecrated to the arts and religion of Egypt, at the southern extremity of the ancient kingdom; — though not the limit of the empire of the Cæsars: we must travel far

* In the Wilderness of Sinai are seen rocks similarly inscribed.

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before we reach a district untraversed by the imperial eagles.

The great temple of Isis is on the western margin of the island and fronts the south or Ethiopia, in which direction the broad reaches of the river and the bold jagged headlands of the granite mountains present a view to which Egypt, with its flat banks and monotonous cliffs, can show nothing comparable. It appears to have been founded by the second Ptolemy on the site of an earlier temple, as the entrance gateway bears the name of Nectanebo, one of the latest Pharaohs, who restored many of the ancient buildings. In the Ptolemaic age temples were not erected in a single reign: the works at Philæ progressed under successive monarchs, and the sculptures were completed under the emperors. The plan of the temple resembles that of Edfoo. In front is the ordinary double pylon, the conspicuous feature at a distance. Entering by its central gateway you pass successively through a large colonnaded court, a second pylon, a portico*, a suite of dusky chambers, and at last arrive at the secret adytum, the innermost and darkest of all. These penetralia were lighted as usual only through the series of doorways, which enfiladed the whole, and by a few slits in the roof. Every wall and every column is incrusted with hieroglyphic and sculptural decoration. On the west the

* The portico is open in the middle, thus forming three sides of a small court.

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outer court is inclosed by a distinct peripteral temple — rich, beautiful, and perfectly preserved.

The sculptures and capitals of the portico retain the brilliancy of their colouring to a degree truly wonderful when we remember that they have been exposed to the air 2000 years. The effect of these rich colours is admirable. There is nothing of glare or glitter. The solemn shadows subdue any excess of brilliancy; and indeed without the relief of rich colouring such ponderous columns and deep shadows might have been condemned as gloomy and sepulchral.

A singular excrescence projects into the area of the quadrangle, — a little chapel or shrine, each of whose sides is a single slab. This perhaps was added to receive some revered object, just as in Roman Catholic churches we find chapels and oratories, irrelevant to the design, but formed as depositaries for miraculous bones or sainted dust.

A long colonnade extends in advance of the great pylon on the west, its lofty substructions washed by the river. Beneath was a passage and water stairs, lighted by openings in the wall, which heightened the scenic effect of the whole as seen from the Nile and the shore. Opposite, but not parallel, is a shorter colonnade, the capitals of which were left rough-hewn. On the eastern side of the island is the edifice which forms such a picturesque object from the shore. Square and hypæthral, each of its sides presents an elevation of columns, connected by the usual screens,

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without naos or walls within.* Its elegant simplicity and elongated proportions, rather Greek than Egyptian, render it a great favourite with all travellers. The west and south sides of the isle are faced by a lofty water-wall, of bold rustic-work like that at Elephantine.†

Standing on the elevated quay at the southern extremity of the island and following the windings of the Nile among the rugged promontories towards the distant regions of Ethiopia, the mind naturally recurs to the splendour of the past, the contrasted barbarism of the present — the rise, the reign, the fall of civilization and art. The Ethiopian traveller as he caught the first view of Philæ from the Nile, must have formed no mean estimate of Egyptian magnificence. Temples and porticoes, based upon grand substructions and combining with the green palms, the pyramidal pylon towering high above all, — the whole mirrored in the river and backed by the mountains or shore — what a picture Philæ presented then! But Ethiopia, the parent probably of Egyptian art, is now the abode of rude tribes, and Philæ abandoned to silence and desolation.

We returned to the shore, regained the road and presently plunged into the seclusions of the rocky wilderness. The shades of evening soon gathered

* It was never completed.

† See woodcut p. 202. I found one stone projected not less than eight inches beyond the edge of that above it.

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round, and now the desolate defile, with its Cyclopean piles of rock, looked still more drear and fantastically wild.

Egypt is always singular and interesting; but under an autumnal sunset it is beautiful. The sun sinks behind a grove of palms in a golden sky, upon which their most delicate featherings are distinctly described. A rich amber light glows over the landscape and makes the meanest and most uncouth objects look beautiful. A very brief twilight is followed by a glorious night: soon the feeblest star has lighted its lamp, and the black vault of heaven seems thickly studded with brilliants. Such is the purity of the atmosphere that you may watch a setting star till it touches the low bank of the river. Profound tranquillity reigns through the universe; or is only broken at intervals by the mellowed murmur of a distant water-wheel. The moonlight streams upon the bosom of the ancient river. A beautiful meteoric phenomenon heightens the interest of the scene. Ever and anon a bright star seems to shoot away from among its fixed companions—glances horizontally across the heavens, throwing off a long luminous tail, then, bursting like a rocket, leaves all nature intensely tranquil as before.

"But wherefore all night long shine these? for whom
This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?"

* * * *

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep,

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Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to other's note,
Sing their great Creator!"

JOURNEY FROM THEBES TO ALEXANDRIA.

The chief objects of antiquarian interest between Thebes and Alexandria are the temples of Denderah and Abydos, the grottoes of E'Siout, Antinoöpolis, the grottoes of Beni Hassan, and the pyramids.

Denderah. Here, at the end of a long embankment traversing the lowlands, about two miles from the river, stands one of the grandest productions of Egyptian art, complete in its parts, perfect in its details. It consists of two divisions, the body of the temple, containing the adytum and inner chambers, and the portico, which, as usual in works of this class and period, is wider and rises higher. The lateral elevations present a vast surface of dead wall, covered with sculpture in bold intaglio. Large lions' heads, projecting from the walls, carried off the water from the roof. Most of the sculptures appear as sharp and perfect as if fresh from the sculptor's chisel, but some hacked and battered figures attest Moslem or early Christian horror of image-worship.

The portico, formed of four ranks of massy columns, six in a row, covered with painted sculptures, whether viewed from without as a façade or standing within its colonnades, is rich, imposing, sublime: it delights

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the eye and fills the imagination. Entirely enclosed on three sides and partly on the fourth by the inter-columnar screens, it has all that solemn gloom—that religious twilight—so characteristic of the Egyptian interior, and so strikingly contrasted to the intense brilliancy of an Egyptian day. The walls are incrusted with relievos and the ceiling with astronomic and enigmatic emblems.* The portico leads to a pillared hall or vestibule; beyond are seen a suite of three or four chambers, in deeper and deeper shadow, and far within is the small dark sanctuary.

A stair leads from these penetralia to the stone roof, where are several chambers and a little, uncovered, temple-like structure, much like the square hypæthral edifice at Philæ. It is not seen from the ground, being masked by the raised walls of the temple. What could have been the object of such an erection on the roof of a temple? Possibly it was intended for the celebration of religious rites to be performed under the open heaven, and for which therefore the temple itself would not have been adapted.† Perhaps however it was nothing more than a belvedere—a retreat

* Here is the zodiac which caused so much speculation.

† Zephaniah (i. 5.) denounces those who "worship the host of heaven upon the house-tops:" we read too of "the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz." 2 Kings, xxiii. 12. But this was some centuries before the foundation of the Denderah temple.

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for learned leisure—or a mere architectural whim of the priests.

Denderah is the latest of the grand works of Egypt. The oldest name is that of Cleopatra and it was not completed till the reign of Tiberius.

The sculptures, according to an English traveller, are particularly interesting for their "*extreme elegance* as far as Egyptian sculpture is susceptible of that character." According to Champollion they are "*détestables*." They are in fact rich, varied, elaborate, —every minute ornament finished with the utmost nicety,—but tame, lifeless, and insipid. They have none of the freedom of the rougher works of the old Pharaohs. The Ptolemaic sculptors were the better workmen, but worse artists.

The sculptures of Denderah also attracted the notice of the sepoys of the Anglo-Indian army, (while serving in Egypt against the French,) though for a very different reason. They declared they beheld portraitures of their native gods and at once began their devotions.

About a hundred yards in advance of the chief structure and at right angles to it is a smaller temple*, surrounded by a peristyle of columns with foliate capitals, surmounted by square blocks sculptured on each face with a hideous figure of Typhon the Evil

* The great Ptolemaic temples are often thus accompanied by a smaller one; as at Edfoo and Kom Ombo.

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Genius. Near it is an elegant gateway, which formed the entrance to the dromos that led up to the grand portico. The whole of these buildings appear to have stood within a rectangular area surrounded by a wall of sun-dried brick, some remains of which are attached to another gateway to the east.

The Grottoes of E' Siout, the work probably of successive ages, are hewn in the steep declivity of a rocky hill that sweeps round the plain behind the modern town. The principal ones seem to have been disposed in three tier, and the intermediate heights occupied by smaller excavations. Some are entered through a lofty doorway in the face of the rock, cut to represent an architrave resting on two pilasters; and a gigantic figure is occasionally sculptured near. One presents on entering a spacious hall, its ceiling originally supported by massive piers of the living rock; but little now remains except the capitals which still hang to the roof. All the rooms I entered resounded on stamping the foot: indeed the whole line of cliff appears to have been hollowed into sepulchral chambers, though the entrances to many are choked up with sand.

The walls of the larger grottoes are generally lined with painted relievos, or columns of blue hieroglyphics sculptured or stamped upon a hard stucco, which gave the contours more sharply than the friable rock. The ceilings are painted in ornamental patterns, in some few of which we trace a resemblance to Greek

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detail. If we would believe Denon, however, all the beautiful forms employed by the Greeks in ornamenting their edifices are here to be seen executed with exquisite delicacy. In vain my eye scanned every corner in search of them. In vain too I looked for the "glittering gold" which another traveller lavishes upon these gloomy walls.

The presence of so many large, elaborate, and costly sepulchres in the cemetery of a provincial town is a striking proof of the refinement and opulence of Egypt during a long succession of ages.

E' Siout is the most important place south of Cairo. An array of minarets gives promise of a city of some architectural pretensions, but on entering it you find the same wretched suburbs of mud hovels, the same narrow dingy streets and close mean bazaars, that ordinarily make up an Egyptian provincial town.

At *Sheikh Abadeh*, on the margin of the river, are the ruins of the city built by Adrian to the memory of his favourite Antinous, said to have perished in the Nile. Adrian carried Egyptian architecture into Italy and Italian into Egypt. Antinoöpolis, unlike other works erected under the Roman rule, was built in the Roman style; and to this we may partly attribute the destruction of its public monuments. While the tooth of Time has made scarcely any impression on the ponderous masses of Denderah, little remains of the Corinthian magnificence of Antinoöpolis.

To an eye accustomed to the gigantic scale of

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Egyptian works these ruins appear mean and contemptible. I saw the remains of some Baths, a few granite shafts, and the broken stumps of innumerable columns of limestone, once forming colonnades along the sides of the two principal streets, which crossed at right angles and traversed the town. Other monuments of a grander order existed here till recently, when a factory was to be built and Adrian's city was condemned to be its quarry.*

Between Manfaloot and Minieh Egypt presents but a monotonous and dreary aspect. Sometimes for miles the Nile runs through a wilderness of utter sterility, the whole breadth of the valley offering not a foot of cultivable land; a vast wall of perpendicular flat-topped rocks rising out of deep water on the right bank, and a flat sandy waste extending on the left. Occasionally the river bends off from the rocks, leaving a small cultivated tract at their base, capable of maintaining two or three villages. The natives of these little oases, thus shut out from the world, extremely poor and wretchedly ignorant, have acquired a rude ferocity that renders them the terror of their neighbours and of the boatmen passing up and down the river.

* The natives also burn the stone into lime. Remains of the Theatre and Hippodrome are said still to exist. — A few leagues below Antinoe are the interesting grottoes of Beni Hassan, (see p. 209,) and in a ravine behind the neighbouring village of Sheikh Hassan is the Speos Artemidos.

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The inhabitants of Saggimoossy, a village of this kind in Middle Egypt, have thus won a fearful celebrity. These wretches invented a horrid method of systematic plunder. They leagued themselves with another village on the opposite bank: a traveller's boat being descried slowly coming up the stream, the confederates would march down to the water's edge, simultaneously fire as the boat passed between them, hoping thus to disable her, and then push off and seize the booty.

Two such atrocious assaults had occurred within a year, and one had been attended with fatal results. On hearing it the Pasha sent an armed force to seize all the muskets in the village. Under such circumstances it is impossible to discover the culprits; in extreme cases therefore government punishes in the gross, and will sometimes order the destruction of half the offending village. Such is the boasted civilization of Egypt and security of travelling on the Nile! Mohammed Ali has however done much towards taming, or at least overawing, these savages; and in the towns life and property are now secure at all hours. An improved police is perhaps the only real benefit the Pasha has conferred on the mass of the population of this "basest of kingdoms." But an improved police they think poor compensation for extortionate imposts and the abhorred military conscription.*

* Modern Egypt, whether we regard its history, prospects, or actual condition, presents indeed a melancholy spectacle. Follow

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While sailing under one of these long, dreary chains of cliff I was startled by loud cries from the surface of the river not far off. In a moment two men were seen swimming after us incredibly fast, vociferating something in which "Christiano! Christiano!" was heard repeatedly. They soon overtook us, grasped the stern, and obliged us to tow them along: still they cried "Christiano! Christiano! Christiano!" This sudden apparition in what seemed an uninhabited desert looked mysterious. The rheis in vain ordered them to fall off; the leaded end of my stick suspended over their heads was an argumentum ad

the Nile from the capital to the Cataracts and you need not be told that Egypt has for ages been groaning under a grinding despotism. Wherever you turn ruin, desolation, and wretchedness meet your eye, and that not superficial, but deep and almost remediless. After twelve centuries of Mussulman misrule the national character is thoroughly vitiated, every spark of patriotism seems extinct, all hope of self-regeneration gone. The spirit of the natives is thoroughly broken to the yoke of their foreign masters; and it is well worth remarking that in the many changes of government which the country has undergone, the children of the soil have never obtained — apparently never thought of obtaining — the supreme direction of affairs for themselves. For centuries they were literally the "bondmen of slaves." They know not what independence is even by tradition: generation after generation ignominiously "crawl from the cradle to the grave," bequeathing their chains to their children. With much more truth might it be said of them than of the descendants of the conquerors of Marathon,

"In vain might Liberty invoke
The spirit to its bondage broke,
Or raise the neck that courts the yoke."

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hominem more effectual. They dropped astern, swam to shore, and were presently running along the bank, still shouting "Christiano! Christiano!" I afterwards learnt that a convent of monks was perched up in these dismal cliffs*, the successors probably of the anchorites whose hermitages once studded the deserts of Egypt, and it appeared that the brotherhood send out these aquatic emissaries from their lofty eyry to gather alms from Christians passing up and down the river.

The palm was the national tree of ancient Judea and at length became a kind of symbolic hieroglyphic of the kingdom. Such it might well be of modern Egypt: few other trees comparatively are met with south of Cairo. It enters into almost every landscape except in the deserts. Planted in a grove it forms a beautiful natural portico. The slender branchless trunks shoot up like fairy columns; above is a roof of waving green, inlaid with golden clusters of dates. During the inundation, while rowing through the intricacies of these groves, canopied by their beautiful foliage, you seem making your way through a vast stoa of water-columns.

* "To the south of Alexandria," says Gibbon, the "mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria were peopled by 5000 anchorites." But this is nothing compared to a story exultingly mentioned by Rollin as a glorious triumph of the Cross in Egypt. "The city of Oxyrinchus in Lower Egypt contained no less than 20,000 virgins and 10,000 monks, so that the monasteries could not receive them, and the monks lived over the gates and in the towers!"

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Such groves occur continually along the banks, generally nestling within their luxuriant shade a wretched village of mud huts. Without such shade the fierce rays of the vertical summer sun would be almost intolerable even to the natives.

As you approach the capital, river craft passing up and down become more numerous. Some, rapidly drifting down the stream, are piled high with corn, destined for shipment at Alexandria. Here a gayer bark glides by; the pasha's flag waving at the stern proclaims the presence of a bey or some other magnate on board, probably despatched by government to superintend the extortion of the imposts, to hasten the contributions of corn from hard-working, starving peasantry, or on some similar errand of mercy. Occasionally a sombre, dirty, dismal-looking boat comes drifting down, crowded with young blacks, some on deck, others thrusting their sable faces through the cabin windows. They are slaves from the interior. They have been torn from their native haunts and young companions, and are now being carried by their own countrymen to replenish the shambles of the Cairo market! Yet theirs is a happy lot compared with that of their companions in misfortune on the western coast of this anathematized continent, where the infernal trade is carried on by Christians!*

* The open sale of slaves has very recently been prohibited at Cairo, but the traffic is said still to go on in private.

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Fooah stands nearly opposite the junction of the new Alexandria canal with the Nile, in the midst of the vast plain of the Delta. Arriving here just as the first indications of dawn appeared, I determined to ascend the loftiest minaret in the town and thence watch the sun rising over the plain. It was still dusk when we reached the mosque, but a few were already at their devotions within. The Sheikh or keeper was not to be found—the door of the minaret, approached from the interior, was open—no time was to be lost, so we at once ascended the winding stair to the upper balcony, whence, at the stated hours, the deep-toned voice of the *muezzin* summons the inhabitants to prayer. A long streak of gold extended over the low eastern horizon, and the broad disk gradually emerged as from the ocean-line. The immense plain lay extended around, sown over with minarets, which, embosomed in groves of palm, grew into distinctness as they caught the first horizontal beam. The Nile meandered through the midst, and here and there branched off into secondary channels. From this peaceful and beautiful scene I was called to one very different. The sheikh of the mosque having arrived, discovered that a Frank had presumed to enter the holy building and mount the minaret. On descending I found him with a host of rabid Moslems gathered round the little door, determined to dispute our passage across the mosque to the outer entrance. A scuffle ensued, and appeared to end in our extrica-

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tion from our misadventure. In the street however the mob again pressed round, and forced us into the courtyard of the *Sharrah* or judge. It was still early morning, the functionary had not yet risen, and his servants were asleep on the stone benches round the court. The capture of a Frank was an event in the little town of Fooah, and the people came dropping in to see their prisoner. At length the Sharrah made his appearance, and after a few moments it was not difficult to divine what would be his judgment. Having gravely listened to the evidence of half a dozen Arabs, who uttered the grossest falsehoods with consummate effrontery, he pronounced sentence, demanded a fee* for executing justice, and, after vainly attempting to extort money by way of compromise, handed over accused, accusers, and the written evidence to the governor of the town. This was passing from the ecclesiastical to the civil authority. Mohammed Ali's officials have naturally acquired some of their master's courtesy to Europeans: the Turkish Governor, whom we found on the river bank superintending the embarkation of corn, was as polite and obliging as the native judge had been churlish and insolent. He tore up the legal document, threw it from him, and dismissed the abashed sheikh with an indignant "Yallah!" *Away!*

* Two karees or about four shillings, which was I believe double his due. What chance of justice can a poor man have from such judges thus paid?

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ALEXANDRIA.

Though the Ptolemies built in the national style in the provinces, the architecture of their capital and own creation appears to have been entirely Greek.

Cleopatra's Needle stands within the modern walls, among mounds of sand and rubbish, in a remote, deserted corner near the shore, a site in unison with its own character as the lone monument of the Alexandria of the Ptolemies. Another grand obelisk lies prostrate near; probably they together graced the entrance of some noble structure. But this magnificence was but second hand. Cleopatra's Needle was adorning the city of On or Heliopolis fifteen centuries before the time of Egypt's graceful queen.* Like all the ancient obelisks, both are of granite and graven with bold deep-cut hieroglyphics.

Pompey's Pillar. As the antiquaries have taken the *Needle* from Cleopatra so have they robbed Pompey of his Pillar. This celebrated monument stands about half a mile beyond the walls, on an eminence in an undulating sandy plain. Elevated on a lofty pedestal, it rises to the height of nearly a hundred feet, and is one of the first objects the traveller descries as he approaches Alexandria from the sea, awakening all the recollections associated with Cleo-

* It bears the name of Thothmes III.

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patra's capital. On a near approach, however, you find it a coarse patchwork of the very worst age of art. The mouldings of the pedestal are mean, the shaft—a single block of granite, stolen perhaps from another edifice—is ill-wrought, and the acanthus leaves of the capital are carved only into the larger subdivisions. The blocks of the substruction have formed part of another building, and bear the hieroglyphics of a Pharaoh.

An inscription almost effaced records its erection in honour of Diocletian. This is illegible from below, but shaft and pedestal are now bescrawled with the inglorious names of modern visiters in red and black, each travelled scribbler striving by the size and height of his inscription, to throw all other competitors for immortality into the shade. An English lady—what height or depth will our fair countrywomen leave unvisited?—once mounted the dizzy elevation by a rope ladder, and even breakfasts have been given on the top.

The *Catacombs* are upon the shore, east of the city. One vast architectural excavation, originally approached by an entrance fronting the sea, contained a spacious hall with square piers, a domed apartment with lateral alcoves, and many subordinate chambers. It is now choked up with sand and has never been entirely explored, though the French made plans of the greater part. Though not comparable to the sepulchral palaces hewn by the Pharaohs in the solitudes

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of the Theban mountains, this monument is worthy of the best days of Alexandria. Further west, on the shore, are some inconsiderable excavated chambers, which local tradition has assigned to Cleopatra.

Near the sea, east of the city, are remains of an old Roman fort. This desert strand has become classic ground as the scene of the well-fought action in which the gallant Abercromby fell.

Within the walls you see extensive mounds, traces of some of the principal streets, remains of the reservoirs that supplied the city with fresh water, columns prostrate or incorporated in modern buildings, and a great many small Greek capitals scattered through the town. Such is all that remains to vouch for the magnificence of the gay, the tumultuous capital of the Ptolemies, the second city of the Roman Empire, whose circuit was fifteen miles, whose population was 600,000. The lofty Pharos, the Museum, the Library with its 700,000 volumes *, the temple of Serapis with its imposing colonnades, all are gone; their very sites are unknown. The celebrated lighthouse stood on what was once the island of Pharos, but is now the head of the little promontory dividing

* When Amer the Saracen general had taken Alexandria he sent to the caliph to demand whether he would have the Library destroyed. Omer replied that what was contained in these books was either in the Book of God or it was not: if it were, the Koraun was sufficient without them; if otherwise, they ought to be destroyed. Amer gave the books for fuel to the keepers of the 4,000 baths then in the city, and it is said they lasted six months.

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the Western from the Eastern Harbour. This stripe of land, having been gradually widened in the course of ages, forms the site of the chief part of the modern town, which occupies but a small proportion of the area within the walls.

Under the patronage of Mohammed Ali, (who is a merchant as well as a conqueror,) Alexandria, after all its vicissitudes, has again become a flourishing commercial city, and has now a large motley population, a busy landing-place, crowded bazaars, and a spacious European square.

CONSTRUCTION, ETC.

Two kinds of walling were common in Egypt from the earliest to the latest period; one formed of vast rectangular blocks of stone laid in parallel courses; the other of sun-dried brick. The latter was used for walls of towns and sacred precincts, and occasionally for pyramids, but never for any part of a temple. These two very different kinds of construction are sometimes found in juxta-position; yet a richly sculptured gateway in a wall of circuit of unburnt brick must have presented a contrast of the magnificent and the mean, opposed to all *our* ideas of unity of character.

The stone walls were of prodigious thickness, and the blocks of gigantic size; but in the early Theban

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works we find little of that interlacing of the stones or *bond* which is so essential to stability. This partly accounts for the ruined state of some of those tremendous masses: gigantic walls of most massive construction are absolutely riven in twain. The masonry of the pyramids, however, appears to be excellent. Unlike the migratory Pelasgi, the Egyptians seem to have used mortar from the earliest ages. The blocks were also commonly united by wooden dovetail cramps, about a foot in length.

The columns ordinarily employed were of such colossal dimensions that they were necessarily *built;* each cylindrical layer was composed of several stones. They were commonly constructed with blocks rough-hewn externally; the shaft was afterwards finished, and the capital chiselled to the proposed design.* Walls appear to have been also left rough till they received their sculpture; and Herodotus intimates that a similar method was followed at the Great Pyramid: having been carried up to the full height, it was finished off from the summit to the base.

Manetho records the introduction of hewn stone masonry into Egypt under a king of his Third Dynasty. Probably, however, the building art, with

* A whole rough-hewn colonnade is still seen in the isle of Philæ.

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many others, was preserved by the ingenious family of Ham from the antediluvian world, and may have formed part of the treasured lore of the sacred books preserved in the temples. It is remarkable that the sacrilegious and detested tyrant Cheops is recorded to have been the author of a sacred book which was highly valued. As it is not very probable that one who shut up the temples and despised the gods should have written an excellent theological treatise, perhaps this important production was in fact a dissertation on construction, embodying the experience he had acquired in erecting his mighty pyramid, in which more constructive difficulties had to be overcome than in the erection of all the temples of Greece and Rome together.

The hard sandstone of the quarries of Silsilis (in Upper Egypt) was commonly used for the great works of the Thebaid. The sanctuaries of ancient temples, destroyed by the Persians, were sometimes rebuilt by the Ptolemies with the granite of Syene. The central gateway of one of the vast pylons of Karnak is also of this material. Syene likewise furnished blocks for obelisks, monolithic shrines, and some colossal statues. The sanctuary of the great temple of Osiris at Abydos was lined with alabaster. In Lower Egypt, limestone from the neighbouring quarries seems to have been commonly used. Much of that of the Great Pyramid was cut from the rock on which it stands, but the more exposed parts from

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the quarries on the opposite or Arabian bank, and some of the passages and chambers were lined with polished granite. The lower part of the exterior of the third pyramid is also of granite, a fact not overlooked by Herodotus.

The Egyptian quarries are cuttings on the sides of rocks, not pits. The stone was hewn out in rectangular blocks, so that there was little waste. Sometimes they worked downwards in a series of steps, each the height of a block. The presence of a long groove, where a block was to be separated, and the marks of forcing wedges, at the quarries of Syene, make it very probable that the ancient method of extracting granite blocks was similar to that practised at the present day, as it probably has been for ages, by the Hindoo engineers. A letter read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh gives the following account of the mode by which a block of granite, upwards of 80 feet long, was cut from the rock near Seringapatam. It is not very unlike our method of squaring rough masses of granite. "The spot being determined, a line is marked along the direction of the intended separation, and a groove of about two inches width and the same depth is cut with chisels, or, if the stratum be but thin, holes of the same dimensions, at a foot and a half or two feet distance, are cut along the line. In either case all being now ready, a workman with a small chisel is placed at each hole or interval, and with small iron mallets the

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line of men keep beating on the chisels, but not with violence, from left to right or from right to left. This operation, as they say, is sometimes continued for two or three days before the separation is effected."*

The obelisks, colossi, and other monoliths still existing in Egypt excite all our interest in the mechanical resources of those who could transport and erect such huge masses. The great granite obelisks of Karnak are 92 feet high and 8 feet square.† A monolithic shrine at Tel e' Tmai in the Delta, several hundred miles from the quarries, is 21 ft. 9 in. high, 13 ft. broad, and 11 ft. 7 in. deep, the thickness of the sides or walls being about 2 ft. 6 in.‡ Herodotus describes a monolithic temple at Butos, near the Mediterranean, as a cube of 60 feet.§ If this statement was correct, it probably weighed several thousand tons.

Egyptian paintings throw but little light on the mechanical powers employed to move these masses, and ancient authors still less. All that can be gathered from these sources however indicates that the means were simple, and power gained by the simultaneous exertion of vast numbers. In one painting a sitting colossus, about 24 ft. high, is being

* See Col. Wilks's Letter, Edin. Philos. Trans., v. ix. p. 311.

† Sir G. Wilkinson calculates that the great granite statue of Ramses II. at the Memnonium must have weighed 887 tons.

‡ See Burton's Excerpta, which contains a view of it.

§ Herod. ii. 155. The roof was a separate stone.

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dragged on a sledge by four rows of labourers, 43 in a row, who pull four ropes attached to the front of the sledge. Twisted ropes, bound round the statue horizontally and vertically, secured and steadied it. One man stands on the lap, and seems to be beating his hands to insure simultaneous effort from the men. Another below watches his movements, and is perhaps striking to the time two pieces of wood, which would be more readily heard by the large body of labourers.* Another painting represents the removal of a cubical block (in which fracture was less to be dreaded) by three yoke of oxen. The notices of ancient authors on this subject are very vague. Diodorus says that in erecting the Great Pyramid the blocks were raised by means of inclined planes, machinery being then unknown. But Herodotus, who wrote four centuries nearer the period of its erection, says that they were lifted by machines, formed of short pieces of wood,—an expression which gives free latitude to speculation. According to Herodotus, a hundred thousand men were employed in quarrying and transporting stone for this huge structure, and were relieved every three months. In transporting a monolithic shrine† from

* This subject is in a grotto behind the village of E'Dayr in Middle Egypt. It is given by Rosellini and in Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, p. 328.

† It was carried, says Herodotus, only to the entrance of the temple: on arriving here the engineer, fatigued with his long

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Elephantine to Sais 2000 men were occupied three years. Pliny tells us that 20,000 were employed upon a single obelisk erected by a king Ramises. In all these facts and legends we have not the remotest allusion to complicated machinery. Thousands were employed, and "a pull all together" was the secret of their mechanics. Indeed, had not the philosophers of Egypt been either very indifferent to mechanical science or to the toil of the people, they would doubtless have introduced some mode of irrigation more economical of labour than that by the rude *shadoof*, or weighted pole and bucket, still in use, and represented in the paintings.

It seems certain that either by commercial carriers, migratory freemasons, or travelling philosophers and magi, an intercourse was carried on at a remote age between India and the East, and Egypt and the nations at the head of the Mediterranean.* India then would probably have acquired some of the mechanical secrets of Egypt had she possessed any. But though architecture was cultivated at a very early period in India, and voluminous architectural treatises were written†, no mechanical contrivances but the most obvious appear to have been known:

labours, sighed deeply, and the king interpreting this as a bad omen, ordered the men to desist. Others, however, related that one of those who were moving it with levers was crushed here. Herod. ii. 175.

* Inscribed Chinese bottles have been found in ancient tombs.

† See Ram Raz's Essay on Hindoo Architecture.

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at the present day Hindoo engineers raise the greatest weights by the simplest means. With no other aid than that of mounds of earth, rollers, handspikes for levers, poles, ropes, and some hundreds of men, a modern Hindoo engineer will undertake to erect a granite obelisk 84 feet high. An obelisk 60 or 70 feet in length has actually been thus erected near Seringapatam. A block 84 feet long was hewn for the purpose, but broken during removal by an explosion of gunpowder. The obelisk was conveyed to the intended site over a planked road, upon a long narrow carriage formed of two beams running on eight low wheels. The shaft was extended horizontally upon a flat mound (kept compact by retaining walls), whose surface was level with the top of the pedestal; the base was brought close to its intended position. This was the first operation. The next was gradually to elevate the smaller end of the shaft. This was accomplished by raising the outer part of the mound on which it rested. A row of men were stationed on either side along the length of the shaft: these having slightly raised it by handspikes, others introduced wood blocks beneath it: the interval was then filled with earth, and the operation repeated. thus the inclination of the mound inwards gradually became steeper, and the apex of the obelisk rose higher. The mound having been raised to as great an inclination as was thought prudent, the process was continued with timber alone, and the shaft was brought vertically over the pedestal and finally adjusted by

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the aid of ropes and a scaffold. A perfect level bed was laboriously obtained by pouring water upon it, and removing elevations till a drop would stand on any part.*

Pliny mentions an ingenious mode of removing an obelisk from the quarry by boats. A trench or canal, communicating with the Nile, was formed under the shaft. Two flat-bottomed boats lashed together, and weighted with blocks of the same stone as the obelisk, and together double its bulk, were introduced beneath it. The blocks were then removed, and the boats rose and lifted the obelisk.

Bricks were made of clay, mixed with cut straw, and baked in the sun. Some are 1 ft. 4 in. long, 7 in. wide, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; others are smaller. Like those of the Birs Nimrod or Tower of Babel many are stamped, commonly with the name of a king, whence their age can be readily determined. Sometimes they were grooved on the broad side to facilitate the adhesion of the mortar. The whole process of their manufacture is detailed in the paintings. The clay is cut with a kind of hoe; the bricks are turned out of the mould and arranged in series; the taskmaster sits by with his stick, or chastises the indolent. The workmen are usually foreigners, probably captives taken in war. Many of the bricks date from the Hebrew sojourn in Egypt, and some we may conclude are the

* See Col. Wilks's Letter. In ordinary constructions the Hindoos drag the blocks up inclined planes.

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production of Hebrew labour. Solomon, in compelling his tributaries to perform the more laborious operations of building, seems but to have imitated the ancient monarchs of Egypt.*

After the introduction of the arch, roofs and ceilings appear to have been often supported on brick vaulting.† In an excavated grotto near the second pyramid the ceiling is carved to represent trunks of the palm, laid close together, stretching from wall to wall: the palm was probably commonly used for such purposes as it still is in Egypt.

Doors turned on bronze pins, inserted into the threshold and lintel. In the two great pyramids the approach to the sepulchral chamber was closed by granite portcullises which moved in grooves. Doors appear to have been secured by wooden bolts or rude wooden locks, perhaps resembling those still used in Egypt. In these several pins or wires at the end of the key fit into corresponding holes in the lock, and push up as many pins within it, which, when the key is withdrawn, again fall and secure the lock.

Cones of baked clay with a stamped inscription *in relief* on their base are found in the tombs. These perhaps were used to stamp clay seals, with which the doors were probably secured. When Rhampsinitus entered his treasury and found his

* Herodotus particularly mentions this with regard to Sesostris.

† Vaulted granaries are represented at the Beni Hassan grottoes, and a series of brick-vaulted chambers exist at Thebes.

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store of gold diminished, his astonishment was the greater because the *seals were unbroken.**

The Egyptian mode of sawing timber was very rude. The plank was bound to one, or between two posts or standards, and then sawn in an upright position by a single workman. Veneering and inlaying appear to have been common arts, though not apparently carried to great perfection.

An interesting basket of tools was found by Mr. Burton in a workman's tomb at Thebes; drills, chisels, a saw, mallet, and awl, with a hone and oil-horn.† The drills were worked by the bow. The blades of the larger tools, as the hatchet and adze, besides being set with a cement, were bound by thongs or bandages.

It is remarkable that all the tools found in Egypt are of *bronze*. Yet it is highly probable that iron was known there in the remotest times. Sisera had 900 chariots of iron; and Job, at an earlier period, said, "Iron is taken out of the earth and brass molten out of the stone"‡: and in another place, "Oh! that

* Herod. ii. 121.

† These, with others, are in the British Museum.

‡ Job, xxviii. 2. From some expressions in this chapter it would appear that grand works had been accomplished at that remote period. "Man," says Job, "putteth forth his hand upon the rock; he overturneth the mountains by the roots. He cutteth out rivers among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing. He bindeth the floods from overflowing, and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light."

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my words were now written!—that they were graven with an *iron pen* and lead in the rock for ever!"

As the architectural remains of Egypt are probably the oldest as well as most extensive in the world, it is here we naturally look for the earliest traces of the discovery or gradual development of the arch; the general introduction of which in after ages effected such a total change in the architecture of the civilised world. Its first distinct and unequivocal appearance is in works dating from the age of the Psammitichi, the last of the great native dynasties.* In his valuable work on the ancient Egyptians, Sir G. Wilkinson observes that the earliest example of the *stone* arch in Egypt is in a chamber hewn in the rock near Sakkara, not far from the site of Memphis, bearing the name of Psamitichus II., who was on the throne about 600 years before our era. I believe however that no architect would admit this construction to be a real arch. (See woodcut, fig. 1. p. 236.) It is rather a *lining* applied to a concave surface of rock, and exhibits no acquaintance with the principle of concentration and mutual compression of wedges. The distinction will be more obvious on comparing the slabs of this concave ceiling with the real *vault* of a railway tunnel, where deep stone voussoirs, or thick

* If the Cloaca Maxima be really the work of Tarquinius Superbus the earliest arches of Egypt and Rome would appear to be nearly coeval. The arched building of the insulated tomb (Pl. XI. fig. 2.) is of this age.

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concentric rings of brickwork, form an incompressible roof capable of resisting the pressure of a superincumbent mountain. It is however very probable that some such construction suggested the idea of the arch. The builder would perceive that a casing applied to a concave could sustain itself; and if he pondered but a moment on the reason, he must have seized the principle of the arch.

Sir G. Wilkinson however supposes that the arch was known many ages before Psamitichus. He states that there are several brick-vaulted tombs in the Necropolis of Thebes which from their position and appearance seem to be of the time of Amenof I. One of them bears the name of that king. But these also appear to be mere concave linings attached to the friable rock above, not arches to sustain superincumbent weight. After its first appearance in detached constructions under the Psammitichi we have numerous examples of arching, although the great works of that age have been destroyed. Should we not then have found unequivocal examples in detached buildings of the earlier period, had it been really known under the Theban dynasties?

But we have more positive evidence that the early architects were unacquainted with the arch. We find false vaults, or concave ceilings, indicating at once their wish and inability to form a vault. One occurs at Abydos, where large horizontal slabs, bearing from wall to wall, and placed edgewise, have been

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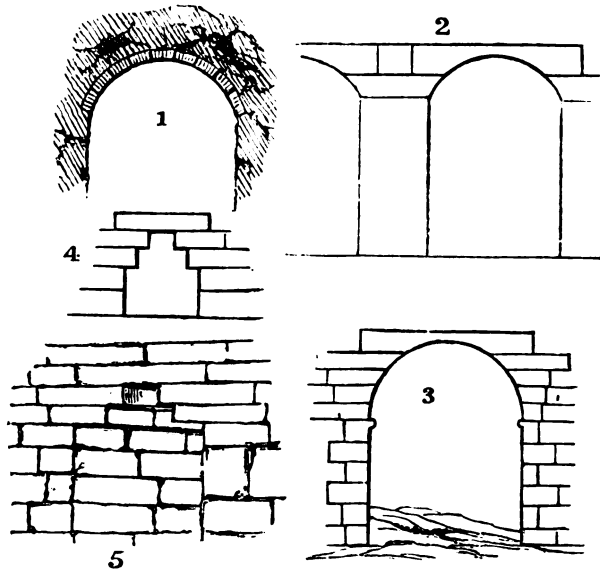
cut below to the form of an arch (fig. 2.). Another example is seen in an excavated work (Dayr el Bahree,)



1. SAKKARA. 2. ABYDOS. 3. THEBES. 4. CŒRE, ETRURIA. 5. PHIGALIA, ARCADIA.

under the western hills at Thebes (fig. 3.); where the roof is formed of horizontal courses, each projecting from the subjacent one till the two halves of the false vault meet in the centre. This mode of construction has been common in various countries before the introduction of the arch. In Greece it is seen at the domical Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and in the entrances through the walls of Phigalia in the Morea (fig. 5.); in Italy in an Etruscan or Pelasgian tomb at the ancient Cœre in Etruria (fig. 4.); and in Ireland at New Grange near Drogheda.*

* Mr. Rich found at Babylon a subterraneous passage covered with pieces of sandstone a yard thick and several yards long,

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The existence of these false vaults affords such strong proof that the Egyptians were then unacquainted with the true vault, that I think the contrary can only be admitted when supported by irrefragable evidence. Is it conceivable that the arch should have been known in Egypt during the long rule of the early Theban dynasties, when Egyptian art, opulence, and power were at their highest, and yet no traces of it be found throughout the vast ruins of temples and palaces on the Theban plain? Had the early architects once caught the principle of the vault the halls of the Pharaohs would have risen into sublime concaves, surpassing Agrippa's Pantheon; or, if that would have been repugnant to the genius of Egyptian architecture, at least we should have found the fragments of some grand bridge, over which multitudes had thronged from the Libyan suburb to the great fane at Karnak.

whence it would appear that the Babylonians were unacquainted with the arch. Yet once known in Egypt it would soon have found its way to Babylon, and from its exact adaptation to brick constructions have been universally adopted. In Egypt, too, it would have been very useful in forming bridges over the innumerable canals that traversed the country. The famous bridge over the Euphrates was merely a series of stone piers, connected by wooden beams which bore the roadway.

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WAILING WOMAN.

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

STATUARY.

The influence of government, laws, and national customs upon art is nowhere more conspicuous than in Egypt as compared with Greece. In Greece we see art rapidly advancing from infancy to unrivalled excellence: in Egypt it continued stationary or retrograded during long ages of peace, opulence, and domestic refinement. This difference must no doubt be primarily attributed to the different constitution of the national mind. Herodotus observed truly that

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the Graces were not among the deities imported from Egypt into Greece. Greece was their native soil. But it cannot all be resolved into this. In Greece, climate, government, habits, and institutions concurred with native acuteness to produce rapid improvement. The fires of genius were fanned by the breath of popular applause; the plaudits of rival states met at the public games were the stimulants to excel. But the Egyptian sculptor could expect no higher praise than that of the sovereign or the priests, and was perhaps often obliged to lower his art to their comprehension. The Athenian sculptor addressed a nation of philosophers and critics; but in Egypt it was deemed presumption for a man to intrude upon any profession other than his own. Veneration for antiquity—detestation of innovation—were constantly inculcated in Egypt;—Greece still sought after unattained excellence.

Another bar to the advancement of art in Egypt was the excessive respect paid to the body after death, by which dissection became impossible. This religious prejudice was singularly exhibited at embalmings: on these occasions the appointed person having made an incision in the corpse for the extraction of the intestines, immediately fled from the spot, followed by execrations and a shower of stones from the by-standers.

Though with different degrees of excellence, all Egyptian statuary exhibits the same manner. Ac-

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cording to Plato this uniformity originated in veneration for the practice and models of antiquity. Religious prescription may have exactly determined the forms and costume of the gods; but it need not therefore have restricted the sculptor in a statue of the king. In all these figures the expression is grave, tranquil, and generally benign, the features are fixed, the limbs rigid, the joints rectangular and not articulated, flesh swollen, feet broad and flat, hands stiff and stretched, fingers and toes elongated and not divided—the whole figure motionless as a mummy. The eyes are placed high, but in this the artist imitated African nature. Statues of men are either seated on massive thrones, or stand, or kneel. When sitting, the hands lie stretched on the thighs kneeling figures hold a shrine before them. Those erect are usually represented walking, with the left leg foremost. Caryatic statues have the attitude and emblems of Osiris.

This formal character may be traced back to the origin of the art. Egyptian statuary sprang out of architecture. The first statues were probably the colossal figures attached to the piers which supported the roofs of hewn-temples. The massive style of the architecture of those gloomy interiors dictated a ponderous character for the statues. When sculpture emerged from subterranean temples she still continued subordinate to architecture. An alley of sphinxes formed the approach to the temple; throned colossi were placed before the portal; Caryatic figures

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were attached to the piers in the stoas of quadrangles. Thus ever associated with architecture, statuary was made to adopt its character; the limbs were stretched into straight lines, the joints bent to right angles, and the whole figure adjusted into exact parallelism. The statue was made architectonic, and thus ceased to be natural.*

Though colossal statues of kings were so common, those of the gods were seldom or never colossal, except in the hewn-temples of Ethiopia. Many of their mythological beings, indeed, appear never to have been wrought in statuary; whence it would seem that, though tolerated under the sanction of religion, their hideous forms were not the less revolting to the taste and common sense of the nation. Bubastis, the lion-headed goddess, with her lotus sceptre, was, however, a very favourite subject.

Winckelmann and his followers have divided Egyptian art into three periods; the first extending to the invasion of Cambyses, the second to the reign of Adrian. But the monuments themselves furnish no grounds for such classification. Cambyses demolished temples and carried off Egyptian statues and sculptors to Persia; but there are no indications that his conquest gave rise to a new epoch in art. On the contrary, statues executed a hundred years after this

* The style appears to have become fashionable at Rome under Adrian, as Chinese jars found their admirers amongst us.

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period, though inferior in execution, have all the characteristics of the ancient style.*

Most existing Egyptian statues may be referred to the period commencing with the Thothmes in the seventeenth century before our era, and ending with Ramses III. in the thirteenth. Some of the best preserved busts are severed from the trunk, and consequently anonymous. All however appear to have been *portraits*, and many may be satisfactorily identified by comparing them with the royal profiles in the relievos, where the name remains.

In the rich collection of busts in the British Museum three different families may be distinctly recognised. In one†, evidently the most ancient, the form of the face is triangular, the expression bland, the features are carefully finished, the eyebrows are unnaturally

* The British Museum contains a statue of Amyrtæus, B. C. 404, and a fragment of one, probably of Nectanebo, B.C. 379.

Abate Fea, Winckelmann's Italian editor, improving upon his master, discovers five styles, and fixes the introduction of the second exactly to the *ninth year* of the reign of Sesostris! Forsyth's sketch of Fea is very characteristic: — "A gleaner of opinions, a parasite in literature, Fea lives upon other men's ideas. Whatever you communicate — 'Pho!' cries he, 'I knew that an age ago,' and runs home with it directly to his common-place. His colleague in the Chigi library has enabled him to edit Winckelmann with the spirit of an enemy. He is now connoisseur to the pope, the oracle of all new comers, the living encyclopædia of Rome. — Abate Fea the antiquary, Abate Fea the lawyer, Abate Fea the economist, the naturalist, the journalist, the Arcadian, the translator; in short, the grub of literature, risen into a butterfly that flutters in every walk, and pesters you into attention."

† Egyptian Saloon, No. 30.

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marked by bands or fillets; a delicate projection on the edge of the upper lip gives relief to the flat lips. This probably represents one of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. In other busts* we distinctly recognise the negro facial line of Amenof III. Here the eyebrows and lids are less harshly marked, and the expression more natural. Those of Ramses II. (Sesostris) are different from both these. The granite bust† of this king (miscalled "Memnon") shows how rapidly art advanced under his patronage and that of his father Menepthah I. Here probably is seen the highest excellence ever attained by the Egyptian chisel. Elaborate finish is its least claim to praise. With the simple grandeur and repose common to Egyptian colossi it combines a peculiar majesty and sweetness of expression. In spite of the mannerism of his school, the sculptor has transfused sentiment into his stubborn material. There is none of the muscular tension of a Hercules, but there is a tranquil and natural dignity much more engaging. The features, especially the mouth, are designed with more truth than in the earlier statues; the eye is more open and expressive, the eyeballs more globose and prominent. Had a few more such artists followed and met with such patrons as the great Ramses we can scarcely doubt but that Egypt would have broken loose from the trammels of conventionalism, attitudinarianism have been exchanged for nature, and the

* Egyptian Saloon, Nos. 4 and 6. † No. 19.

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valley of the Nile have become the seat of the first great school of art.

The statues of the same king attached to the front of the hewn temple of Aboosimbel in Nubia are also remarkable works, though without the dignity of the granite bust from the Memnonium. The heads of these stupendous colossi must be about three yards high. A cast of the face of one of them is in the British Museum. To infuse so much character and truth into such a huge mass must have required a perfect acquaintance with the proportions of each feature. The sculptor, too, appears to have carefully calculated the distortion that would result from their great elevation above the eye of the spectator entering the temple. Had the eyes of the statue been formed as in nature, the outer part of the eyelid would, from its size and great elevation, have appeared to descend almost perpendicularly upon the lower lid, and the eyeball would have been so foreshortened as to have lost its due importance. To obviate this, the eye is placed obliquely (the outer end highest), and the eyeball made to impend unnaturally. Thus the sculptor distorted the features just so much as would counteract the distortion arising from their position. He skilfully departed from truth that his work might appear more truthful.

The granite lions brought by Lord Prudhoe from Gebel Berkel in Nubia are of the age of Amenof III.*

* B. C. 1507.

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Though rude in execution — scarcely more than roughed out of the block — there is a truth and grandeur in their air and attitude that could only have been attained by a careful and enlightened study of nature*, such as was unknown in Egypt in later times.

Art appears to have languished after the reign of the great Ramses. In the next century Ramses III. sought to emulate the fame of his illustrious ancestor whose name he assumed, and Thebes was again enriched by the spoils and tribute of subject nations. But though artists were now liberally encouraged and magnificent edifices erected, no grand monolithic works, either in architecture or sculpture, appear to have been undertaken, perhaps from the immense labour and expense attending them.† The great court of the palace of Medeenet Haboo was, however, adorned with colossal caryatides; and these show that Egypt had still skilful statuaries.

Few authentic statues remain of the long ages after Ramses III. During the reign of Amasis, the last before the Persian invasion, vast monoliths, colossi, and androsphinxes again became common. The great sphinx of the pyramids may be one of his works‡:

* Lions appear to have been kept as domestic favourites by some of the ancient kings.

† Twenty thousand men, according to Pliny, were employed upon one obelisk at Thebes.

‡ See p. 169. The Egyptian sphinx was an emblematic representation of the king. In the relievos it often appears with the

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this is so mutilated and timeworn that it is difficult to judge of its style or execution, but it certainly indicates no improvement on the great statues of Thebes. All other colossi of this age have perished in the general wreck of the cities of the Delta. Of the numerous statues of Bubastis, some are inscribed with the name of Sheshonk (Shishak), of the tenth century B. C., and many are anonymous and may belong to very different periods.

Egyptian statuaries usually wrought on the hardest stones, and therefore the most unfit for sculpture,—granite, basalt, and breccia. The earliest works however are in limestone. Statues of wood appear to have been common in all ages, and Herodotus mentions one of the time of Amasis in gold.

Statues were commonly polished, but not to a high degree of lustre. A scene representing the polishing of a granite colossus occurs in a tomb at Thebes. The operation appears to have been extremely simple. The workmen, raised on a light scaffold erected round the statue, rub the surface with small polishers rounded at the ends, which were perhaps covered with emery or corundum. Slabs and sarcophagi may have been polished after the modern Hindoo method, with weighted planks covered with corundum powder, fixed to the wood by a cement.

pshent, or double crown, indicative of dominion over the Upper and the Lower country.

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Colour was employed by the Egyptian statuaries, but to what extent is uncertain. Probably it was usually applied only to particular parts, as the eyes, eyebrows, and lips, and perhaps seldom to colossal figures. We cannot suppose that granite statues were laboriously polished merely to be coated with paint. Those the size of life, in limestone, were however sometimes entirely painted, and fitted with glass eyes.

Diodorus relates as a wonderful proof of Egyptian skill, that when a statue was to be sculptured it was customary to distribute it into 21¼ parts, and assign them to different artists; and that such was the precision with which they worked that the parts made up a perfect whole. This statement appears to have been founded on a misunderstanding of a practice, of which, as applied to relievo, actual examples remain. The smooth face of the wall was divided by red lines into squares; these regulated the proportion of the parts, nineteen being given to the entire height of the figure; perhaps twenty and a quarter included the crown or helmet. A similar method was adopted in sculpturing capitals, and probably statues. Several of these drawings on squares, ready for the chisel but fortunately thus left, have survived two thousand years, as though to form a commentary on the historian's remark.* Caryatic

* An example occurs in the soffite of the portico of the temple of Kom Ombo in the Thebaid. See Description de l'Egypte,

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statues were built up with the piers to which they were attached, but all others, not excepting the tremendous colossus of the Memnonium, were cut out of a single block.

MURAL SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

The operations of the painter and mural sculptor were so closely connected that their works will be best considered together. An Egyptian painting was in fact ordinarily a coloured relievo, and a relievo was a painting in relief. The style and treatment were the same in both. A few preliminary observations, however, are required on the *practice* of each.

Mural sculpture. Intaglio appears to have been the earliest kind of sculpture practised in Egypt.* Such is that of the figures on the obelisks of Karnak, some of the earliest authenticated remains in the country, and their admirable execution shows that it

Antiq. Planches, tome i. This mechanical mode of drawing the figure was probably almost confined to sacred subjects. The natural attitudes and action of the battle scenes could not have been thus obtained.

* I am aware that it has been stated that relief preceded intaglio, but the works referred to I believe to be really of a much later age. Such I have shown was the supposed temple of Amenof III. at Elephantine; and indeed its relievos, overloaded with minute ornament, might without other evidence have been confidently referred to the latest period.

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was then no new art. Intaglio continued exclusively in use on edifices during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, when sculpture and architecture attained their highest excellence. In works of the later dynasties and of the Ptolemies a flattened relief was common for interiors, but intaglio was still retained for the exterior; no doubt because it was observed that relief would fritter the surface, destroy the repose, and, when seen from a distance, be much less effective than intaglio, in which a bold deep outline described forms with energy and precision.

Relief appears to have originated in Egypt in the sculptures of the tombs, where it was commonly employed during the eighteenth dynasty, long before its introduction on edifices. In these sepulchral works the walls were so crowded with small figures that, for the sake of perspicuity as well as beauty, it was obviously desirable to remove the interstitial spaces — in other words, to place the figures on a sunken ground.

In intaglios on edifices the sides of the incavo are perpendicular to the face of the wall, and the figure is usually rounded off, so that its centre projects nearly or quite to the surface. The depth at the outline varies according to the size, position, and importance of the figure. In the colossal figures on the pylon of Edfoo, the largest I believe in Egypt, the outlines are several inches deep. On some of the obelisks the hieroglyphics are sunk upwards of two

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inches, so that they might readily be deciphered though a hundred feet above the eye.

Painting. It has been supposed that the art of painting advanced to maturity by a regular series of transitions, from SKIAGRAMS, or mere outlines of a shade, to MONOGRAMS, or outlines with some of the parts within indicated, from these to MONOCHROMS, or paintings of a single colour, and finally to POLYCHROMS or legitimate pictures.

We find no traces of such progression in Egypt; here the earliest and latest paintings exhibit the same method. The outline is firmly marked, the parts within also indicated, and the whole painted with colours of uniform tone*, and commonly unmixed, according to a system partly conventional, yet founded on fact and nature. Men are painted a dusky red, an approximation no doubt to the colour of the ancient inhabitants: women are yellow; natives of foreign countries are distinguished by their proper hue; the Ethiopian is black, and the Asiatic a pale flesh colour. The gods were painted as religion and symbolic significance dictated; thus Nilus was blue, that being the colour for water. Inanimate objects were tinted with their true colours, as nearly at least as crude dyes would give them.

A chamber in the great tomb opened by Belzoni at Thebes, having been fortunately left in an unfinished

* This probably was the meaning of "simplex color" as applied by Quintilian to the works of Polygnotus.

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state, gives us an insight into the method of executing these sepulchral paintings. After the wall had been brought to an even surface the designer roughly sketched the intended subjects in *red*, indicating their arrangement rather than determining their forms. At this stage we may suppose it was submitted for approval. Pharaoh himself would perhaps inspect the work, and sanction or condemn while it was not too late to alter. The artist next retraced the whole in *black*, now giving every object its proper outline. In this state the chamber of the tomb was left, and in all the subjects both the first rough pencilling and the accurate drawing are distinctly seen. The sculptor next followed and gave every figure its proper relief. Lastly came the painter and laid on his thick pigments*, the ground being usually a very pure lime white. The smaller figure projects less than the eighth of an inch, the larger more, but both owed all their effect to colour, being in fact raised pictures rather than bassorelievos.

It has been supposed that a few instances of encaustic painting, with wax and naphtha, have been met with on mummies; but neither the age of these mummies was known nor were the presumed facts sufficiently established. Glue appears to have been used either as a vehicle or a varnish, perhaps both.

Colours were made up in balls. The painter used

* Belzoni says that when he first entered, the figures in the inner chambers retained a gloss or varnish.

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a palette with wells, or a stand fitted with small vases or dishes. The reed and the brush appear to have been both in use, but chiefly the latter.*

Though the contours of Egyptian artists are hard and angular their execution appears to have been free, rapid, and masterly. This is particularly observable in the unfinished chamber of the Theban tomb. There is no appearance of that timidity of pencil observable in the early works of the Middle Ages. The sharp determined contour and the elongation of the limbs were probably intended to correct the heaviness resulting from a uniform tone of colour. The head and lower part of the body are almost always drawn in profile, the breast and shoulders as seen in front, so that every figure is awry. If a row of men or other objects were to be represented retiring from the eye, they were placed above, or slightly advanced before, each other.

* According to Dr. Ure's analysis of colours brought from Thebes, "the green pigment, scraped from the painting in distemper, is a mixture of a little ochre with a pulverulent glass, made by vitrifying the oxides of copper and iron with sand and soda." The blue pigment is a blue glass of like composition, without the ochreous admixture, brightened with a little chalky matter. The red is an earthy bole: the yellow an iron ochre: the black pigment is a bone black: the white from the tombs a very pure chalk. See Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 302.

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Having neither perspective nor chiaroscuro, the Egyptian painter discovered another means of giving importance to his hero and unity to his composition. The monarch was made colossal, while all other figures were drawn the size of life. This contrivance, however barbarous, undoubtedly improves the effect of the whole, and introduces order and perspicuity into what would otherwise be often an unintelligible *mêlée* of men, horses, and war-cars — friends and foes — pursuers and pursued.

Painting like statuary attained its meridian in Egypt under Ramses the Great. At this period, as far as regards composition, expression, and colour, it was probably nearly in the same state as in Greece before the time of Polygnotus. Pausanias, in describing the works of this painter in the public hall of Delphi, begins at one extremity of the picture and finishes at the other, whence we may conclude that there was no prominent figure or group which first attracted the eye, and round which the rest were disposed; in other words, that there was little of what is called *composition.* The figures in the middle ground are described as being above those on the foreground, and those in the distance above these; hence then it would appear that perspective was also at that time unknown: such would be a natural mode of detailing the subject of an Egyptian picture.*

* Fuseli suggests (Lectures, p. 13.) that this simplicity of arrangement may have been prompted by the dignity and monu-

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Pliny says that Polygnotus improved drapery, dressed female heads in variegated veils, opened the mouth, and lighted up the expression. All this supposes that he found art in Greece nearly in the same state as it had reached in Egypt about a thousand years before.

Polygnotus appears to have made the first grand advance towards epic elevation. Aristotle tells us that he improved upon his model.* Genius and observation enabled him to discriminate between what was essential and generic, and that which was accidental and superinduced: thus he laid the foundation on which Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius raised the glorious fabric of Greek art, and achieved more than the best painters of Egypt under the enlightened patronage of the great Ramses.

MONUMENTAL INTAGLIOS.

Marches, battles, sieges, and triumphs form the ordinary subjects of the mural sculptures on the ancient edifices. Such scenes were at once exactly adapted for decorative sculpture, and flattered the vanity of the sovereign and the nation. Some of these grand pictures contain several hundred figures.

mental character of the subject, and was attributable to the painter's lofty simplicity of design rather than to the infantine state of art: this however seems little probable.

* Dionysius, says the great critic, painted men as they were, Pauson worse, Polygnotus better than they are.

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Your eye is first attracted by the colossal hero: erect in his chariot, his arrow drawn to the head, he drives furiously on against the foe; his horses, magnificently caparisoned, with high-arched neck and pawing hoof, seem to smell the battle from afar. Compact lines of war-cars advance and put the enemy to flight. Homer no doubt drew from similar originals, and the general action and story of these compositions cannot be better described than by one of his tempestuous battle scenes:

> "The gates unfolding pour forth all their train;
> Squadrons on squadrons cloud the dusky plain:
> Men, steeds, and chariots, shake the trembling ground;
> The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.
> And now with shouts the shocking armies clos'd,
> To lances lances, shields to shields oppos'd,
> Host against host with shadowy legions drew,
> The sounding darts in iron tempests flew,
> Victors and vanquished join promiscuous cries,
> Triumphant shouts and dying groans arise."

These scenes were strictly historical: nothing was sacrificed to artistic embellishment. Different nations are distinguished by their respective habits, costume, arms, and physiognomical characteristics. Forts are seen surrounded by their fosses, and these traversed by bridges. The ancient Egyptian camp is drawn with interesting minuteness. Guards stand on either side the entrance. Within are seen in confusion chariots, plaustra, sutlers, loose horses, oxen, and the spoil taken from the enemy. Campaigns are

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represented by successive pictures. The army leaves Egypt, meets and routs the enemy, captures their forts, and at length returns with triumphal pageantry to Thebes, when the monarch presents his offerings to the gods, and receives their congratulations.

Some of the most interesting of these scenes are at the Memnonium, and commemorate the exploits of Ramses II. or Sesostris. On one wing of the propylon the taking of several towns is represented with details of barbarity. On the east wall of the second court there is a grand battle scene: the enemy fly in disorder to a fortified city, surrounded by a river. Some are seen plunged in the water, contending with the stream; others, almost exhausted, are drawn out by their friends on the opposite bank. Another of these sanguinary scenes, within the hall of columns, represents the storming of a fort — a detached castle in two stories, on the summit of a conical rock, battlemented, and surmounted by a standard. The besiegers, under cover of their testudos or large canopying shields, have advanced to the foot of the fortress. Others, raised on the top of the testudos, have planted a scaling ladder against the wall, and gallantly force their way up the steep, in face of the pikes of the enemy. The besiegers appear at the top behind the battlements, and make a determined defence. Some repel the foremost assailants with pike and spear, others hurl stones on those beneath.

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At the grand palace of Medeenet Haboo we have more of these battles and triumphs, records of the foreign conquests of Ramses III., the contemporary of the Israelitish hero Gideon. On the exterior, in a series of such subjects, a *naval fight* is represented. The combatants are in light boats with a single sail. A figure is perched at the top of the short mast; perhaps to direct the movements of the men, or to pick off the officers of the enemy with the sling. The Egyptian galleys, known by the lion's head at the prow, advance in regular line; the bowmen discharge their arrows, and the enemy are thrown into confusion. Many are already taken prisoners and handcuffed. The king, standing on several prostrate captives*, shoots his arrows from the shore.

Within the palace, on the walls of the caryatic quadrangle, is represented a grand pageant — a triumph, or, as has been supposed, a coronation. The king, seated on a canopied chair of state, is borne along on the shoulders of twelve princes. A herald, reading from an open roll, marches before, and proclaims perhaps his exploits or his claims to sovereignty. Priests, officers, and musicians precede and follow, and some at the side of the king bear fans or flabella. In advance, the god Khem, erect on a table or platform, is borne in state by attendants, and also ho-

* See Joshua, x. 24.

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FAN OF STATE

noured with flabella.* The king re-appears in another part of the picture, now wearing the double crown or pshent: a long train of functionaries advance towards him with offerings and ensigns, and some carry statues of his ancestors on their shoulders: four birds are liberated, as though to carry important intelligence to the four quarters of the globe.

Another picture in this court represents what may have been an ordinary scene after a victory. The king is seated in his war-car; his plumed and richly caparisoned steeds are held by attendants. The prisoners are led up to him in files, their arms tied together at the elbow over their heads, and in other attitudes of torture. An officer then counts down in heaps before the king the hands of the slain, and another enters their numbers, amounting to some thousands, in a roll.

The relievos of PTOLEMAIC and ROMAN times betray a retrograde movement in all that is most important in art. The freedom and elastic vigour of the old sculptors is ill supplied by nicety of execution and elaborate detail. The figures of this age are covered with jewels and finery, their heads loaded with

* Similar fans are carried at the side of the pope in grand processions, and his holiness is also borne aloft under a canopy on the shoulders of his attendants.

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branching coiffures of horns, globes, serpents, and feathers, every member having its own symbolic significance. An infinity of puerile conceits crowd the walls. The Ptolemaic artists had, probably, some acquaintance with Greek works of the Periclean age; yet instead of returning to nature, they added more monsters to the pantheon of deformity that descended to them from their ancestors. In examining the walls of a temple of this age, these combinations of man and brute meet you at every turn in such detestable variety that at last you thoroughly nauseate the whole hierarchy.

Instead of the ancient battle scenes and triumphs, the walls of Ptolemaic edifices present rows of formal deities seated on rich thrones, who receive the offerings of royal personages equally uninteresting. A favourite subject for the grand façade was the king, of colossal size, smiting a cluster of his captive foes.

The figures of this age, compared with those of the ancient school, are of broader proportions, the limbs are thicker, the waist lower, the aspect and attitude more lifeless.

SEPULCHRAL PAINTINGS.

In the tombs of the kings the subjects on the walls are usually ranged in three tiers. Figures on the detached piers are larger, two occupying one side, or a breadth of three feet. Hieroglyphics, when not ac-

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companying paintings, form vertical columns up the height of the wall, and are coloured blue on a pure white ground.

The scenes relate chiefly to death and the future state; funeral processions, mysterious ceremonies — the mummy laid out on a bier and attended by the jackal-headed Anubis — the final judgment — the deceased ushered into the presence of Osiris and his four attendant genii — hideous mythological beings, hawk-headed, crocodile-headed, snake-headed.

These paintings may perhaps give us some idea of the character of Egyptian poetry. The Greek artist in his national mythology had a boundless field of elegant fiction whence he might gather conceptions of ideal beauty. Thus the Apollo of the poets became embodied in the Belvedere. But the gods of Egypt were men degraded, not deified, and their natures, if less debased than their forms, were wrapped up in a shroud of allegoric mystery which it was sacrilege to remove.

> Illic cœruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
> Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.*

In a procession on the walls of the superb tomb

* The Egyptians, with a singular perversity, selected the lowest of the animals for their deities — the cat, the crocodile, the ape. Pliny affirms that they worshipped onions and garlic, and Juvenal ridicules them for it:

> " O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
> Numina ! "

Sir G. Wilkinson, however, observes, that the monuments do not support Pliny as to the deification of the onion.

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opened by Belzoni are the figures which Dr. Young supposed to be Pharaoh Necho's Jewish prisoners, captured when he defeated Josiah near Megiddo. The procession consists of natives of four countries. The first four figures are Egyptians — red; the second four are a white race, with blue eyes and large beards; the third, negroes; the fourth, another white race, plumed and clad in embroidered robes. The second group were supposed to be Jews; the tomb however is now known to be 800 years older than the reign of Necho. Champollion conjectured that the figures were merely personifications of the four Egyptian divisions of the world; and that they have some such abstract signification seems nearly certain from the introduction of similar subjects in other tombs.

In Bruce's or the Harpers' tomb several small chambers near the entrance contain very interesting subjects. In one we see bald-headed harpers clad in long loose robes. In another are detailed all the operations of the Egyptian kitchen — slaughtering oxen, roasting, pounding, baking, &c. One chamber exhibits a complete armoury — daggers, spears, helmets, standards, whips, coats of mail, all painted their true colours: another, some of the furniture of the royal palace — rich and very elegant chairs, lined and cushioned with a sort of spangled damask, couches, vases, pottery, and baskets.

The paintings of the other large tombs of the Theban Necropolis present an endless variety of scenes

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illustrative of Egyptian arts, customs, and rites; entertainments, concerts, the chase, grand funeral processions; the mummy ferried over the river or sacred lake, preceded by boats of mourners and wailing women, who throw dust on their heads—then drawn in a sledge to the tomb.

These paintings are generally inferior in elaborate finish to those of the royal sepulchres, but they occasionally exhibit a much higher style of art. In some of the female figures the attitude is elegant and well conceived, and the outline flowing and graceful.*

In scenes representing the weighing out rings of gold and silver, the money of ancient Egypt, the weight is in the form of a calf. This may explain an expression of some of the earlier sacred writers which has been variously interpreted. Jacob is said to have bought a parcel of land in Canaan for a hundred *lambs;* and when Job's troubles were at an end, each of his friends presented him with a *lamb.*† The commentators observe with truth that it is improbable the value of a lamb is here meant, for this would have been a present unworthy of Job and of his friends. Some have therefore thought that the figure of a lamb was stamped on a piece of money presented; but the many allusions to weighing out the price, together with the statements of ancient

* See woodcut, p. 238., representing a female mourner throwing dust on her head, from a tomb at Thebes.

† Gen. xxxiii. 19. marg. rend. Job, xlii. 11.

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authors, render it improbable that stamped money was known in those patriarchal times. The Egyptian painting suggests a more satisfactory explanation — that the weights used on these occasions were in the form of a lamb, as those in Egypt of a calf.

One of the most remarkable of the Theban tombs is hewn in the face of the hill of Sheikh Abd el Qoorneh. Its two long, lofty chambers present paintings of the highest interest. In one, Thothmes III. is seen giving audience to an assemblage of foreign chiefs who approach in order, and present him the choicest productions of their several countries — an elephant, leopards, apes, a camelopard; gold and silver vases; ostrich eggs and feathers, ivory, bags of precious stones, rare woods, &c. In the other we are introduced into the workshops of ancient Egypt, and view in detail the operations of carpenters, sculptors, brickmakers, and granite polishers.

The most interesting paintings out of Thebes are those of the sepulchral grottoes of E' Siout, El Kab, and Beni Hassan. Roughly and rapidly executed, but true to life, these scenes throw more light on Egyptian antiquity than we can hope will ever be elicited from the grandiloquent inscriptions on the public monuments. The Beni Hassan paintings are the most remarkable for full and circumstantial detail of private, every-day life. As you leave the glare of daylight and pass the threshold of the tomb, the veil of two thousand years seems suddenly lifted up.

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You enter the houses and fields of the ancient inhabitants, and witness their labours and their diversions. Amongst the subjects are agricultural scenes — ploughing, sowing, reaping, and housing the produce in granaries; various crafts — boat-makers, the pottery, the basket manufactory; military and gymnastic exercises, hunting, wrestling, dancing, tumbling; musical entertainments, with performers of both sexes; the trial of a delinquent and the bastinado; collections of birds of splendid plumage; vases and furniture. In these scenes one is continually struck with the close resemblance of ancient customs, instruments, and utensils, to those now in use. A yoke of oxen ploughing, with the rustic behind, might be taken for a modern scene in the neighbouring fields of Beni Hassan.

The ceilings of tombs were commonly painted in ornamental patterns of different colours: some of these resemble the square Etruscan border and the running scroll ornament often seen on Greek vases. Hence we may conclude that these were borrowed from Egypt; but of the characteristic enrichments of Greek architecture we find no traces here, though the reverse has been confidently stated. The so-called Etruscan border may have originated in a mode of bandaging mummies, in which the exterior presented a reticulation of squares with squares within, formed of alternating light and dark bands.*

* A specimen of this mode of bandaging may be seen in the British Museum, Egyptian Room, Case D D.

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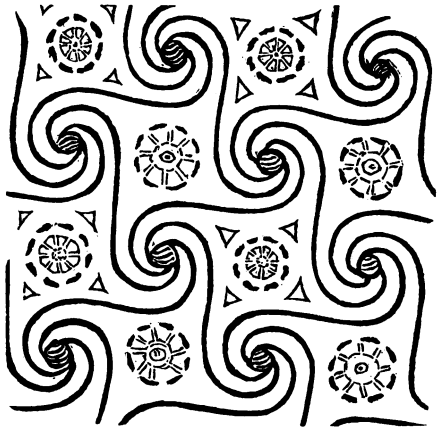
One cannot rise from the contemplation of any ancient school of art without doing homage to the genius of Greece. Rigidity and parallelism characterised the statuary of Egypt. In the works of Persia, laborious finish was no palliative of rude and graceless design. India, with her abominable superstitions, sank to the grotesque and the frightful. Our own Gothic artists — masters as they were in architecture — fell into attitudinarian stiffness. Greek artists alone avoided all these varieties of mannerism, separated the accidental from the essential, and uniting scattered elements of beauty and sublimity, rose to the epic and the ideal.



CEILING OF A TOMB.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

MANETHO'S DYNASTIES OF EGYPTIAN KINGS,

AS GIVEN BY EUSEBIUS.*

AFTER THE DEMIGODS,

THE FIRST DYNASTY

consisted of 8 kings.

	Years.
1. Menes the Thinite and his seven sons reigned	30
2. Athotis his son	27
He practised medicine and wrote the anatomical books.	
3. Cencenis his son	39
4. Venephes	42
In his time there was a famine. He built the pyramids near Cochone.	
5. Usaphais	20
6. Niebais	26
7. Mempses	18
A terrible pestilence in his time.	
8. Vibethes	26
Together they reigned	252

THE SECOND DYNASTY,

of 9 kings.

	Years
1. Bochus. In his reign the earth opened at Bubastis, and many perished.	
2. Cechous. Apis, Mnevis, and the Mendesian goat, were appointed to be worshipped.	
3. Biophis. In his time it was determined that women might hold the government.	
4, 5, 6. Three under whom nothing remarkable happened.	
7. Under the 7th they say the Nile flowed mixed with honey for 11 days.	
8. Sesochris	48
9. Nothing remarkable happened under the 9th.	
Together they reigned	297

THIRD DYNASTY,

of 8 Memphite kings.

1. Necherochis. In his time the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but alarmed at an unexpected increase of the moon, they submitted.	
2. Sesorthus. Called Æsculapius by the Egyptians, from his medical knowledge. He introduced the practice of build-	

* From Cory's valuable collection of *Ancient Fragments*.

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Years.

ing with hewn stone, and patronised literature.
6 others.*
Together they reigned - 197

FOURTH DYNASTY,
of 17 Memphite kings of a different race.†
The third was Suphis, who built the Great Pyramid, attributed by Herodotus to Cheops. He was arrogant towards the gods, but repented and wrote the Sacred Book, which the Egyptians consider a work of great importance.
Together they reigned - 448

FIFTH DYNASTY,
of 31 Eliphantine kings.
1. The first, Othius: he was killed by his guards.
The fourth, Phiops.

SIXTH DYNASTY.
Nitocris, the most beautiful woman of her time. She is said to have built the Third Pyramid.
Together - - - 203

SEVENTH DYNASTY,
of 5 Memphite kings.
Together - - - 75

EIGHTH DYNASTY,
of 5 Memphite kings.
Together - - - 100

NINTH DYNASTY.
4 Heracleopolite kings - - 100

Years.

The first Acthos. More cruel than all his predecessors: was seized with madness, and devoured by a crocodile.

TENTH DYNASTY.
19 Heracleopolite kings - - 185

ELEVENTH DYNASTY.
16 Diospolite kings - - 43
After whom reigned Ammenemes - - - - - 16
Here ends Manetho's First Book. The total number of kings is 192, of years 2300.

TWELFTH DYNASTY,
of 7 Diospolite kings.
1. Sesonchosis, son of Ammenemes - - - - - 46
2. Ammenemes - - - 38
3. Sesostris, subdued all Asia in 9 years, and Europe as far as Thrace; every where erecting monuments of his conquests. Among those who had fought bravely he set up memorials of a phallic nature, among the degenerate, female emblems engraved on pillars - 48
After whom Lambares, who built the Labyrinth in the Arsinoïte nome for his tomb - - 8
His successors - - - 42
Together - - - 245

THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.
60 Diospolites - - - 453

FOURTEENTH DYNASTY.
76 Xoites - - - - 484

* Africanus gives seven names after Sesorthus, viz. Tyris, Mesochris, Soyphis, Tosertasis, Aches, Sephuris, and Cerpheres.

† Africanus says 8 kings, who reigned 284 years: their names were,

1. Soris - - -	29 yrs.	5. Rhatœses - - -	25 yrs.
2. Suphis - - -	63	6. Bicheris - - -	22
3. Suphis II. - - -	66	7. Sebercheres - - -	7
4. Mencheres - - -	63	8. Thampthis - - -	9

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FIFTEENTH DYNASTY.

	Years.
Diospolites	250

SIXTEENTH DYNASTY.

5 Theban kings	190

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY,

of Shepherds: these were foreign Phœnician kings, who took Memphis.

1. Saites. They built a city in the Sethroite nome, whence they invaded and conquered Egypt	19
2. Bnon	40
3. Archles	30
4. Apophis	14
Together	103

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY,

of 16 Diospolite kings.*

1. Amosis	25
2. Chebron	13
3. Amenophis†	21
4. Mephres	12
5. Misphragmuthosis	26
6. Tuthmosis	9
7. Amenophis. He is supposed to be the Memnon of the vocal statue.	31
8. Orus	38
9. Achencherres	12
10. Achoris	7
11. Chencherres. In his time Moses led the Jews out of Egypt.‡	18
12. Acherres	8
13. Cherres	15
14. Armais, who is Danaus: being expelled by his brother Ægyptus, he fled to Greece, took Argos, and reigned over the Argives	5
15. Ramesses, who is Ægyptus	68
16. Amenophis	40
Together	348

NINETEENTH DYNASTY,

of 5 Diospolite kings.

1. Sethos	55
2. Rampses	66
3. Amenephthis (40 or)	8
4. Ammenemes	26
5. Thuoris, called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, in whose reign Troy was taken	7
Together	194

The total number of kings in Manetho's Second Book is 92, of years 2121.

TWENTIETH DYNASTY,

of 12 Diospolite kings	172

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY,

of 7 Tanites.

1. Smendis	26
2. Psusennes	41
3. Nephercheres	4
4. Amenophthis	9
5. Osochor	6
6. Psinnaches	9
7. Psosennes	35
Together	130

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY,

of 3 Bubastite kings.

1. Sesonchosis	21
2. Osorthon	15
3. Tacellothis	13
Together	44

* Following the old Latin version of Hieronymus.

† Africanus and Josephus introduce a queen Amensis or Amesses after Amenophis.

‡ In the Armenian text this follows Achencherres, the ninth, Achoris and Chencherres being omitted. — In the list of Syncellus, Orus and the three following are said to be Ethiopians.

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TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY,
of 3 Tanite kings.

	Years.
1. Petubastis	25
2. After whom Osorthon, whom the Egyptians call Hercules	9
3. Psammus	10
Together	44

TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY,

Bocchoris, the Saite, in whose reign a sheep spoke	44

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY,
of 3 Ethiopian kings.

1. Sabbacon, who took Bocchoris captive, and burnt him alive	12
2. Sebichos, his son	12
3. Taracus	20
Together	44

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY,
of 9 Saite kings.

1. Ammeres, an Ethiopian	18
2. Stephinathis	7
3. Nechepsus	6
4. Nechao	6
5. Psammitichus	44
6. Nechao II.	6
He took Jerusalem, and led king Joachaz captive to Egypt.	
7. Psammuthes or Psammitichus	17
8. Vaphres	25
To whom the rest of the Jews fled when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians.	
9. Amosis	42
Together	167

TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY,
of 8 Persian kings.

	Years.
1. Cambyses reigned over Persia 5 years [8], over Egypt	3
2. Magi	7 months
3. Darius	36
4. Xerxes	21
5. Artaxerxes	40
6. Xerxes II.	2 months
7. Sogdianus	7 months
8. Darius, son of Xerxes	19
Together	120 yrs. 4 m.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY,

Amyrtæus the Saite	6

TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY,
of 4 Mendesian kings.

1. Nepherites	6
2. Achoris	12
3. Psammuthis	1
4. Nepherites	4 months
Together	19 yrs. 4 m.

THIRTIETH DYNASTY,
of 3 Sebennite kings.*

1. Nectanebis [Nectanebo]	18
2. Teos	2
3. Nectanebos	18

THIRTY-FIRST DYNASTY,
of Persians.†

1. Ochus, obtained possession of Egypt in the 20th year of his reign, reigned	6
2. After whom Arses son of Ochus	4
3. Darius, conquered by Alexander	6

END OF MANETHO'S DYNASTIES.

* Following the version of Hieronymus.

† This dynasty is differently stated in the various texts. Africanus appears to have given it correctly as follows: Ochus 2 years, Arses 3 years, Darius 4 years. — According to Africanus the number of years in Manetho's Third Book is 1050.

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No. II.

FROM PTOLOMY'S CANON.

	Reigned. Years.	Began to reign B. C.
Alexander of Macedon	8	332
Philip Aridæus	7	324
Alexander Ægus	12	317
PTOLEMIES.		
Ptolemy Lagus	20	305
Philadelphus	38	285
Euergetes	25	247
Philopator	17	222
Epiphanes	24	205
Philometor	35	181
Euergetes II.	29	146
Soter	36	117
Dionysius	29	81
Cleopatra	22	52

No. III.

CANON OF THEBAN KINGS FROM ERATOSTHENES.

	Years.
1. Menes the Theban, which is by interpretation Dionius - 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, the son of Athothes, called Heraclides	18
6. Tœgaramachus Momchiri the Memphite, called a man redundant in his members	79
7. Stœchus his son, who is Ares 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	29
16. Saophis II.	27
17. Moscheres or Heliodotus	31
18. Musthis	33
19. Pammes Archondes	35
20. Apappus or Maximus, one hour less than	100
21. Achescos Ocaras	1
22. Nitocris or Athena victorious, instead of her husband	6

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		Years
23.	Myrtæus Ammonodotus - - - - - reigned	22
24.	Thyosimares the robust, who is called the Sun - - -	12
25.	Thinillus, which signifies the augmentor of his country's strength -	8
26.	Semphucrates, which is Hercules Harpocrates - - -	18
27.	Chuther Taurus the tyrant - - - - -	7
28.	Meures Philoscorus - - - - - -	12
29.	Chomaephtha, Cosmus Philhephæstus - - - -	11
30.	Sœcuniosochus the tyrant - - - - -	60
31.	Penteathyres - - - - - - -	42
32.	Stamenemes II. - - - - - - -	23
33.	Sistosichermes, Hercules the strong - - - -	55
34.	Maris - - - - - - - -	43
35.	Siphoas, Hermes the son of Vulcan - - - -	5
36.	- - - - - - - - -	14
37.	Phruron or Nilus - - - - - -	5
38.	Amuthantæus - - - - - - -	63

THE END.

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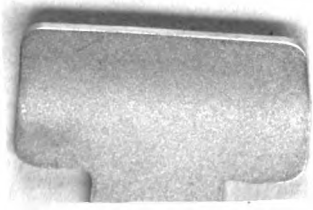

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